MISCELLANEOUS

# WORKS

OF

## EDWARD GIBBON, Esquire.

WITH

MEMOIRS OF HIS LIFE AND WRITINGS,

COMPOSED BY HIMSELF:

ILLUSTRATED FROM HIS LETTERS.

WITH OCCASIONAL NOTES AND NARRATIVE,

By JOHN LORD SHEFFIELD.

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## OF THE

# SEVENTH VOLUME.

TRANSLATIONS.

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A COLLECTION

A

# COLLECTION

OF MY

# REMARKS,

AND

# DETACHED PIECES,

## ON DIFFERENT SUBJECTS.

## N° I.

23d December 1763.

ALL epic poets seem to consider an exact catalogue of the armies which they send into the field, and of the heroes by whom they are commanded, as a necessary and essential part of their poems. A commentator is obliged to justify this practice; but to what reader did it ever give pleasure? Such catalogues destroy the interest and retard the progress of the action, when our attention to it is most alive. All the beauties of detail, and all the ornaments of poetry, scarcely suffice to amuse our weariness; a weariness produced by such enumerations even in historical works, but which are pardoned in them, because necessary. In history, the victory commonly depends on the number and quality of the troops; but in epic poetry, it is always decided by the protection of the gods and the marvellous valor of the hero. Achilles is invincible; his myrmidons are scarcely known. Homer has indeed given a catalogue; yet this perhaps

was not right in Homer, or right only in him. Ought his particular example to make a general law? In that case, the subject of every epic poem ought to be a siege, and the poem ought to conclude before either the place is taken or the siege raised. Poets themselves afford a convincing proof that they were sensible of following custom rather than reason, by treating those catalogues merely as episodes, and by introducing into them heroes, who are rarely those of history; and who, after shining a moment in those reviews, totally disappear, in order to make room for characters more essential to the action. An epic poet stands not in need of so dull and vulgar an expedient for making the reader acquainted with his true heroes.

A critic may condemn those poetical catalogues; but woe to the critic, if he is insensible to all the beauties by which that of Virgil is adorned; the brightness of his coloring, the number and variety of his pictures, and that sweet and well-sustained harmony, which always charms the ear and the soul. The army of the Tuscans is not inferior to that of Turnus; being also composed of the flower of many warlike nations assembled under the standards of heroes and demigods. But it enjoys over the Rutulian advantage which it was natural should belong to the allies of Eneas; having justice and the gods on its side. Every reader, while he detests the crimes of Mezentius, must applaud the exertions of a free and generous people, who have ventured to dethrone their tyrant, and are eager to punish him. I have always wondered that the courtier of Augustus should have introduced and episode which would have been more properly treated by the friend of Brutus. Every line breathes

republican sentiments, the boldest, and perhaps the most extravagant. Mezentius was the lawful and hereditary sovereign of a country, of which he rendered himself the tyrant. His subjects hurled him from the throne, and thenceforth regard themselves as free, without once considering the rights of his unfortunate and virtuous son. Mezentius finds an asylum among the Rutuli; but his furious subjects implore the assistance of their allies. All Etruria in arms determine to tear their king from the hands of his defenders, in order to subject him to punishment, and this fury of the Tuscans is approved by the gods and the poet:

*Ergo omnis furiis surrexit Etruria justis,*
*Regem ad supplicium præsenti Marte reposcunt.*
VIRGIL, Æneid VIII. 494.

If I wished to establish it as a general and unlimited principle, that subjects have a right to punish the crimes of their sovereigns, I would prefer this example, which admits of neither modification nor restriction. Among the ancients themselves, it appears to me to have been as singular in theory as the death of Agis was in practice. Augustus must have read both with terror; and had Virgil continued to recite the eighth book of the Eneid, I suspect that he would not have been so well rewarded for the story of Mezentius as he was for the panegyric of Marcellus.

My surprise increases, when I consider that the story of Mezentius is entirely Virgil's invention; that it entered not into the general plan of his poem; and that he himself had not thought of it when he com-

posed his seventh book. It appears that Virgil, after forming a general idea of his design, trusted to his genius for supplying him with the means of carrying it into execution; and that entering into the character and situation of his hero, he prepared for him difficulties to encounter, without knowing exactly how he would surmount them: in one word, when he landed Eneas on the banks of the Tiber, that he knew not the whole series of events which should lead to the death of Turnus. I say the whole series of events; for the part of Mezentius depends on the introduction of Evander and Pallas, and the death of Pallas is intimately connected with that of Turnus. This manner of writing is not destitute of its advantages. It is applauded in Richardson, who has only imitated Virgil. The truth and boldness by which it is characterized far surpass the timid perplexity of a writer, who, while he forms his plot, is at the same time considering how he shall unravel it. Virgil's example is surely more worthy of imitation than that of Chapelain, who wrote the whole of his Pucelle in prose, before he translated it into poetry. I am sensible that had Virgil lived to revise his work, he would have given to it uniformity and unity, and carefully effaced all those marks by which an attentive reader may perceive in it detached parts, not originally written the one for the other. Of these take the following examples.

1. Mezentius appears at the head of the warriors who follow Turnus, but appears as a king completely master of his dominions. He arrives from the

Tyrrhenian coasts with numerous troops, and his son, the valiant Lausus, follows him with a thousand warriors from the city of Cære. 2. Messapus, king of the Falisci, is a Tuscan. Fescennium, Soracte, the Ciminian forest, are among the most celebrated places of Etruria. This Tuscan prince, would he have forsaken the whole body of his nation united by the crimes of Mezentius? Is it to be expected that he should be found in the camp of the enemy; or that he would have brought, as auxiliaries to Turnus, a people sunk in effeminacy, and who knew war only by their detestation of it? The poet would have colored so extraordinary a measure, by assuming for it some probable motive. Would he have said that all Etruria was in insurrection against Mezentius? 3. Aventinus, of Mount Aventine, the son of Hercules, makes a striking figure in the catalogue; but his part is inconsistent with that of Evander. They reigned at the same time, and over the same place. It will be said that one of those princes occupied the Palatine, while the other reigned over the Aventine Mount. This is impossible; for Evander shows the Aventine to Eneas, which was a barren rock [1], situate in his little kingdom, which had no other boundaries than the Tiber, and the territory of the Rutuli [2].

I believe that Virgil would also have corrected some faults, which it is painful to see in his enumeration of the Tuscan warriors. He well knew that when a poet speaks of a science, he ought to do it with precision; and he could not forget that accurate geography is not incompatible with poetry. Of the

twelve cities which composed the confederacy of Etruria, he would have named more than Cære and Clusium, and he would not have dwelt on the crowd of secondary towns, which could not do otherwise than follow the standards of their respective capitals. 2. He would not have thought that seven or eight beautiful verses compensated for introducing the Ligurians, a foreign and hostile nation, into the civil wars of the Tuscans, which could only be interesting to the members of their own confederacy. 3. I see the camp of the Tuscans on the sea-shore near to Cære; I see their vessels, and all the preparations for a distant expedition. They embark, but it is only for a voyage of thirty miles. They prefer this navigation to an easy march of two days, which would have brought them to the country of their ally Evander. There they would have passed the Tiber, and found themselves on the frontiers of the Rutuli. 4. This naval expedition affords matter of surprise; but that of the troops of Mantua is totally incredible. Five hundred warriors embarking on the Mincius, could not arrive in the Tuscan sea without making the circumnavigation of the whole Italian coast. Virgil loved the place of his birth; but he might easily have discovered the means of bringing its ancient inhabitants to the assistance of Eneas, without offending against probability and geography.

## N° II.

24th December 1763. LAUSANNE.

I PROCEED to say a few words on the catalogue of Silius Italicus. 1. It would ill become me to speak of

the general plan of a poem, of which I have read only a detached paſſage: yet this paſſage is ſufficient to convince me that Pliny well knew his contemporary, when he pronounced that Silius owed more to art than to nature. This art is leſs apparent in the ſtyle, which is eaſy and flowing, than in the thoughts, which are thoſe of a man who is continually ſtriving to be ſublime, and continually ſtruggling againſt his own genius in favor of his ſubject. I am perſuaded that Silius would have judged better in taking Ovid than Virgil for his model. Wherever he does not offer violence to his genius, his fancy is rich, eaſy, and natural. With ſuch a character, it is ſurpriſing that he did not prefer the elegiac to the epic. The greateſt part of thoſe who failed in this laſt ſpecies of poetry are diſtinguiſhed by a ſeverity of character, and a wild irregularity of fancy; and, as they had as little taſte as talent, they eaſily miſtook thoſe qualities for ſtrength, elevation, and originality of genius. Faults were confounded with excellencies, to which they bore ſome baſtard reſemblance. 2. Virgil was free, Silius in fetters. The former might chooſe among all the nations of Italy thoſe who moſt ſuited his deſign: the latter could not omit any of thoſe nations without being guilty of a fault. He was under the hard neceſſity of writing a poetical geography of the whole country between the Strait of Rhegium and the Alps; and this conſtraint is but too viſible in his performance. 3. Silius followed his model with a reſpect bordering on ſuperſtition. Italy no longer contained in her boſom a multitude of different nations, whoſe arms, manners, and even languages, diffuſed a pleaſing variety

over the subject, while the story of their chiefs and founders invited the writer to agreeable excursions in the region of fancy. All those nations were become strictly Roman, and had exactly conformed to the laws, ensigns, and discipline of the republic; a vast but uniform object, which was better fitted for suggesting reflections to a philosopher, than for animating the descriptions of a poet. Silius, after seeking for characteristic differences which no longer prevailed among the nations whom he describes, is continually introducing those of the countries which they inhabited. His pictures have life and variety; but they are not in their proper place. The character of the people who were to fight was of importance in deciding the issue of the battle; the nature of the countries which they left behind them was entirely foreign to the subject. 4. Silius ought to have remembered that Aquilina was not in existence during the second Punic war[1]; and that we knew nothing of this place till it became the seat of a Latin colony, sent thither to check the incursions of the Gauls, thirty years after the battle of Cannæ[2].

## N° III.

25th December 1763. LAUSANNE.

AN useful chapter might be added to the History of the great Roads of the Roman Empire, by Bergier, explaining the uses to which the Romans applied them. He has indeed mentioned posts, which afforded conveniency to a small number of persons;

but has omitted many important particulars that ſtill remain to be told. A critical examination of the ordinary journies of travellers would afford important information concerning the private life of the Romans, and even throw light on geography and chronology. I am ſenſible that the differences of age, condition, and circumſtances, muſt render our general concluſions uncertain; but as the means were univerſally the ſame, theſe uncertainties will be reduced within certain limits.

Auguſtus travelled with an extraordinary ſlowneſs in the neighbourhood of Rome. A journey to Tibur (20 Roman miles[5]), or to Preneſte (25 miles[6]), conſumed two days, or rather two nights[7]. But the ſituation of Auguſtus was as ſingular as his taſte. The weakneſs of his health from his youth upwards compelled him to the ſtricteſt regimen; and by his own temper he would be inclined to carry the dictates of prudence to an extreme. It appears from his faithful biographer that this prince was ſoon tired of debauchery; and that he always deſpiſed luxury, though much addicted to effeminacy. We may add to theſe circumſtances, that he travelled in a litter carried by ſlaves; and proceeded with great ſlowneſs, that his attention might not be withdrawn a moment from his uſual occupations. The gentle motion of his carriage allowed him to read, write, and attend to the ſame affairs which employed him in his cabinet[8]. From ſuch an example, no general conſequence can be deduced.

The ſame may be ſaid of thoſe rapid and extraordinary journies of which the ancients ſometimes

make mention. How wide is the difference between the mode of travelling of Auguſtus and that of his ſon Tiberius, who accompliſhed a journey of two hundred miles in twenty-four hours, when he haſtened to cloſe the eyes of his brother Druſus[9]; or that of Cæſar the dictator, who poſted one hundred miles a-day with hired carriages[10]. Statius ſpeaks of a rapidity as extraordinary, when he ſays that a traveller might ſet out from Rome in the morning, and ſleep at Baiæ or Puteoli; an expeditious journey indeed, ſince the diſtance is 141 Roman[11], or 127 Engliſh miles.

*Nihil obſtat cupidis; nihil moratur*
*Qui primo Tiberim reliquit ortu*
*Primo veſpere naviget Lucrinum*[12].

I know that the poet wiſhed to celebrate the fine road which Domitian had made from Sinueſſa to Cumæ; which had fixed the ſands of Liternum, and reſtrained the inundations of the Vulturnus. The thirty miles which he had paſſed, and which uſed to be the work of a day, now ſcarcely conſumed two hours. Perhaps we muſt make ſome allowance for the flattery of a poet, who wiſhed to pay his court. Yet the poſſibility of the journey muſt be admitted, ſince falſehoods are not to be riſked in matters ſo ſimple, public, and preciſe.

We may perceive how much the Roman roads muſt have facilitated travelling, when we call to mind the journey of the courier, who brought to Rome the firſt news of the defeat of Perſeus. The

date of the battle is precisely fixed by an eclipse of the moon, which happened the day preceding the nones of September, that is, the 21st of June of the Julian year [11]. The courier arrived in the Circus the second day of the Roman games, and the thirteenth after the defeat [14]. These two circumstances show, that to get the thirteen days we must reckon both the day of his departure and that of his arrival, which will bring us to the 16th of the calends of October [15], the 4th of July. We may therefore reckon twelve complete days; two of which might be employed in sailing from Dyrrhachium to Brundusium, since the distance is 1300 stadia, or 225 miles [16]; and Ptolemy estimates an ordinary ship's way at 1000 stadia each day [17]. The ten remaining days were consumed in the journey from Pella to Dyrrhachium, 253 miles [18]; and in that from Brundusium to Rome, 368 miles [19]; in all 621; which gives no more than sixty miles a day. We are to remember that this journey was performed by one courier, in the finest season of the year, and bringing the news of a great victory. He therefore anticipated, by several days, the deputies of the consul, although they likewise travelled with the greatest expedition. The Egnatian road was not yet made; the Appian extended no further than to Capua; and the Greeks never applied themselves to the making of highways [20].

Among the ordinary journies of the Romans, who travelled neither like invalids nor couriers, there are two which we know with some degree of accuracy: the journey of Horace to Brundusium, by the way of Canusium; and that of Cicero to the

ſame place, by the way of Venuſia and Tarentum: I ſhall ſpeak of both, beginning with that of Horace.

1. Horace's aim was not to inform, but to amuſe us: his day's journies are deſcribed confuſedly, and we rather gueſs at, than aſcertain them. He dwells on the places in his route, in proportion to the objects which they preſented to his fancy, rather than to the time during which he remained in them. Commentators would perſuade us that Horace was fifteen or ſeventeen days on the road[21]; but the foundation of this opinion, namely, that the poet ſlept at all the places of which he makes mention, appears to me to be an exceedingly weak one. Our conjectures will be more natural, if we attend to the characteriſtic circumſtances of the evening, morning, the hour of repaſt, &c. circumſtances which are ſcattered through the ſatire. The following is the journal, with which this conſideration will furniſh us. The firſt day Horace left Rome, with the rhetorician Heliodorus, to take up his night's abode at Aricia, ſixteen miles diſtant.

*Egreſſum magnâ me accepit Aricia Româ*
*Hoſpitio modico*[22].

The ſecond day he arrived at the Forum Appii, towards the evening; twenty-ſeven miles.

——— *Jam nox inducere terris*
*Umbras, & cœlo diffundere ſigna parabat.*

He ſailed along the canal in the night, and landed

at the fourth hour (ten o'clock A. M. of the third day). After a light breakfaſt at Feronia, he travelled three miles towards Terracina, which is eighteen miles diſtant from the Forum Appii. I do not perceive that he halted either at Terracina or at Fundi; ſo that he was much fatigued when he arrived at Formiæ, which is thirty-two miles from Feronia.

*In Mamurrarum laſſi deinde urbe manemus,*
*Murenâ præbente domum, Capitone culinam.*

The fourth day, Mecenas and his ſuite arrive early at Sinueſſa, eighteen miles from Formiæ.

*Poſtera lux oritur multo gratiſſima: namque*
*Plotius & Varius Sinueſſæ Virgiliuſque*
*Occurrunt.*

The commentators have themſelves obſerved that our travellers only dined at Sinueſſa, and then proceeded to the bridge of Campania, Pons Campanius, on the Savo, eighteen miles from Sinueſſa, and ſixteen from Capua [23].

*Proxima Campano ponti quæ villula tectum*
*Præbuit; & parochi quæ debent ligna ſalemque.*

The fifth day, the mules brought them early to Capua.

*Hinc muli Capuæ clitellas tempore ponunt.*

The poets went to ſleep, while Mecenas diverted himſelf at tennis; which ſhows that it was the time for exerciſe, which ended before two o'clock P. M.

Horace says nothing of the bath and supper which commonly followed. I conclude, therefore, that instead of sitting down to table, they again entered into their carriage, and proceeded twenty-one miles, to sup and sleep at the house of Cocceius, one of the company, which was situate on the heights of Caudium.

*Hinc nos Cocceii recipit plenissima villa,*
*Quæ super est Caudi cauponas. — — —*
* * * * * * * * * * *
*Prorsus jucundè cœnam produximus illam.*

The sixth day, they performed only a very short journey from the castle of Cocceius to Beneventum: it was no more than eight miles. It is probable that the gaiety and good cheer of the house of Cocceius made them sit up late, and that he did not allow them to depart next day till after dinner; for which reason I shall reckon this but half a day's journey. In the whole, therefore, we have 164 Roman miles to divide by five days and a half, which gives 30 Roman, or 27 English miles, a day. But I am of opinion that we ought to divide by four days and a half. Horace travelled with the laziness of a man of letters, until he met the ambassadors at Terracina. He employed two days between Rome and the Forum Appii; but he confesses that more expeditious travellers would have performed that journey in one day.

*Hoc iter ignavi divisimus, altius ac nos*
*Præcinctis unum. Minùs est gravis Appia tardis.*

The ambaſſadors were embarraſſed with a more numerous ſuite, but they travelled with more conveniencies and greater expedition. Yet we ought to be better informed than we are of the object of their negotiation, to determine whether they were bent on reaching Brunduſium with all poſſible haſte. An ambaſſador wiſhes to accelerate or retard his journey as the buſineſs of his miſſion may require. Theſe four days and a half to which I would reduce the journey of Horace from Rome to Beneventum will give 30 Roman, near 33 Engliſh miles, for the progreſs of each day.

While we travel to Beneventum, we traverſe a well-known country. But, after quitting this city, Horace is loſt among the mountains of Apulia, until he re-appear at Canuſium. We meet with little but obſcurity in this part of his route; and the glimmerings of light are ſo well fitted to deceive us, that Father Sanadon ſuſpects Horace of having loſt his way among his native mountains [24]. Yet why ſhould we ſuppoſe that the villa Trivici muſt mean Trivicum, or that Equotutium muſt be the name of the place that cannot be introduced into an hexameter verſe? Theſe conjectures are inconſiſtent with geography. Why ſhould we perſiſt in fixing with accuracy the ſituation of a country-houſe, and of a village (*oppidulum*), belonging to the moſt deſert and leaſt known diſtrict of all Italy? Let us be contented with knowing that theſe two undiſcovered places ſtood on the high road from Beneventum to Canuſium; and all difficulties will be removed. Yet this general knowledge will not allow us to aſcertain

the day's journies as above. Our poet, however, though he ſpeak in obſcure terms of the places, is exact with reſpect to time. We may continue, therefore, his journal, and then compare it with the wellknown diſtance between Beneventum and Brunduſium. The ſeventh day, he left Beneventum, clambered with difficulty over the mountains which ſeparate the territory of the Hirpini from Apulia, and reſted in the caſtle of Trivicus.

——— *Quos*
*Nunquam erepſemus; niſi nos vicina Trivici*
*Villa recepiſſet, lacrymoſo non ſine fumo.*

The eighth, our travellers proceeded twenty-four miles, and ſlept at a ſmall village, whoſe groteſque name could not enter into a verſe.

*Manſuri oppidulo quod verſu dicere non eſt.*

The ninth day, I find them at Canuſium, but I imagine they proceeded to Rubi; at leaſt they arrived there much fatigued with a long journey. This appellation could not have been given to twenty-three miles.

*Inde Rubos feſſi pervenimus, utpote longum*
*carpentes iter.* ——

The tenth day, they proceeded to Bari; the eleventh, to Gnatia; and the twelfth at length brought them to Brunduſium. It is true that theſe three laſt days are not accurately diſtinguiſhed; but it is certain there were no more: and without obliging our travellers

travellers to make one day's journey of ſixty miles, it is impoſſible to reduce their number. From Beneventum to Brunduſium we have 205 miles; which gives the rate of 34 Roman, nearly 31 Engliſh, each day. They travelled faſter the firſt days, not being then retarded by the Apulian mountains, and by roads, bad in themſelves, and then rendered worſe by the rain. Their repeated complaints on this ſubject give reaſon for ſuſpecting that the Appian way then reached only to Capua, and that it was not Julius Cæſar that carried it to Brunduſium [25]. Raiſed cauſeways, formed of three layers of materials, and paved with flint-ſtones, have reſiſted the impreſſions of time. Is it credible, that in twenty years after they were made, they ſhould have been ſpoiled by a ſhower of rain?

With the eyes of a commentator, I ſhould ſee nothing but excellence in this ſatire, and call it, with Father Sanadon, a model of the narrative ſtyle [26]. It is true that I obſerve in it with pleaſure two well-applied ſtrokes of ſatire; one againſt the ſtupid pride of the pretor of Fundi, and another againſt the more ſtupid ſuperſtition of the people of Gnatia: but I would not heſitate to pronounce that the almoſt unknown journey of Rutilius is ſuperior to that of Horace in point of deſcription, poetry, and eſpecially in the choice of incidents. The groſs language of a boatman, and the ribaldry of two buffoons, ſurely belong only to the loweſt ſpecies of comedy. They might divert travellers in a humor to be pleaſed with every thing; but how could a man of taſte reflect on them the day after? They are leſs offenſive, however,

than the infirmities of the poet, which occur more than once; the plaſters which he applies to his eyes, and the naſty accident which befel him in the night. The maxim, that every thing in great men is intereſting, applies only to their minds, and ought not to be extended to their bodies. What unworthy objects for the attention of Horace, when the face of the country and the manners of its inhabitants in vain offered to him a field of inſtruction and pleaſure! Perhaps this journey, which our poet made in company with Mecenas, creating much envy againſt him [27], he wrote this piece to convince his enemies, that his thoughts and occupations on the road were far from being of a ſerious or political nature.

2. In the year of Rome 702, a decree of the ſenate intruſted Cicero with the government of Cilicia. In compliance with the decree, he quitted a city the theatre of his glory, and went to gather laurels on Mount Amanus. Atticus and his other friends were requeſted to attend to his intereſts, and to ſhorten as much as poſſible the term of his baniſhment. It was with difficulty that he could tear himſelf from the delightful neighbourhood of the capital. He travelled from one villa to another, before he could ſeriouſly ſet out on his journey. He left Rome the firſt of May [28]; the tenth of the ſame month, I find him at his villa near Pompeii. The following is the moſt natural diviſion of theſe nine days. The 1ſt: Cicero went no further than to his houſe near Tuſculum. He mentions the converſation he had there with Atticus, who probably accompanied him to that charming villa; where he would certainly ſleep that night.

The 2d May: Tuſculum is ſixty-three miles from Arpinum. This would have been too great a journey for a man who did not travel with the ſpeed of a courier. I therefore divide it into two, and ſuppoſe that Cicero ſtopt ſhort at Terentinum. 3d May: in that caſe he had but twenty miles to travel to his villa at Arpinum. The pleaſure of ſeeing his fellow-citizens, and receiving the compliments of a people who conſidered his glory as their own, would detain him there the remainder of that day. The 4th May: this day, which was leſs agreeable than the preceding, is marked very diſtinctly. Cicero dined at the villa of his brother Quintus at Arcanum, not far from Arpinum; and witneſſed a domeſtic ſcene, in which the bad humor of Quintus's wife diſturbed the pleaſure of the entertainment, and tired the patience of her huſband and brother-in-law. Cicero ſlept that night at Aquinum, only fifteen miles from Arpinum. The 5th and 6th of May: from Aquinum to Cumæ the diſtance is ſixty-five miles". The journey would have been rather too long. Beſides, in paſſing from Aquinum, which is on the Latin way, to Minturnæ, which is on the Appian, it was neceſſary to croſs the country; ſince the highway extended in that direction only nine miles. It was neceſſary to quit it again at Sinueſſa, to wade through the marſhes of Vulturnus and the ſands of Liturnum. I imagine that Cicero ſlept at one of theſe places, and proceeded next day to his houſe at Cumæ. The 7th of May muſt have been ſpent entirely at Cumæ. I know that the whole bay of Naples was adorned by country-houſes contiguous to each other; but it muſt have

required at leaſt one day to aſſemble a little Rome in the houſe of Cicero. The 8th of May, he went to his villa at Pompeii. The diſtance was thirty-nine miles by land, through Puteoli, Naples, and Herculaneum. He might have much ſhortened it by croſſing the bay: yet one day muſt be allowed for this journey. The 9th day was ſurely ſpent at Pompeii. Some motive of buſineſs or pleaſure muſt have carried Cicero ſo far out of his road.

In this journey, we ſee a great man travelling in the neighbourhood of the capital, making great journies without being in haſte, and every where enjoying his conveniencies. Among the ancients, theſe conveniencies could only be enjoyed by the great; becauſe it was neceſſary to procure them for one's ſelf, to ſupply the want of poſts by relays, and the want of good inns by private houſes. In modern times, the intereſt of individuals ſupplies to the public all theſe conveniencies, which each man may purchaſe whenever he ſtands in need of them. On the 10th of May, Cicero left Pompeii; and went to ſleep in a country-houſe which one of his friends had at Trebula; thirty miles. He began to travel ſeriouſly; and writes to Atticus that he purpoſed in future to make good journies, *juſta itinera.* The 11th of May brought him to Beneventum, thirty miles. The 12th of May, he ſeems to have ſtopped there, ſince he ſpeaks of a letter received early, and one which came later. The 15th of May, he left Venuſia to climb Mount Vultur, and thence deſcend into the plain of Lucania. He arrived at Tarentum on the 18th of May: this place is 155 miles from Beneven-

tum. He ſpent three days with the great Pompey, employed in fortifying the good principles of a man who yet held, or believed that he held, the balance of the republic. On the 22d of May, Cicero proceeded to Brunduſium, forty-three miles from Tarentum [10]. Contrary winds and buſineſs detained him ſeveral days in that harbour. He at length failed the 15th of June, and arrived at Actium. He again ſet out, croſſed the Achelous and the Evenus, paſſed through the cities of Delphi, Theſpiæ, Megara, and Eleuſis, and arrived at Athens on the 25th of June, after travelling 205 miles from Actium [11]. I ſhall not dwell longer on this journey of Cicero; but only remark, that from Pompeii to Athens he travelled 463 Roman, about 417 Engliſh miles, in nineteen days: which gives $24\frac{7}{19}$ Roman miles for each day's journey.

This ſlowneſs is ſurpriſing, ſince Cicero did not travel in a day farther than a Roman ſoldier, loaded with his arms and ſo many other burdens, advanced in five hours of ſummer (about ſix equinoctial hours). My ſurpriſe is however diminiſhed by the following conſiderations. Cicero left his country without knowing preciſely how long his abſence from it was to continue. A multitude of preparations were neceſſary for a governor, who was going to eſtabliſh a great houſehold in a diſtant and barbarous province. He had to wait for a number of conveniencies which were collecting for him at Beneventum, Tarentum, and Brunduſium, and which could not but retard his journey. It is poſſible that I may be miſtaken; but I think it apparent in all our orator's letters, that

such economical arrangements were by no means suited to his genius. 2. The family of a proconsul was too numerous to admit of dispatch in travelling. A questor, four lieutenants, twelve tribunes, accompanied Cicero to execute their respective functions under his government. A crowd of young Romans of high rank followed the proconsul, to learn under his auspices the art of war, or rather that of politics. To this illustrious band we must add one, far more numerous, of officers, lictors, clerks, freedmen, and slaves, belonging to the proconsul himself, or to the companions of his journey. This little army was embarrassed with too many wants to allow him to proceed with the expedition of an ordinary traveller. He would have preferred going by sea from Actium to Patras: but in that case he must have made use of the little barks of the country; and the passage would not have been performed with the dignity of a public minister, who wished to surprise the Greeks as much by the magnificence of his equipage, as by the moderation of his conduct. 3. The roads must have been very bad between Actium and Athens. The motive of the Romans in making roads was neither the benefit of the provinces, which those conquerors always despised, nor the conveniency of commercial intercourse, of which they never knew how to estimate the value; but merely to facilitate the marches of their troops. Greece, which early became an interior and submissive province, was not in any of the direct lines which united Rome with the frontiers; and had but one only road, while the other parts of the empire were intersected by military ways,

in all possible directions. The proconsul might have followed this road, if it was then made; but as we are ignorant of its æra, we ought rather to think that it was not so early. Most of the Roman roads are works of the emperors [32]. 4. Greece attracted but weakly the attention of the Roman government; but how well did it deserve that of Cicero! How could he rapidly traverse a country, each village of which was illustrious in history or fable? The man of letters, who admired the Greeks in proportion as he was eager to surpass them; the curious antiquary, who had discovered with such transports the tomb of Archimedes; the enlightened philosopher, who had unveiled the frauds of Delphi; must have been arrested at every step by a hundred objects unknown and indifferent to vulgar eyes. With what pleasure would I follow such a guide in such a journey!

In uniting the 369 Roman miles which Horace travelled in ten days, with the 463 which Cicero travelled in nineteen, we shall have the middle term of 30 Roman miles for an ordinary day's journey. I should prefer, however, extending it to 33 Roman, or 30 English miles; the slowness of Cicero being better ascertained than the supposed rapidity of Horace.

I shall not expatiate on the posts, the inns, or the carriages of the Romans. The last, if we may judge of them by subsisting monuments, were small, open, and inconvenient. They had two or four wheels; but, not being suspended, must have been very fatiguing to travellers on the paved military roads. These carriages were of various kinds; and what is

extraordinary, almoſt all the different kinds had been borrowed from the Gauls. The Romans adorned them with ſilver, gold, and ſometimes with precious ſtones; a barbarous and miſplaced luxury, indicating more riches than taſte. It was reſerved for modern times to invent thoſe ſoft and elegant machines which gratify at once the effeminacy, lazineſs, and impatience of travellers".

I ſhall ſpeak briefly of another kind of travelling, the march of troops. Theſe marches, I am inclined to think, both by the exerciſes (of which I have made mention) and by my general opinion on the ſubject, were longer than ours; but, previouſly to making the reſearches neceſſary for determining this matter with preciſion, I ſhall caſt a glance on the longeſt and boldeſt march which I have ever met with in hiſtory, either ancient or modern.

The fortune of the Carthaginians was ſuſtained in Italy by the exertions of Hannibal, when Aſdrubal croſſed the Alps with a numerous army. The republic was in danger of ſinking under their united efforts. Nero the conſul obſerved the motions of Hannibal, who exhauſted the whole ſcience of marching and countermarching. The Roman general perceived that a bold ſtroke only could ward off the dangers which threatened his country. With a choſen body of a thouſand horſe, and ſix thouſand foot, he marched from his camp, deceived the vigilance of the Carthaginians, effected a junction with his colleague in Umbria, ſaved the republic at the battle of Metaurus, and returned with the ſame celerity, announcing to Hannibal the death of his

brother, and finding that general himself still astonished and inactive [14]. He had left Hannibal in the neighbourhood of Canusium; he found the consul Livius in that of Sena Gallica. His route through the territories of the Larinates, Frentani, Marrucini, Prætutii, and Picenum, into Umbria, was about 270 Roman miles [15]. I know not how many days he employed in marching thither, but I know that only six were spent in his return [16]. Expedition became daily more necessary; and it is not a small stain on the glory of Hannibal that he remained ignorant for twelve days of the departure of the Roman general. I think this would not have escaped the vigilance of Asdrubal; and that he would have destroyed an army weakened by the absence of its general, and by a powerful detachment [17]. 270 Roman miles in six days give 45 Roman, or 40½ English miles for each daily march. The fact is scarcely credible. Nero's forces, indeed, were selected from the whole army; he marched night and day; and the zeal of the allies co-operated with the attentions of the general in procuring for them in abundance every comfort and assistance proper for softening their fatigues and reviving their strength. With all these advantages, it would be impossible for modern troops to make such a march. To accomplish it required Romans, and Romans of the age of Scipio. As soldiers, their bodies were patient of fatigue and toil; as citizens, they had a country for which to fight. Their exertions were quite different from those of a herd of mercenaries, whose only hope is that of pay and whose only fear is that of punishment.

This is a ſketch of the chapter which I ſaid was wanting; — but ſtill, how imperfect have I left it!

## N° IV.

LAUSANNE.

MUCH philoſophical and much theological knowledge may be derived from Ovid's Faſti. The religion of the Romans, the points in which it agrees with, or differs from, that of the Greeks, is a ſubject as curious as it is new. I reckon for nothing the reſearches of a Coyer.

The poetry of the Faſti appears to me more liable to blame than worthy of praiſe. I acknowledge with pleaſure all the merit of Ovid; his aſtoniſhing fancy, a perpetual elegance, and the moſt agreeable turn of mind. I principally admire his variety, ſuppleneſs, and (if I may ſay ſo) his flexibility of genius, which rapidly embraces the moſt oppoſite ſubjects, aſſumes the true ſtyle of each, and preſents them all under the moſt pleaſing forms of which they are ſuſceptible. The thought almoſt always ſuits the ſubject; and the expreſſion rarely fails in being ſuitable to the thought. In the Faſti, the ſame ideas are perpetually recurring; but the images under which they are repreſented are continually different. The paſſages of the Faſti which have given me moſt pleaſure are, 1. The origin of ſacrifices: 2. The adventure of Lucretia: 3. The feſtival of Anna Perenna: 4. The origin of the name of May: 5. The diſpute of the goddeſſes for that of June.

The following are ſome of the faults in the character either of the poet or of his ſubject; which it is

painful to perceive. Ovid appears to me defective in point of ſtrength and elevation; and his genius loſes in depth what it gains in ſurface. In painting nature, his ſtrokes are vague, and without character. His expreſſion of the paſſions is rarely juſt; he is ſometimes weak, ſometimes extravagant, always too diffuſe; and though he continually ſeeks the road to the heart, is ſeldom fortunate enough to find it. His light and tender character, ſoftened by pleaſure, and rendered more intereſting by misfortune, made him acquainted with the tones of ſadneſs and joy. He knows how to lament the miſery of a forſaken miſtreſs, or to celebrate the triumphs of a ſucceſsful lover. But the great paſſions are above his reach; fury, vengeance, the fortitude or ferocity of the ſoul, which either ſubdues its moſt impetuous movements, or precipitates their unbridled career. His heroes think more of the reader than of themſelves; and the poet, who ought to remain concealed, is always ready to come forward, and to praiſe, blame, or pity them. Ovid wrote a tragedy; but, notwithſtanding the judgment of Quintilian, I cannot much regret its loſs. 2. He was ignorant of the rules of proportion, rules ſo neceſſary to a writer who would give to each ſentiment its due extent, and arrange it in its proper place, agreeably to its own nature, and the end for which he employs it. In Ovid, you may perceive thoughts the moſt intereſting, and narratives cloſely connected with the very eſſence of his ſubject, paſs away lightly without leaving a trace behind; while he dwells with complacency on parts merely ornamental, frivolous, or ſuperfluous. Can

it be believed that the rape of Proſerpine ſhould be deſcribed in two verſes, when the enumeration of the flowers which ſhe gathered in the garden of Eden had juſt filled ſixteen "? I acknowledge that the ſubject of the Faſti expoſed him to faults in proportioning the parts of his work. That ſubject is connected with the whole of the Greek mythology; it contains, alſo, much of the Roman hiſtory. It was ſometimes neceſſary to relate the whole fable; at other times, to hint at, or even to ſuppoſe it, was ſufficient. It was requiſite for him to decide how far each ſtory was likely to be known by an ordinary reader, and how much the knowledge of it contributed to that of his ſubject: but the principles of ſuch deciſions are extremely delicate. 3. Some writers have praiſed Ovid for the artfulneſs of his tranſitions in a work ſo various as that of the Metamorphoſes. Yet this ſubject, without poſſeſſing the unity of epic poetry, ſupplied him with very natural principles of connexion. But the Faſti is a ſubject totally disjointed. Each ceremony, and each feſtival, is altogether diſtinct from that which follows it, and which follows it only by an imaginary chronology. The poet always traces the æra of their inſtitution, which falls, if you will, on the month of January; but they are Januaries of different years, or rather of different centuries. Ovid was ſo ſenſible of this defect in his ſubject, that he endeavours to aſſociate feſtivals on the earth with the phenomena of the heavens, in order to give a connexion more real, but extremely unintereſting, to his calendar. 4. Ovid heard from the mouth of the gods the laws of their worſhip, the origin and prin-

ciple of each fable, and of each ceremony. Such is the nature of the human mind; even in fiction we require the appearance of truth. We cannot bear to see the poet's invention at work. But Ovid shows to us too plainly, that all his ingenious conversations with the gods are the work of his own brain. When he speaks seriously, as he once does in mentioning Vesta, it is to overturn the whole fanciful fabric at one blow. I acknowledge, that a Roman poet must have been perplexed by the perpetual mixture of the serious with the fantastic, and by a poetical religion which was also that of the state. Among the early Greeks, the inspiration of Homer did not differ from that of Calchas. His works and those of his successors were the scriptures of the nation. With us, on the other hand, the inspiration of poets is merely a transient and voluntary illusion to which we submit ourselves. But among the Romans, who alternately believed in and laughed at their gods, but who had no faith whatever in their poets, the part of these last was very difficult to act. 5. I ought not to reckon the employment of elegiac verse as a particular fault, though heroic measure would have been well adapted to the subject of the Fasti. Elegiac verse has always tired me. The pause constantly recurs on the middle of the third foot of the pentameter; and the sense must always be included in a couplet. This monotony fatigues the ear; and causes the introduction of many useless words merely for the sake of the measure. There is far more variety, liberty, and true harmony in the flow of heroic verse.

## N° V.

LAUSANNE.

In consequence of reading Addison's treatise, the following remarks have occurred to me on the allegorical beings which we find on the reverses of medals. How limited is the human mind! its boldest inventions are mere copies.

1. All those beings are represented under the human figure. Our eyes, accustomed to behold the exercise of reason, only under this shape, required such a sacrifice. Yet, by our inability of separating from the idea of the human figure the circumstances which commonly accompany it, our fancy requires, also, that the sex should be determined. The circumstance of sex, however, implies gross images, which ill correspond with the purity of the virtues, or the spirituality of metaphysical beings. After having made those two sacrifices to the mind and the eyes, a third was still required by the ear. The distinction of sex was not marked by characteristic attributes appropriated to the male and female. This method might have furnished some tolerable allegories. But the gender of their names was injudiciously chosen as the only foundation of distinction, since in all languages those genders have been determined by the caprice and ignorance of the first persons who spoke them. In Greek and Latin, most of those names are feminine. The beings whom they express are therefore, for the most part, represented by female figures. I say for the most part, for they are sometimes unfortunately masculine: and at other times we

have two synonymous words of different genders; and the same being assumes the male or female form, according to the word employed as its name. I shall mention only the example of *Gloria* and *Honos*. In consequence of so faulty an arrangement, the character of the being is often at variance with that of its sex. True virtue is consistent; and we cannot conceive the truth, justice, or humanity of a woman exercised at the expense of chastity and decency. Yet when the attributes of an allegorical being require that it should be represented naked, we see Valor, Justice, and Hope exhibited, in a manner in which a modest woman would blush to appear. It is useless to tell me, these are not women, but female figures. My understanding perceives the difference; but the imitative arts must speak to the fancy.

2. Whatever symbols we invent, human qualities alone can be represented under human figures. Piety is only a pious woman; and Courage, a courageous one, &c. Much is done when the soul is purged of all passions but one, which occupies it entirely, and shows itself manifestly in air, action, demeanour, and even dress. This abstraction has been realized, though rarely; it may be conceived by the fancy, and may therefore be represented. But those symbols are always most striking which quit the region of chimeras, and give us ideas that are precise and conformable to the nature of things. One of the most interesting is that of Piety under the form of a Roman vestal. The senate carried this principle too far, when it represented the virtues under the portraits of its princes. Of human qualities, those that are

fixed and permanent are marked with more force than those that are uncertain and transient. The latter are expressed alone by the air and attitude; in the representation of the former, one may add to these characteristics, the features, figure, and dress. The symbols of Virtue or Chastity may be far more distinctly characterized than those of Hope or Fear.

The other abstractions which have been represented by human figures, Victory, Eternity, Abundance, &c. are recognised only by some of their perceptible effects, or by some real object whose idea is associated with their own. We should have much difficulty in inventing them, when wanted, if history and fable did not supply a number of arbitrary signs, which receive their meaning merely from convention. In the symbolic representation, the woman is merely an accessory. Eternity is very well represented by a globe and a phœnix: in the thirteenth medal of the first series, a woman sitting holds them in her hand. In the fifteenth medal there is no woman, though the idea is still the same; and if we examine all the other medals, we shall find that women are there merely to make a figure, but never answer the purpose of symbols. The provinces are of a middle kind; they are never symbols of countries, but are often so of the genius and manners of their inhabitants.

3. Mr. Addison proposes an explanation of the thirty-fifth ode of the first book of Horace, in speaking of a medal which represents Security resting on a pillar [19].

*Regumque*

*Regumque matres barbarorum, &*
*Purpurei metuunt tyranni*
*Injurioſo ne pede proruas*
*Stantem columnam. —*

They feared leſt Fortune might overturn the pillar of their ſecurity. But fear and ſecurity are inconſiſtent. Beſides, Horace would not probably have made uſe of ſo ſubtile and far-fetched an alluſion without giving warning of it, at leaſt, by ſome epithet. Why may not theſe words be applied literally to thoſe ſtatues and pillars which flattery erects to tyrants, and which are commonly the firſt victims of popular fury at the time of a revolution? I conjecture that the poet might allude to the king of the Parthians, the moſt powerful monarch of the Eaſt. Fortune might juſtly be dreaded by the murderer of his father, and of his whole family. The Romans had ſeen proofs of his anxiety. He had given to Auguſtus ſeveral of his neareſt relations as hoſtages, whom that emperor cauſed to be educated at Rome. The haughty Phrahates intended leſs to flatter the Romans by this humiliating meaſure, than to deprive his diſcontented ſubjects of men fit to head their revolt [*].

## N° VI.

FLORENCE, 5th Auguſt 1764.

I HAVE been reading a little work, entitled, *A Critical Letter of the Chevalier Lorenzo Guazzeſi Aretino, to Doctor Anthony Cocchi, Phyſician and Antiquary of*

*his Catholic Majesty; respecting some Transactions in the Cisalpine Gallic War, in the Year of Rome 529: Arezzo, 1752; in 12mo. pp. 103.* I find in this little work, erudition, good sense, sound criticism, with much local knowledge. Its chief fault is that of the Chevalier's country, an Asiatic style, prejudicial to strength, precision, and brevity. I shall unite, under one point of view, what I have learned from him on the subject, and the additions which my own reflections have made to it. This sketch would be less imperfect, had I a Polybius at hand.

1. I cannot imagine any event that would have more endangered the greatness of Rome than the union of the Gauls and Carthaginians in the first Punic war. Both these nations were formidable to that ambitious republic; and in both the projects of vengeance would have been directed by the wisest policy. Each would have brought with it the advantages in which its ally was deficient. Carthage was powerful in wealth, shipping, and military discipline. The populousness, valor, and advantageous situation of the Gauls made the Romans always consider a Gallic war as an event big with alarm and danger. Had the allies succeeded, the difference of their views and character would have facilitated the friendly division of their conquests, and cemented their union. But the cautious and narrow policy of the Carthaginians, and the lazy insensibility natural to improvident Barbarians, delivered the Romans from the danger of this alliance. The republic, I imagine, who knew how to dissemble her hatred as well as her ambition, was careful

to keep on good terms with the Gauls; and, before provoking their reſentment, patiently waited until they ſhould have no other reſource than in themſelves.

In the year of Rome 470, the Galli Senones were almoſt extirpated. The colonies of Caſtrum and Sena were ſent into the country extending from the Æſis to the Uſens; and the whole of their territory, the Ager Gallicus, was added to the dominions of the ſtate. Fifty-eight years afterwards, a tribune, ambitious of popularity, obtained a law for dividing this public property among the citizens. It is difficult to perceive why this diſtribution of lands, which had ceaſed to belong to the Gauls, ſhould at once provoke a war as fierce as it was general: all that I underſtand is, that the neighbouring Boii enjoyed the right of public paſturage, on paying a ſmall quit-rent called *Scriptura;* and that the lands were perhaps ſubfarmed by individuals. The avarice of the new proprietors may be ſuppoſed to have expelled the feeble remnant of the Senones, which the wiſe moderation of government had left unmoleſted. The neighbourhood of the Romans would grow more formidable to the Gauls, in proportion as that frontier was fortified and peopled by a rival and warlike colony. Whatever were the reaſons, it is certain that this law ſpread diſmay and fury through the whole of Ciſalpine Gaul. Theſe nations flew to arms, and invited into Italy numerous mercenaries from beyond the Alps. The Romans prepared for reſiſting the ſtorm. By an enumeration of their forces in Italy, they found they could ſend into the field 700,000 foot and 70,000 horſe. The conſul Æmilius, at the head of

a numerous army, took poſt at Ariminum, to defend the Ager Gallicus, the object of the war; and one of the prætors was intruſted with the defence of Tuſcany. Atilius, the other conſul, had ſailed to Sardinia, with a view of conquering the barbarians of that iſland.

2. It is not material to determine by what route the barbarians penetrated into Etruria, which they thought fit to render the firſt theatre of the war. The prætor had naturally poſted himſelf near to Arezzo, the principal fortreſs of the Romans in Tuſcany. If they marched by the ſea-ſide, the Gauls might have deceived his vigilance; if they purſued the road of Bologna and Valdimugello [41], the general muſt have been too weak to reſiſt them, and therefore felt the neceſſity of allowing them to ravage with impunity the rich Tuſcan paſtures [42]. They got poſſeſſion of an immenſe booty in cattle and ſlaves. Proud of following the footſteps of their anceſtors, they advanced to Cluſium, on the ſtraight road to the capital. There they heard that the prætor, who had perhaps received a reinforcement, purſued them by forced marches. They changed their direction, in order to meet him; and on the evening of the firſt day's march, the two armies were in ſight of each other. Both ſides fortified their camp. If we examine the road by Cluſium to Arezzo in the Valdichiana, we ſhall find the villages of Lucignana and Sinalunga ſituated at a convenient diſtance [43]. The Romans had occupied an excellent camp; and the barbarians, notwithſtanding their impetuoſity, thought it wiſer to withdraw them from it by ſtrata-

gem, than to dislodge them by force. They marched with their whole infantry, left their fires burning to deceive the Romans, as well as their cavalry, who might continually harass them until they were drawn to the place to which they wished to decoy them. The prætor fell into the snare, and was punished for his credulity by a bloody defeat. He with much difficulty retired to an eminence, and defended himself till the arrival of the consul Emilius, who by forced marches had passed the Apennines. His arrival saved the prætor; and the Gauls now thought only of securing their booty, and making their retreat along the sea-coast. The narrative of Polybius is clear; and if Casaubon had taken the sense of the passage as well as Mr. Guazzesi, the text of this great historian would no longer contain any geographical difficulties. He says of the retreat of the Gauls, Ποιησαμενοι την ὑποχωρησιν ὡς επι πολιν Φαισολαν. If we translate the words *Fæsulas tendunt* we suppose the Gauls to perform a march almost incredible, and to make a movement altogether absurd, since it implies that the Romans pursued their cavalry sixty miles without putting them to the route. These difficulties are increased when we follow the Gauls to Fæsulæ and the foot of the Apennines; and as is impossible to understand how they can retreat to Telamon, we adopt the opinion of Cluverius, in preferring on this occasion the authority of Orosius to that of Polybius, and supposing that the last battle was fought near to Arezzo. Why should not the words ὡς επι Φαισολαν *versus Fæsulas* be translated *in the direction of Fæsulæ*, according to the most natural signification and the

easiest construction? The Gauls then pursued the road from Clusium to Fæsulæ, but had scarcely concealed themselves behind the chain of hills which separates the Duchy of Tuscany from the district of Sienna, when they were obliged to come to an engagement. Thanks to the happy discovery of Mr. Guazzesi, the whole plan of the campaign is unravelled *. The Romans retired to one of those hills; and by dispatching couriers across the thick woods by which they were covered, communicated the news of their situation to the consul.

Why did the Barbarians prefer the road by the coast to that of Valdimugello, which is far shorter? Why did they not traverse the country in a right line, in order to arrive at the mouth of the Arno, and then follow the coast to the openings of the hills of Valdimagra? We are sure that Port Telamon is nearer than the mountains of Sienna to Rome. Mr. Guazzesi well explains these difficulties, by the changes which time has effected in the nature of the country, and by our ignorance whether this route was not the only one practicable for an army; by the preference given by the Gauls to the plain country, where they could avail themselves of their numerous cavalry, and by the hope of meeting with piratical vessels belonging to their own nation or the Ligurians, in which they might transport their booty without difficulty or danger. But I believe it will be necessary to penetrate into the motives by which the Barbarians were actuated, before we can fairly appreciate their conduct in passing from fury to dismay; and in marching up to their enemies, merely that they might fly

before them, especially after they had just tasted the sweets of victory. The Gallic army was governed by two principles extremely different. The Cisalpine nations perceived that such a war could only terminate in their own destruction or that of the Romans. They fought like men, who had their dearest interests at stake; but their allies the Gesatæ were not animated by a similar spirit. These troops were not a nation, but rather an assemblage from different nations, who had passed the Alps merely for the sake of plunder, and who wished to secure their booty by a speedy retreat, without longer exposing their persons in a war which did not concern them. Their leader Anocrestes was the first who proposed this measure; and as the age was ignorant of the principles of geography, and the Barbarians were unacquainted both with the country and the language, they could only shape their route by the course of those rivers which, swelled to torrents, had forced their passage through the least obstructed vallies. They were then near the source of the Umbro; and as that river flows from the south-west, they must have approached Rome, as they came to its mouth near Port Telamon. If the Cisalpine Gauls, who were better acquainted with the country, were loath to leave it; there is reason to think that they would with pleasure avail themselves of this circumstance.

I say that they followed the course of the Umbro till they came to its mouth, although Port Telamon be eighteen miles nearer to Rome. But we learn from a passage of Frontinus's Stratagems, that they entered the plain at Colonia; and that the Boii posted ten

thousand men in a wood in that neighbourhood. The consul Æmilius discovered the ambush, and cut the enemy in pieces. Critics, to whom the name of Colonia was unknown, have endeavoured in their usual way to explain or correct it. This place, now Colonna, was called Columnata in the middle ages; it is a village in the territory of Grossetto, between the mouth of the Umbro and Lake Castiglione, or Aprilis [11]; and was the scene of the battle, which derives its name from Port Telamon, a place far better known.

History informs us, that the consul Æmilius continued to follow the army of the Barbarians without venturing to provoke them to a battle; and that, by a singular chance, his colleague Atilius, who had disembarked his army at Pisa, unexpectedly fell in with their vanguard; that a battle ensued, in which that consul was slain; while Æmilius, on his side, having also attacked the enemy, obtained a complete victory, destroyed the whole Barbarian army, and gave the mortal wound to the liberty of the Cisalpine Gauls. Of all those circumstances, I find most difficulty in understanding the surprise of Atilius. He could not have left his province of Sardinia without the orders of the senate. His instructions must have required him to gain information, both of the motions of the enemy and of those of his colleagues, in concert with whom he was to act. This duty was easily performed in a friendly country, where the consternation of the people and the flight of the peasants loudly proclaimed the approach of the Barbarians. In whatever manner this may be explain-

ed, the Gallic army, attacked in front and rear by two Roman conſuls, advancing in contrary directions, will always, in my opinion, wear the aſpect of a well combined project, rather than of a military neglect, hardly conceivable. * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *.

Mr Guazzeſi is of opinion that Tuſcany formerly abounded in foreſts; and that the diſtricts of Cortona, Arezzo, and Fæſulæ were entirely covered with them. The extent of the Ciminian wood is well known. In the year of the city 444, Livy tells us, that there was a foreſt near Cluſium. During the Punic wars, the Romans brought their timber for ſhip-building from Ruſellæ, Perugia, and Cluſium; and wood abounded in the territories of Sienna, Volaterra, and Populonium, whoſe inhabitants wrought the iron from the iſland of Elba. Flavius Vopiſcus obſerves, that in the time of Aurelian there was a great quantity of wood near the Aurelian way; and Strabo extends the remark to all Tuſcany. By digging into the Valdichiana, even near the ſurface, the workmen ſtill find trees of a prodigious ſize, which are now petrified. Need we appeal to the ancient names and epithets of the country, *la Farneta; Alberoſo, Fraſſinetto, Cereto, la Selve;* or to the obligations impoſed on the communities in thoſe parts, as late as the eleventh century, of furniſhing yearly to their lords a certain number of wild boars?

## N° VII.

### Upon the TRIUMPHS of the ROMANS.

ROME, 28th November 1764.

ROMULUS was ſoon obliged to take arms againſt the little cities of the Sabines, whom the rape of their daughters had juſtly provoked againſt his riſing ſtate. Acron, king of the Cininians, was the firſt victim of Roman valor. He fell by the hand of Romulus; and his ſubjects had the good fortune to be allowed to unite with the new colony. The conqueror was eager to reap the firſt fruits of his glory. Driving before him herds and priſoners, and attended by the companions of his victory, he entered the city amidſt public acclamation, and aſcended the Capitoline hill, in order to depoſit his trophies and his gratitude in the temple which he had dedicated to Jupited Feretrius. By this ceremony, military virtue was for ever aſſociated with religion in the imagination of the Romans. Such was the origin of the triumph, *an inſtitution which proved the principal cauſe of the greatneſs of Rome*[17]. Three hundred and twenty triumphs[18] raiſed her to that exaltation, which ſhe had attained under the reign of Veſpaſian. I venture to ſubmit the following reflections on the right of triumph, the road through which it proceeded, and the ſhow itſelf.

The right of triumph may be conſidered under three aſpects. 1. The authority by which it was conferred; 2. the perſons upon whom; and, 3 the reaſons for which it was granted.

1. Under the royal government, I ſhould ſuppoſe

that the kings, whose authority was as independent in military as it was limited in civil affairs, entered the city in triumph, whenever they thought themselves entitled to that honor; and thus dispensed in their own favor the benefits of an institution which had been established by their predecessor. After the expulsion of Tarquin, the senate, which had been the council of the prince, and was now that of the nation, naturally assumed the power of dispensing military rewards [9]. The senate conferred on Valerius Publicola the honor of a triumph for having defeated the Tarquins in that battle in which Brutus was slain. From this æra, the triumph possessed a real value in the opinion of all acquainted with true glory. This ceremony was no longer a vain show, fitted merely to dazzle the populace; but a solemnity in which a meritorious consul found the best of all panegyrics; the praise of his equals and of his rivals. Some Senators had attained, many of them aspired to, the triumph; and as all of them felt an interest in keeping untarnished an honor which was in some measure their own, they judged the candidate with a severity as salutary for the state as glorious for himself. The senate considered this right as its most precious prerotive; preserved it in reality to the last days of the republic; and affected to preserve it to the latest times of the empire. It once had the pain to see itself divested of this right, and to feel that it justly merited the punishment. In the year of Rome 305, Valerius and Horatius, the two consuls who had abolished the Decemvirate, gained two complete victories over the Volsci, the Equi, and the Sabines; but their

conduct too partial to the populace, and their eagerneſs in proſecuting the Decemvirs, drew on them the hatred of the leaders of the ſenate, who pitied their unfortunate kinſmen, at the ſame time that they deteſted their crimes. The ſenate refuſed to theſe conſuls the honor of a triumph *; affording therein an example highly pernicious in a free ſtate, of being influenced in the diſtribution of military favors by the party which the generals take in politics. In conſequence of this injuſtice, a tribune appealed to the people, who ſeized with pleaſure the opportunity of at once rewarding their favorites, and of extending their own power. Valerius and Horatius triumphed without the conſent of the ſenate; to which however, the people reſtored a prerogative, which they themſelves had uſurped on this particular occaſion. I am not ignorant that this politic council, which had ages of wiſdom and only moments of paſſion, endeavoured, by the impartiality and prudence of its decrees, to confirm its precarious authority; and that the public at large profited by its fears. It could not indeed but fear the deciſion of a delicate queſtion reſpecting its own conſtitution. Since the decrees of the people ſuperſeded the beſt eſtabliſhed rights of the ſenate, in what other light could that ſenate be regarded, but as a commiſſion delegated by the people, for the purpoſe of exerciſing rights, which thoſe who had conferred them might at pleaſure reſume? The patrician party were glad to have the ſenate conſidered as the repreſentatives of their own order, as the comitia tributa repreſented the plebeians. Agreeably to this principle, theſe two bodies united

compoſed the commonwealth; but each of them apart enjoyed its ſacred and inviolable rights. The conſent of the ſenate opened the gates to the triumphal car; but the people were entitled to ſtop its career. Upon entering the Pomœrium, all military command ceaſed; and the conſuls, who were generals abroad, became ſimple magiſtrates in Rome; which acknowledged no other authority than that of the laws. Yet the triumphant general returned at the head of his legions, and continued to appear in a military character. To reconcile reſpect for the laws with the glory due to conquerors, the ſenate always propoſed continuing the general in his command during the day of his triumph. The people uſually acceded to this propoſal; which they were entitled, however, to reject; and which they had nearly rejected, in order to hinder the triumph of Paulus Emilius.

2. Thoſe only could demand a triumph who had been inveſted with ſupreme command. The diſcipline of the Romans would never have allowed a tribune or a lieutenant, to apply to the ſenate for the reward of his ſervices. What reward could a ſubaltern deſerve, whoſe only virtues were thoſe of valor and obedience; virtues which it was the duty of his general to remunerate. The principle of military ſubordination was carried ſo far, that a commander in chief appropriated the glory of his moſt diſtant lieutenants[51], who were conſidered as indebted for their ſucceſs merely to the orders which he had given to them[52]. The emperors therefore, as ſole heads of the army, were alone entitled to triumph for the victories which their genius had obtained, at

the same time on the Rhine and the Euphrates. On this occasion, also, we may perceive the perpetual connexion, among the Romans, of religion and policy. The people, in conferring the supreme command, conferred with it the right of taking the auspices, and of interrogating the gods, concerning the fortune of the state. This sacred prerogative established a peculiar connexion between the general and the gods of his country. He alone could interrogate them, and, solicit their favor by vows which the state was bound to perform. When his prayers were heard, it belonged, therefore to him in particular, to demonstrate the public gratitude to the gods; and to lay at their feet hostile spoils and victorious trophies. To the martial superstition of the Romans, no offerings could appear more acceptable.

In the first ages of the republic, it was easy for the consuls and prætors to unite with their civil functions the management of campaigns, which consisted only in marches of a few days, immediately followed by a battle. But when Rome was obliged to act, both offensively, and defensively in all the provinces of Italy; in Sicily, Spain, and Africa; it became necessary to increase the number of generals, and to extend the military command of the consuls and prætors beyond the term assigned for their civil authority. These proconsuls and proprætors finally became the only generals of the state; and in consequence of the weight of affairs which increased with the extent of the empire, although the same persons continued to exercise both civil and military functions, yet they

ceaſed to exerciſe them ſimultaneouſly. Theſe extraordinary magiſtrates, who enjoyed the ſame ſacred prerogatives as when they were conſuls and prætors, were entitled alſo to demand a triumph, when their exploits merited that honor. It would have been unjuſt indeed to debar them from this reward, and to blaſt their laurels, becauſe the diſtance of the province and the difficulty of the war had prevented them from terminating it in a ſingle campaign. During the ſecond Punic war, young Scipio demanded a triumph, which he had fairly earned, by avenging the death of his uncles, and by recovering for the republic the great province of Spain. His ſituation was as ſingular as his ſervices. His own boldneſs and the favor of the people had raiſed him to ſupreme command at the age of twenty-four. He became a general without having ever been a magiſtrate. It appeared dangerous to accuſtom the favorites of the people to deſpiſe civil employments, and to open for themſelves ſhorter roads to power. By refuſing a triumph to Scipio, the Romans proteſted in favor of maxims which themſelves had violated: the people were taught to underſtand that their authority was ſubordinate to the laws; and that raſh ambition was ſuppreſſed, which might too probably have been inflamed by the ſucceſs of Scipio in ſeparating the reward of military glory from the honors of civil magiſtracy. The ſenate maintained the cauſe of wiſdom and of diſcipline; and the conqueror ſubmitted to their refuſal. This decree, which was founded on reaſons of ſtate, rather felt than expreſſed, came to be conſidered as the law of triumphs; which

the people never granted to any but magiſtrates: the precedent in the caſe of Scipio was thenceforth deciſive. The ſtrict ſenſe of this decree allowed a triumph only to thoſe conſuls and prætors whoſe magiſtracies had been prolonged by the people; but both reaſon and cuſtom extended this honor to citizens inveſted by public authority with the power belonging to offices" which they had formerly filled; the indulgence of the ſenate obliterating, as it were, the years which had elapſed ſince the term of their employment, and conſidering them as ſtill bearing a character which they had once honorably ſuſtained. I know not how far the ſenate extended this indulgence; and whether it allowed, for example, the triumph to a prætor of a former year, when inveſted with proconſular authority. I am inclined to think that this wiſe council never anticipated the deciſions of caſes which had not actually happened; and that according to circumſtances it would have extended the right of triumph even to a proconſul, who had never held any other magiſtracy than the ædileſhip. The ædile having attained at leaſt the age of thirty-eight, muſt have been known for twenty years in the army and in the city. His talents and his character might have been appreciated by his behaviour in the quæſtorſhip, and his political principles could not fail of being diſcovered in the ſenate. But both the letter and the ſpirit of this decree excluded from triumphal honors the ſimple citizen or knight, that the laws might not be ſuſpended even in favor of the moſt diſtinguiſhed merit. The authority of theſe laws became ſo thoroughly eſtabliſhed, that the people no longer ſought

to

to dispense their favors, but agreeably to the order which they prescribed. I know that young Pompey, while yet a simple knight, forced the dictator Sylla to grant him a triumph, at that unhappy crisis when the laws were overwhelmed by the power of individuals[14]. Although the senate afterwards bestowed on him a similar power, the authority of Pompey, and the enthusiastic admiration of the multitude, justified an indulgence which would not be construed into a precedent.

3. It is well known that the victorious general, at his return to Rome, assembled the senators in a temple without the walls, and explained to them his just pretensions to a triumph, by supplying them with a written narrative of his victory, confirmed by a solemn oath. The form by which Claudius Nero and Livius Salinator demanded a triumph for their victory at Metaurus was that employed by the subsequent generals. They requested that thanks might be rendered to the gods; and that they themselves might be allowed to enter the city in triumph, for their faithful and courageous management of the affairs of the republic[15]. I am of opinion that this condition, which admitted of great latitude of interpretation from the prudence and equity of the judges, was the only one essential, although several writers suppose a variety of particular laws, which controlled the deliberations of the senate, and compelled them either to admit or to reject the pretensions of those who demanded a triumph[16]. Yet those writers have not been able to bring forward, on this subject, any thing deserving the sacred name of

a law. The particulars which they mention are inferred from a few examples, the force of which is destroyed by others directly opposite; and they cannot but perceive that he who maintains the negative against them, overturns, by a single fact, all the probabilities which they can accumulate.

They lay it down as a law of the triumph, that a general could not claim that honor, who had not in a pitched battle killed five thousand of the enemy; and suppose that he was entitled to demand it, upon fulfilling this single condition, as the due recompense of his merit. Yet it is not easy to believe that in appreciating military services, the senate should have been guided by a circumstance so exceedingly uncertain as the number of the slain. On how many occasions might a general deserve the warmest gratitude of the republic, without contenting those nice arithmeticians who calculated the quantity of human blood with such scrupulous accuracy? If he carried on war against the effeminate nations of the East, whose cowardice was alarmed even by the war-shouts of the legions, a victory almost bloodless might put him in possession of a whole kingdom. A commander, sparing of the blood of his fellow-citizens, might think military talents more honorably displayed in the skill and success of a campaign, than in the blind fortune and havock of a day of battle. His well-contrived and well executed movements might deprive the enemy of every resource, without excepting that of an engagement; and compel them to surrender their arms and their persons, a price undiminished by any loss in the field. Towns strongly fortified by art or nature,

and defended by garrisons more obstinate than numerous, might oppose obstacles worthy of exercising all the skill and perseverance of a general; who, by carrying such places, might often terminate wars as burdensome to the republic as pernicious to the provinces. I shall exemplify only the second of those cases; and my example shall be that of the younger Scipio, whose glory equalled that of his uncle, though he had never conquered an Hannibal; and who triumphed twice, without having ever fought a single pitched battle. By taking Carthage and Numantium, he obtained those triumphs, and two surnames, still more glorious. Yet, in the course of those sieges, it is impossible to find an action in which five thousand of the enemy perished; and there are authors who affirm, that those brave Numantines who resisted with such perseverance and success the forces of the republic, never exceeded four thousand men, whose numbers were multiplied only by their valor.

Another regulation is mentioned, not less wise, and just as well founded as that already stated. A triumph, it is said, could be obtained only by the conqueror who had never previously acknowledged the authority of the Romans; the reduction of a revolted province did not suffice; the senate made no account of victories which did not extend the frontiers of the empire. In this supposed regulation, it seems to me as if the heroism of romance were substituted instead of the dictates of prudence and true honor. Was a province the less valuable to the Romans because it had been long in their possession, peopled by their numerous colonies, and enriched by their at-

tention in improving its natural and artificial advantages? Was the honor of the republic more concerned in subduing free nations, who had scarcely ever heard of the name of Rome, than in suppressing the rebellion of a revolted province, which upbraided her injustice, defied her power, and seduced by a dangerous example the allegiance of her other subjects? Was a less obstinate resistance to be expected from a people who had no other choice than victory or death, whose generals and even soldiers had learned war under the Roman standard, than from those barbarous nations, whose slightest submissions were readily accepted by a senate, always content with merely imposing the yoke at first, that its weight might afterwards be more severely felt? In one word; were the wars against revolted provinces regarded as too unimportant to merit the only reward worthy of a victorious general? The existence of such a regulation could be proved only by the most decisive facts; but the facts on record are directly against it. I will not avail myself of the numerous triumphs over communities, a hundred times conquered, to which the Romans granted very unequal conditions of peace, and treated rather as subjects than allies [11]; but when Titus and his father triumphed over the Jews, and when the senate commemorated their victories by medals, and that triumphal arch which has subsisted to the present day, they did nothing more than triumph over a revolted province, which had been subdued by the arms of Pompey, and governed by Roman magistrates for the space of fifty years. I agree with Onuphrius Panvinius, that Fulvius did

not obtain a triumph for the important conquest of Capua. Of the reasons which made the senate refuse it to him, I am ignorant; it is uncertain whether justice or intrigue defeated the prospects of this proconsul; but I know that nearly about the same time, Fabius Maximus triumphed for the conquest of Tarentum", a city which had acknowledged the sovereignty of Rome ever since the war against Pyrrhus. I go farther; and observe, that Rome more than once experienced those disasters, which made it her duty to bestow the highest marks of her gratitude on those generals who had saved their country, without adding a foot of ground to its territory. Neither Scipio nor Pompey, but Camillus and Marius, were associated with Romulus, in the honorable appellation of Founders of Rome. These great men repressed the inundations of the Barbarians, and destroyed their armies; but never thought of pursuing them into their own wilds, with the situation of which they were scarcely acquainted. What must have been the absurdity of a law, which denied to such men the triumph, while it lavished that honor on proprætors, whose names are known only by the Capitoline records?

Hic *tamen & Cimbros, & summa pericula rerum*
*Excipit, & solus trepidantem protegit urbem.*
*Atque ideo postquam ad Cimbros, stragemque volabant*
*Qui nunquam attigerant majora cadavera corvi,*
*Nobilis ornatur* lauro *collega* secundâ "*.

It may be asked with greater probability, whether

the senate was satisfied with a single victory? or whether, to have a right to demand the triumph, it was not necessary to terminate the war by subduing the enemy, or at least by making a treaty advantageous to the republic. In such a regulation, I should perceive nothing but the wisdom of the senate, which was careful not to debase its honors by too lavish a prodigality; and which itself, always sovereign and free, knew how to refuse to a presumptuous general, who courted the triumph by inglorious conquests over unworthy enemies. But in deciding according to facts, and by facts we ought to decide, I perceive that the conduct of the senate varied in different ages of the republic; and that the cause of this variation depended on a circumstance altogether distinct from the merit of the general. It was customary that the brave citizens who had shared his dangers should also partake of the glory of his triumph. The soldiers followed his chariot, crowned with laurels, and decorated with the military ornaments, which their valor had merited [67]. They appropriated to themselves the honors conferred on their commander; and this commander derived his sweetest reward from the praises of his soldiers, and still more from their coarse raillery, the surest mark of their frankness and esteem. During the first wars of the republic, while Rome contended against enemies in her neighbourhood, and unprovided with regular troops, the victorious consul brought back his legions to the capital, and the troops needed no other winter-quarters than their respective homes. I perceive that in ages the most observant of discipline, the senate granted

triumphs for victories which decided the fortune of a campaign, without terminating the war. Fabius Rullianus was allowed to triumph over the Tuscans, Umbrians, Samnites, and Gauls [62]. The ſenate well knew that the confederacy of thoſe nations was conquered without being ſubdued; and that the victory of Fabius had given neither poſſeſſions nor peace to his country. In the war againſt Hannibal, the ſenate indeed varied its conduct, but its principles were unalterable. Rome was obliged to act on the defenſive in all the provinces of Italy at once. Whenever a conſiderable victory allowed her to withdraw the army employed in one of thoſe provinces, ſhe granted a triumph to its general, that he might not be ſeparated from his troops. When the ſenate decreed a triumph to Livius Salinator [63], his colleague Nero followed his car on horſeback, and ſwelled the train of him whom he had enabled to conquer. One reaſon for this was, that the army of Livius had returned to Rome, and that the troops commanded by Nero could not be recalled becauſe they then oppoſed Hannibal. When Rome attacked the great powers of Greece, the Eaſt, and Africa, her legions did not recroſs the ſea until they had ſubdued the countries which they invaded. Triumphs in thoſe wars were purchaſed only by conqueſts; and, in conſequence of the excellence of thoſe laws whoſe execution varies with the nature of things, rather than with the paſſions of men, the increaſing majeſty of the triumph kept pace with the growing greatneſs of the ſtate. But from the time that Marius polluted the legions by a mixture of the vileſt populace, war be-

came a trade instead of a duty; the troops remained in the provinces; and, in disbanding or calling home the legions, the senate obeyed the maxims of policy rather than those of justice. It became the custom to crown generals, who, after once conquering an enemy, left it for their successors to subdue him, and who conducted back to Rome only a small band of officers and soldiers who were peculiarly attached to them, and who were best qualified to grace their triumph. I shall cite only the example of Lucullus. He triumphed for his victories over the great Mithridates, so often conquered, yet always so formidable. A glance at Cicero's oration in favor of the Manilian law, will convince us that the Romans were far from thinking this war concluded.

These observations are sufficient to prove that there never existed a code of triumphal laws, such as the fancies of Appian of Alexandria and Onuphrius Panvinius have thought fit to compile. The Egyptian rhetorician and Augustine hermit, being alike unqualified for sounding the profound policy of the senate, have considered as general laws what were only particular examples. The spirit of this wise tribunal, which knew so well how to unite prudence with justice, formed to itself a living law, which comprehended all that variety of cases, concerning many of which the dead letter of written laws must ever be silent, imperfect, or contradictory. The senate compared the abilities of the general with the character of the enemy, the importance of the acquisition with the wisdom or good fortune with which it had been obtained, and the facility of the conquest with the means employed in effecting it.

The aged senators, whose authority guided the votes of their assessors, had grown old in military command; and granted rewards whose worth they could estimate, to generals whose worth they were capable of appreciating. I perceive also, that they were no less attentive to the safety of the citizens than to the glory of the state; and more than once refused triumphs to victorious consuls, who had purchased their advantages by an unnecessary or useless prodigality of Roman blood **. They thought it their duty to repress the cruel ambition of leaders, by refusing to them a triumphant return into a city which their exploits had filled which mourning.

There was, as far as I can discover, but one precise condition always required by the senate, namely, the rank or quality of the enemy. The triumph would have been disgraced by granting it for victories over slaves or pirates; *their* blood too vile, and that of the citizens too precious, equally blasted the laurels of a victorious general.

It belongs to the civil magistrate, rather than to the military commander, to curb the audacity of malefactors, who set at defiance justice and the laws. When bands of robbers become so numerous that they must be opposed by a military force, such wars have always been regarded as more necessary than difficult, and more difficult than glorious. The weakness and tyranny of masters made the slaves in Sicily twice shake off the yoke. The Romans were ashamed to employ their legions against such ignoble adversaries; but their shame was greater to see those legions defeated; and when their generals finally succeeded in repressing the insurrection, the senate

was sensible that it had often decreed a triumph for less meritorious exploits. Yet the name of slave was not to be got over; the senate feared lest the triumph should be profaned; to deny it seemed not pregnant with very evil consequences. The victorious generals; therefore, were honored only with an ovation; which gave to them crowns of myrtle, instead of those of laurel; and entitled them to be attended with a train of peaceful citizens, not by a military procession. The Romans reasonably expected that the dreadful discipline thenceforth established respecting slaves would in future prevent similar revolts. But, by a strange combination of circumstances, the republic was obliged in the same age to carry on two obstinate wars against pirates and gladiators; the one of which endangered the commerce and dignity of the empire, and the other threatened the destruction of the Roman name. Could the senate foresee such events, or uniformly decree the triumph according to rules previously established? But when Crassus had ruined the army of Spartacus, the wisdom of the senate perceived that the public disgrace would be commemorated rather than the glory of the general, by granting to him a triumph for terminating a servile war. The partisans of Pompey would naturally employ on this occasion the eloquence of Cicero; and would be themselves heard with pleasure by the people, when they ascribed to their favorite almost the whole merit of this exploit. Afterwards, when the same Pompey subdued the pirates, the pride of two triumphs, and the laurels which he expected to reap in the Mithridatic war,

made him disdain the honor of an ovation, which Crassus had accepted; and which thenceforth became, in the estimation of the Romans, the natural reward for such victories.

Pride, opposite as it is to contempt, produced in the present case precisely the same effects; the Romans refused to triumph over slaves, the objects of their contempt; and over citizens who were the objects of their esteem. The conquerors in the civil wars might have extorted from the senate the rewards most flattering to their vanity; but, though masters of the laws, they still respected the public opinion, and the prejudices of their country, from which they themselves were not perhaps totally exempted. They were afraid of degrading the dignity of the Roman name by treating their fellow-citizens like conquered kings; and even Sylla, who ventured to kill by his proscriptions so many senators and knights, would have been ashamed to drag them after his triumphal chariot, and to have thanked the gods of the capitol for melancholy victories, which it was his duty to wish buried in eternal oblivion. I am persuaded that those tyrants of their country, Sylla, Cæsar, and Augustus, who knew the dignity of the laws which they violated, and the disposition of the people whom they oppressed, dreaded to provoke their despair, by presenting to the public eye, in an offensive show, the picture of lost liberty, and the illustrious victims sacrificed to ambition. Cæsar himself was mortified at hearing the lamentations of public sorrow, when the images of Scipio, Cato, and Petreius passed in the train of his African triumph[55]. If the image of the great Pompey had not been cautiously concealed, what was grief might have

become fury in a people, whose only consolation for slavery was, that it was artfully disguised. But if, on one hand, satiated ambition could still retain the justice of feeling itself undeserving of the rewards of virtue, avenged liberty might surely decree to its restorers the laurel as well as the civic crown. During the short joy inspired into the senate by the news of the battle of Modena, Cicero "proposed a resolution to which Cato would have been happy to have acceded. He granted, in honor of the consuls and young Octavius, a supplication or thanksgiving of fifty days; and the name of Imperator. He could not have refused them the triumph which usually followed these honors; and it appears that he foresaw the consequence without alarm. "Shall we grant," he observed in the senate, "rewards to those who "have killed a thousand Barbarians, which we deny "to the saviour of the republic. Let us forget in "Antony and his adherents the character of citizens, "justly lost by their violation of all its duties. Rome "ought to see in them nothing but enemies equally "cruel, and a hundred times more deserving of "punishment than Hannibal himself." The only objection that could have been made to Cicero was the defeat of Catiline, whose conqueror had not obtained a triumph. But that conqueror was the feeble-minded Antonius who had not spirit to act the part either of a conspirator or of a citizen, and who tamely submitted to behold the destruction of his ancient friends by the arms of his lieutenant Petreius. Cicero would have been pleased to add, that Catiline had been conquered by himself in the senate; and that

this conſpirator, who was formidable only in Rome, became, from the moment of his flight from the capital, no better than the leader of a miſerable band of robbers.

The ſubverters of liberty, who were unwilling that their exploits ſhould be forgotten in fighting againſt their country, endeavoured, like the great Condé, to contrive means for immortalizing their glory without perpetuating the memory of their crimes. 1. For the oſtentation of a triumph, they ſubſtituted the more modeſt ceremony of an ovation, in which the victors were honored, and the vanquiſhed were not inſulted. It was thus that Auguſtus returned to Rome after the defeat of Brutus and Caſſius; and after the war in Sicily, and his victory over young Pompey. 2. As the civil wars involved the whole Roman world, and each factious leader had kings and nations for his allies, the triumph openly expoſed only thoſe foreign allies, and left to the imagination of the Romans the ſupplying of the domeſtic victims which the conqueror had the addreſs to appear willing to conceal. Auguſtus triumphed for the defeat of the Egyptian fleet at Actium, and the conqueſt of Egypt. He ſuppreſſed the name of Anthony and his lieutenants; but who did not recollect them at hearing that of Cleopatra? This artifice was employed ſo late as the reign of Veſpaſian[67], when the name of the Sarmatians was uſed to juſtify the triumphal honors decreed by the ſenate to Mucianus for his ſervices in the civil war.

There remain many obſervations to be made on the right of triumphs; the title of Imperator; the

triumphs on Mount Alba; and the triumphal ornaments. But we have already detained our generals too long at the gates of Rome. It is time to conduct them into the city, and to examine the road which they followed in ascending the capitol.

## Concerning the TRIUMPHAL ROAD.

I AT first thought that the triumphs did not follow any particular road; and that the gate through which they entered into the city, as well as the streets through which they passed to the foot of the capitol, depended on the situation of the country which had been the theatre of the war. The triumphs, I considered, were nothing but a picture of the general's return. Amidst all the artificial decorations of pride and magnificence, there must have been an inclination to confine them within the bounds of nature and probability. When Paulus Emilius returned from the conquest of Macedon, he must have pursued the Appian way to the Porta Capena; and the conquerors of the northern provinces must have entered Rome through the gates distinguished by the names Flaminia and Collina. A passage of Cicero first made me change this opinion. In his bloody invective against Piso, the orator sets before his eyes his shameful return to Rome, a return truly worthy of his scandalous administration. To the numerous train, the acclamations, and the public joy by which victorious proconsuls were constantly attended, and which already gave them a foretaste of their triumph, he sets in opposition the contempt or obscurity with

which Piso had returned from a province, that would have afforded laurels to every man but himself": "Dreading," he observes, "to meet the light and "the eyes of men, you dismissed your lictors at the "Cælimontane gate." Piso foolishly enough interrupted him, "You are mistaken; I entered by the Es-"quiline." "What matters that," rejoined the orator, "provided you did not enter by the *porta triumphalis*, "a gate always open to your predecessors?" The consequence naturally follows; that triumphant generals entered by a gate which was open for them alone. This custom raised the dignity of the triumph by clearly distinguishing it from an ordinary return; and was worthy of the policy of the Romans, who regarded no circumstance as unimportant which had a tendency to affect the imagination of the multitude. Cicero's authority proves that such an institution prevailed in his time; and the nature of the thing persuades me that it was still more ancient. In enlightened ages, men seldom venture to establish customs which are respectable only in their end and purpose. The people, who respectfully follow the wisdom of their ancestors, would despise that of their contemporaries; and would regard such establishments merely in that point of view which laid them open to ridicule. Romulus, besides, when he instituted the triumph, fixed by his example, not only the place where the trophies were to be deposited, but the road which the procession was to follow. Conformably to this example, all those who afterwards entered in triumph came to adore the Jupiter of the capitol. I am persuaded they also came by the same road which

Romulus had traced; and which, in the eyes of posterity, must have acquired the character of sanctity. Who would have been the first to venture to change the route of this ancient procession, to despise an authority fortified by time, and to forsake the footsteps of the founder of Rome and of the triumph? What could be the motive for such an innovation, since the example of Romulus was surely sufficient to determine a choice totally indifferent in itself? Had there been any of the triumphant generals of so very extraordinary a temper as to despise ancient ceremonies which were highly flattering to their own personal glory, would the wisdom of the senate have indulged so very unreasonable a caprice; and have substituted, for the revered institution of their ancestors, an innovation proceeding from no warrantable motive, and terminating in no useful end? Romulus chose the Capitoline Mount as a place

*Religione patrum, & sævâ formidine sacrum;*

and doubtless pursued the shortest and most convenient road in his return from Cenina. Amidst the different accounts of authors concerning this city, we may form a general notion of its situation. Some place it in the territory of the Sabines, others in that of the Latins; which makes me believe that it stood in that slip of ground on the banks of the Anio, where the colonies of the two nations were mixed and confounded with each other [69]. The different lines which may be drawn from this district to Rome meet in the Campus Martius. The side of the Capitoline

toline hill which faces the Campus Martius is rude and almoſt inacceſſible. Romulus therefore was under the neceſſity of making a circuit, either by the valley between the Quirinal and Capitoline hills, or by the plain which lies between the latter and the Tiber. The gate of which we are inqueſt ought to be found within theſe limits. A chain of conjectural evidence leads me to this concluſion, which facts alone can ſubſtantiate [70]. Among the extraordinary honors deſigned for the memory of Auguſtus, it was propoſed that his funeral proceſſion ſhould paſs through the triumphal gate. The place of his ſepulchre was already fixed. The citizens conſtantly beheld before their eyes that lofty Mauſoleum which already entombed a part of his family. It ſtood in the Campus Martius. The triumphal gate therefore could not be far diſtant from it.

Guided by ſuch preliminary notions, we may eaſily follow the triumphal proceſſions, particularly thoſe of Paulus Emilius and Veſpaſian. The latter, after ſpending the night in the temple of Iſis, met the ſenate, which waited for him in the Octavian Portico. Theſe two circumſtances bring us to the Field of Mars, and even to the vicinity of the theatre of Marcellus. At the triumph of Paulus Emilius, the people raiſed ſcaffoldings in the two circuſes to ſee the proceſſion paſs. It proceeded therefore by the circus of Flaminius, as well as by that diſtinguiſhed by the epithet of Maximus. Horace, moreover, indulged the hope of one day ſeeing the Britons in chains deſcend the Via Sacra. This word "deſcend" combined with the ſuppoſition that the triumphal gate was near to the Campus Martius, enables us to trace the whole

progreſs of the proceſſion. On this ſubject, I could only follow and abridge Father Donati [1], a ſkilful antiquary, who has treated this queſtion with a degree of taſte and erudition, which fully removes all difficulties.

It may be ſuppoſed, therefore, with much probability, that the triumphal train having aſſembled in an open ſpace, ſuch as the Equiria, or that properly called the Campus Martius, immediately under the mauſoleum of Auguſtus, paſſed through the circus of Flaminius, entered the city by the triumphal gate between the capitol and the Tiber, traverſed the place called the Velabrum, as well as the whole length of the Circus Maximus, and completed the circuit of the Palatine Mount by deſcending through the Via Sacra into the Forum, in order again to mount to the capitol by the Clivus Capitolinus, which begins at the arch of Septimius Severus. This hypotheſis, which is ſupported by the direct teſtimony of ancient authors, alſo correſponds with all the circumſtances known reſpecting the triumph. Romulus (to reſume our firſt conjecture) not being able to traverſe his new colony, which then occupied only the craggy top of Mount Palatine, naturally reſolved to make a circuit round it, in order to diſplay before the citizens the monuments of his firſt victory. When Rome afterwards extended over the ſeven hills, the proceſſion would naturally advance along the moſt conſiderable and beſt peopled parts of the city. A numerous crowd of people, ſeated at their eaſe in the circuſes and porticoes of the Forum, beheld it paſs under their eyes; and there were few of the

inhabitants of the Palatine, or of one side of the Esquiline and Aventine, who might not perceive it at a distance from the tops of their houses and temples. We still find triumphal arches of several of the emperors, Constantine, Titus, and Septimius; all of whom really triumphed. It is difficult to determine how the senate proceeded in raising them. I am inclined to think, that after adorning the triumphal road by temporary wooden arches, more solid ones were afterwards erected of stone or marble, in such places as were least crowded with those monuments. As to the arches of those emperors who never actually triumphed, it should seem that their own will, the choice of the senate, or some particular circumstance, determined the site of those eternal proofs of imperial vanity and Roman meanness.

On this subject I am not afraid to oppose the united authority of Nardini, and Donati [72]. They differ from each other with respect to the situation of the triumphal gate. Nardini places it between the Capitol and the Tiber; Donati, between the Quirinal and the Capitol; and both of them remove it to a part of the city far distant from the Porta Flaminia; whereas its proximity to that gate seems to me essentially connected with every probable hypothesis on the subject. I might content myself with allowing these antiquaries to dispute with each other; and listen to Nardini, while he proves that the Porta Flaminia was the same with the Flumentana, and therefore near to the river; and to Donati, while he maintains that the triumphal gate stood between the Capitol and the Tiber; and from the particular

facts which they prove, might infer a general concluſion. But inſtead of diſplaying vain erudition, I chooſe rather to appeal to the following plain and convincing reflections: 1. There muſt have been an eaſy acceſs to one of the roads moſt frequented, and communicating with the principal ſtreets and buildings of the city. 2. The triumphal proceſſion muſt alſo have entered Rome by one of the broadeſt roads, and through the midſt of the moſt diſtinguiſhed buildings. This ſuppoſition may be overturned without effecting my inference. If the triumphal road was that followed by Romulus, the vanity of the cenſors would ſpare no pains to adorn it in a manner ſuited to its high deſtination. 3. As the triumphal gate was open only to the conqueror and his train, another was requiſite for admitting the vaſt crowds of people who flocked to Rome by the triumphal road, which I conſider with Martial to have been the ſame with the Flaminian [71]. Let us examine, according to theſe principles, the two moſt probable ſites of the Triumphal and Flaminian gates. In the one, I find the moſt ancient edifices of the Campus Martius, and the beginning of the ſuburbs, which, as early as the ſixth century of Rome, extended beyond the Carmentale gate; I find alſo the theatre of Marcellus; ſeveral temples, particularly that of Bellona, where the general convened the ſenate to ſolicit his triumph; the Octavian portico, and the Flaminian circus, in which laſt Lucullus diſtributed a donative to his troops. In the other of thoſe ſites, I ſcarcely diſcover any thing more ancient than the age of Trajan, when that prince dug through part of

the Quirinal, extended the valley between that mountain and the capitol, and at the same time adorned it with a magnificent forum. It was extremely natural that a new road called the Broad-way should soon afterwards be made between the Flaminian road and the city. Why should I here conceal a conjecture respecting the triumphal gate, which appears to me characterized by several marks of probability? I think that this gate was really no other than the famous Janus Geminus, called often the Temple of Janus, the gates of which, as they were open or shut, were appointed by Numa to denote respectively the conditions of war and peace. The following are some of the circumstances which persuade me of the truth of a supposition that may at first sight appear paradoxical. Among the real or pretended obscurities of the accounts of the ancients on the subject of Janus, I shall choose for my guide the learned Varro, who deserved from the Roman contemporaries of Cicero the praise of introducing them to the knowledge of their own city. That antiquary thus describes Janus, in speaking of the gates of Rome, in the time of Romulus: *Tertia Janualis dicta ab Jano, & ideo ibi positum Jani signum, & ejus institutum a Numa Pompilio, ut scribit in annalibus L. Piso, ut sit clausa semper, nisi cum bellum sit.* — It is known that the wall built by Romulus, though it was extended in all other directions, remained always the same on the side of the Capitol and the Tiber: and the expressions of Varro clearly refer to a gate which existed in his own time, or at least in that of Piso. The same sense may be extracted from the most correct writers of

antiquity. I too well know the danger of exclusive propositions to affirm, that the phrase "Temple "of Janus" is not to be found in any writer of pure Latinity; but I perceive that Livy, Horace, Suetone, and Pliny [71] always employ the proper expression of Janus Geminus, or Janus Quirini, or Quirinus. Virgil, who describes ancient customs with the fire of a poet, and the accuracy of an antiquary, makes mention of this institution among the ancient Latins; but never introduces the word "temple" in speaking of the gates of war.

*Sunt geminæ belli portæ, (sic nomine dicunt,)*
*Religione sacræ & sævi formidine Martis:*
*Centum ærei claudunt vectes, æternaque ferri*
*Robora: nec custos absistit limine Janus* [72].

In this description, every word indicates an arcade, such as that of the gates of cities, shut on both sides by doors of bronze, and consecrated by a statue of Janus, placed perhaps in a niche in the wall. Although modern writers have endeavoured to convert the Janus Geminus into a celebrated temple, their want of accuracy needs not hinder me from giving to the words their primitive sense, which perfectly accords with the expressions of Varro. The triumphal gate and that of Janus belonged, therefore, to the same wall. I may thence venture to conclude that their identity is possible. 2. But to render the thing probable, we must endeavour to fix more accurately the situation of the Janus Geminus [73]. According to Livy, Numa Pompilius erected it at the lower extremity of the Argiletum, to serve as the index of war and peace. We know that the Argiletum, though its etymology is uncertain, was situate near the

foot of the Tarpeian rock not far from the Tiber[77]; and Servius fixes its site still more precisely, by saying it was in the vicinity of the Temple of Marcellus. The triumphal gate and that of Janus must also have stood within the limits of this small portion of the wall, extending from the Tarpeian rock to the river. Within the same limits, therefore, we are obliged to place three gates, the Flumentana or Flaminia near to the river, the Carmentalis at the foot of the rock, and the Triumphal in the middle between the two others. In an extent of only a hundred fathoms[78] of a wall crowded with towers, is it natural to suppose a fourth gate; or is it not more probable that this supposed fourth gate was merely a different name for one of the others? The placing of Janus in the Argiletum, which is done expressly by Livy and Servius, and which is quite consistent with the terms of Varro, is opposed by no other authority than that of Procopius[79], who says, that the Temple of Janus stood opposite to the Capitol, and in the middle of the Forum. But Procopius does not say that this temple was the Janus Geminus; and whatever he might say. I should be inclined rather to reject the authority of a soldier of the sixth century, who spoke of a monument no longer in existence, than to suppose with Nardini[80] that there were two Januses, employed as tokens of war and peace; one of which was the ancient Porta Janualis, which Numa converted into a temple; and the other a temple which he afterwards built in the Argiletum. These two Januses are totally unknown to ancient authors; and Varro directly says what Livy plainly

insinuates, that Numa instituted a new ceremony without building a new edifice. 3. The gates of war and triumph were therefore so near to each other, that it is difficult to distinguish them; and a peculiarity which they possessed in common makes me inclined to consider them as the same. Both these gates were consecrated by public opinion and the ceremonies of religion. According to the institutions of the Tuscans [81], walls were sacred, but gates were profane; and when they traced the sacred site of the Pomœrium, it was customary at times to interrupt the action of the plough, that spaces might be left free for these necessary outlets, which, for the conveniency of the city, must often be defiled by impurities. But the triumphal gate, which was destined solely for admitting into the city a most venerable religious procession, needed not to be included under this law; and that it certainly was not, appeared from what happened respecting the honors which it was proposed to bestow on the memory of Augustus [82]. Tiberius rejected these, however, as offensive to religion; to which the proposition of making a dead body pass through the triumphal gate was reckoned as contrary as that of collecting the bones of Augustus by the hands of priests, and of determining the age or century by the length of his life. It belonged to the gods alone to mark by prodigies the duration of each period. 4. The supposed identity of the two gates, whose resemblance is very striking, perfectly explains the institution of Numa, and the reason why Janus was open in war and shut in peace. The contrary symbols might appear more natural. A free and open access to

a city beſpeaks the ſecurity of peace. Amidſt the fear and diſtruſt occaſioned by war againſt neighbouring enemies, the ſhutting of the gates is employed as the moſt natural means of defence. But by the inſtitution of Numa, the gates of war were opened, becauſe they were the gates of glory; and they continued open, to admit the ſmall number of great men, who were entitled to paſs through them. They were, on the other hand, ſhut when the return of peace ſhut up the triumphal road. Among the Romans, indeed, this road was rarely interrupted. For the céremony of ſhutting Janus required not merely an actual peace, which the Romans often enjoyed, but an inclination alſo in the ſenate to render that peace laſting; an inclination which that body teſtified only during the tranquil reigns of Numa and Auguſtus, and during that period of national weakneſs which was occaſioned by the firſt Punic war.

### On the TRIUMPHAL SHOWS and CEREMONIES.

IT is here neceſſary to pauſe. This chapter might become a volume. We may commit to antiquaries the care of deſcribing the triumphal ſhow; the victims, ſacrifices, vaſes of gold and ſilver, and crowns. I ſhall dwell on one circumſtance alone, more deſerving the attention of a philoſopher, becauſe by it this inſtitution is honorably diſtinguiſhed from thoſe vain and fatiguing ſolemnities which create nothing but wearineſs or contempt. The triumph converted the ſpectators into actors, by ſhowing to them objects great, real, and which could not fail to move their affections.

The most brilliant shows in courts, the carousals of Lewis XIV. or the festivities of the Duke of Wurtemberg, attested the wealth, and sometimes the taste, of princes. We may throw a glance on them, to remark the state of arts and manners in a certain age or country; but our eyes are soon tired or disgusted by perceiving that these immense expenses are consumed in relieving the languor or gratifying the vanity of one man. I perceive crowds of courtiers indifferent, or yawning, or wretchedly occupied in concealing, under the mask of pleasure, their inward uneasiness. I hear the loud complaints of a whole people; who have felt, in an expensive hunting-match, the desolation of a province; and can trace, in a gilded dome, the marks of a hundred cottages, overwhelmed by the weight of taxes. From such objects I remove my attention with horror. The ceremonies of religion, when presented to mankind in a venerable garb, ought powerfully to interest their affections; but their influence cannot be completely felt, unless the spectators have a firm faith in the thelogical system on which they are founded; and unless they also feel in themselves that particular disposition of mind which lays it open to religious terrors. Such ceremonies, when they are not viewed with respect, are beheld with the contempt excited by the most ridiculous pantomime.

In the triumph, every circumstance was great and interesting. To receive its full impression, it was enough to be a man and a Roman. With the eyes of citizens, the spectators saw the image, or rather the reality of the public glory. The treasures which were carried in procession, the most precious monuments

of art, the bloody ſpoils of the enemy, exhibited a faithful picture of the war, and illuſtrated the importance of the conqueſt. A ſilent but forcible language inſtructed the Romans in the exploits and valor of their countrymen: ſymbols choſen with taſte ſhowed to them the cities, rivers, mountains, the ſcenes of their national enterpriſe, and even the gods of their proſtrate enemies, ſubdued under the majeſty of Capitoline Jupiter. Under the impreſſion of recent and manifeſt favors, pride, curioſity, and devotion warmed into one ſtrong and prevailing paſſion of enthuſiaſm. Sometimes ſentiments more tender penetrated the citizen's heart, when he beheld a ſon, a brother, or a friend, eſcaped from the dangers of war, following the triumphal chariot, and crowned with the rewards of his valor. The general's glory was not confined within the narrow ſphere of his own family and friends. It redounded to the honor of every citizen, who rejoiced at the new dignity thereby acquired to the Roman name; and who remembered, perhaps, that his own vote had helped to raiſe to the conſulſhip the great man, whoſe merit he had the diſcernment to perceive, and whom he had the diſintereſtedneſs to prefer to all his rivals.

When the citizen caſt his eye on the vanquiſhed kings dragged in triumph, his own pride triumphed at once over them and inſulted humanity. But if a ſentiment of compaſſion overcame his ſtern prejudices, and he melted at the ſight of a fallen monarch, and his innocent children ſtill unconſcious of their misfortune, his tenderneſs muſt have been rewarded

with that delighful pleasure with which nature repays such tears.

The lot of those unfortunate princes is but too well known. Victims of state-policy and Roman pride, they ended a shameful captivity by an ignominious death, which had been delayed only by their disgrace of being led in triumph. In the conduct of the Romans toward them, there was however a singular capriciousness, which it is not easy to explain. Of this, the following is a memorable example. After the triumph of Paulus Emilius for the conquest of Macedon, the senate banished Perseus to Alba Facetia, in the territory of the Marsi, supplied him with every comfort that can be enjoyed without liberty, and honored his remains with the pomp of a public funeral. This treatment was totally the reverse of that experienced by the unhappy Jugurtha, who expired in a dungeon, after enduring the torments of hunger and despair; torments the more horrible in his forlorn and solitary state, unrelieved by the hope of glory, the presence of spectators, or the show of a public execution, which, while it frightens, fortifies the mind. What was the reason for making this difference? Both princes were sworn enemies of the Roman name, and each was stained with the blood of a brother who had been a friend to the Romans. To these crimes Perseus had added the assassination of a king allied to the senate, and an attempt to poison the Roman ambassadors. But Perseus was a monument of the virtue of the republic. With him was associated the idea of a glorious war; but, with Jugurtha, the Romans must have wished to bury for ever the memory of their own disgrace;

their legions made to pass under the yoke; consuls, ambassadors, the whole senate, corrupted by the bribes of that prince; the concealed baseness of the republic unveiled to the whole world. Such were the crimes of Jugurtha, crimes for which the Romans could never possibly forgive him.

ROME, 13th December 1764.

## N° VIII.

ROME, 29th December 1764.

I HAVE been reading a MS. of the Abbé *Geo. Vicenzo Gravina*, which belongs to Mr. Lumsden, a Scotch gentleman, and a friend of Mr. Byers, through whose means I procured it. The title of it is, *Del Governo Civile di Roma; in 4to. pp. 76:* and its principal subject, the revolutions of the city after the fall of the empire; a subject which interests me much. This performance is an excellent abridgment, but merely an abridgment; the author not having sounded the depths of his subject, nor ransacked archives. His citations are few; and those only of well known authors, such as Baronius, Blondus, or Sigonius. It may, however, be worth while to extract, without order or method, the particulars which I have learned from this work.

After the foundation of Constantinople, New Rome yielded in all matters of ceremony to her elder sister [p. 7.]. The consul preceded the consul of the East. — *Procopius's Secret History.*

Mr. Gravina believes in the donations of Pepin and Charlemagne [p. 8]. But, according to him, these princes gave the duchy of Rome and the exarchate of Ravenna to the popes, as chiefs of the

ſenate and Roman republic during the vacancy of the empire.

In the inſurrection of the Romans againſt King Hugh and Marozia [p. 13, 14.], they eſtabliſhed their ancient government by two annual conſuls and tribunes. Young Alberic was one of the firſt conſuls. Gravina cities Blondus; but Muratori, who places this event in the year 932 inſtead of 928, does not ſpeak of conſuls. I am inclined however to believe Gravina. The conſuls were certainly re-eſtabliſhed about that time.

Mr. Gravina thinks that Otho III. aboliſhed the conſulſhip in 995 [p. 21.], after the death of Creſcentius. The obſervation ſeems probable; yet he does not give his authority; and it is proved that the office of conſul ſubſiſted immediately afterwards, as well as in the following age.

Innocent III. received the homage of the prefect of Rome p. 43, 44., and granted to him the inveſtiture of his office. *Sigon. de Regn. Ital.* — At the requeſt of the people, he created fifty ſenators to govern the city; but as they exceedingly abuſed their power, he reduced them to one only, appointed to diſtribute juſtice. *Cantilius de Romana Hiſtoria a Carolo Magno.*

Under the pontificate of Martin IV. the Orſini, to avenge the affront which they had received from the Annibaldeſi (who had driven them from Viterbo after the death of their uncle Nicholas III.), entered with an armed force into Rome, which they ravaged with fire and ſword. [p. 55, 56.] At that time were burnt the ancient edifices whoſe ruins are ſtill viſible on the declivity of the Capitoline hill.

AN

# ESSAY

ON THE

# STUDY OF LITERATURE.

I. THE hiſtory of empires is that of the miſeries of human-kind: the hiſtory of the ſciences is that of their ſplendor and happineſs. If a thouſand other conſiderations render the ſtudy of the latter intereſting to the philoſopher, this reflection alone is ſufficient to recommend it to every friend of mankind. Idea of literary Hiſtory.

II. How ardently do I wiſh a truth ſo conſolatory admitted of no exception! But alas! the man too often intrudes on the retirement of the ſtudent: and hence even in his cloſet, that aſylum of contemplative wiſdom, he is ſtill miſled by his prejudices, agitated by his paſſions, or debaſed by his follies.

The influence of faſhion is founded on the inconſtancy of man; the cauſes of its deſpotiſm being as frivolous as the effects of its tyranny are fatal. Men of letters are nevertheleſs afraid to caſt off its yoke, and, though reflection cauſes ſome delay in their ſubmiſſion, it ſerves to render it but the more diſgraceful.

All ages and countries have given a preference, not ſeldom unjuſtly, to ſome particular ſcience, while they permitted others to languiſh and ſink

into a contempt equally unreasonable. Thus Logic and Metaphysics under the successors of Alexander[g], Polity and Elocution during the Roman republic, History and Poetry in the Augustan age, Grammar and Jurisprudence in that of the Lower Empire, the Scholastic Philosophy in the thirteenth century, and the Belles Lettres, till within the times of our fathers, have all in their turns shared the admiration and contempt of mankind.

Natural Philosophy and the Mathematics are now in possession of the throne: their sister-sciences fall prostrate before them; are ignominiously chained to their car, or otherwise servilely employed to adorn their triumph. Perhaps their reign too is short, and their fall approaching.

It would be a task worthy a man of abilities, to trace that revolution in religion, government and manners, that hath successively bewildered, wasted, and corrupted mankind. It were prudent for him therein not to seek hypotheses, but much more so not to avoid them.

Restoration of the Belles Lettres. The public taste for them.

III. If the Greeks had never been reduced to slavery, the Romans had been still barbarians. Constantinople falling before the sword of Mahomet, the Muses were abandoned to fortune, till assembled and patronized by the Medici. This illustrious family encouraged Literature. Erasmus did still more; he cultivated letters himself, while Homer and Cicero became familiar to climes unknown to Alexander, and Nations unconquered by Rome. In those days it was thought a fine accomplishment to study and admire the Ancients[*]; in ours, it is judged more

easy

easy and polite to neglect and despise them. I am apt to think there is some reason on both sides. The soldier then read them in his tent; the statesman studied them in his closet. Even the fair sex, usually content with the empire of the graces, and willing to resign superior knowledge to ours, were subject to the contagion; and every Delia wished to find a Tibullus in the person of her lover. It was from Herodotus that Elizabeth (a sovereign whose name is revered in the annals of Literature) learnt to maintain the rights of humanity against another Xerxes. It was in Æschylus [10] she saw her magnanimity celebrated under the names of the victorious heroes of Salamis. [11] Christina preferred knowledge to the government of a kingdom; for which the politician may despise, and the philosopher will probably blame her. The man of letters, however, cannot fail to cherish the memory of that Princess, who not only studied the Ancients herself, but even rewarded their commentators. It was by her that Saumaise was honored with marks of distinction; who, though he did not deserve the admiration in which his contemporaries held him, was above that contempt thrown upon him by his successors.

That taste carried too far.

IV. This Princess, without doubt, carried her regard for such writers too far. For my part, though sometimes their advocate, never their partisan, I will freely confess I think them as coarse in their manners, as they were minute and trifling in their works. A pedantic erudition cramping the efforts of their imagination, they were rather dull compilers than ingenious Scholiasts. The age was just enlight-

ened enough to perceive the utility of their researches, but neither sensible, nor polished sufficiently to know what advantages they might have reaped, by the light of Philosophy.

When it became more reasonable.

V. At length the day appeared. Descartes indeed was not eminent in letters: polite literature however is extremely obliged to him. An acute philosopher [12], who inherited his manner, investigated the true elements of criticism. Bossu, Boileau, Rapin and Brumoy informed the public also of the value of those treasures it had in its possession. One of those societies, that have better immortalized the name of Lewis XIV. than all the pernicious triumphs of his ambition, had already begun its researches; societies, in which we see erudition, precision of sentiment and politeness united; in which we meet with so many important discoveries, and sometimes, what hardly yields to discoveries, a modest and learned ignorance.

If men employed their reason as much in their actions as in their conversation, the Belles-Lettres would not only engage the esteem of the wise, but become equally the object of vulgar admiration.

The decline of the Belles-Lettres.

VI. It is from this æra we may date the commencement of their decline. Le Clerc, to whom both freedom and science are indebted, complained of it above sixty years ago. But it was in the famous dispute, concerning the ancients and the moderns, that Letters received the mortal blow. Never sure was carried on so unequal a combat! The strict logic of Terasson; the refined philosophy of Fontenelle; the elegant and happy manner of De la Motte; the

ſprightly raillery of St. Hyacinthe; all joined in concert to reduce Homer to a level with Chapelain. The adverſaries of this formidable band anſwered them only by an attention to trifles; with I know not what pretenſions to natural ſuperiority in the ancients; with prejudice, abuſe and quotations. The laugh was entirely againſt them; while the ancients, who were the ſubject of the diſpute, came in for a ſhare of the ridicule that burſt on their defenders: that agreeable nation, which had unthinkingly adopted the principle of Lord Shafteſbury, not making any diſtinction between the Falſe and the Ridiculous.

Our Philoſophers have ever ſince affected to be aſtoniſhed, that men can paſs their whole lives, in acquiring the knowledge of mere words and facts, in burthening the memory without improving the underſtanding. At the ſame time, our men of wit are ſufficiently ſenſible of the advantages they derive from the ignorance of their readers, and therefore load the ancients with contempt, as well as thoſe who make them their ſtudy [14].

VII. To this picture let me ſubjoin a few reflections, which may fix a juſt eſtimation on the Belles Lettres. Great men men of letters.

The examples of great men prove nothing. Caſſini, before he acquired a name for his aſtronomical diſcoveries, had buſied himſelf with judicial aſtrology. When ſuch examples, however, are numerous, they prejudice the mind in favor of an inquiry, the event of which they ſerve afterwards to confirm. One muſt immediately conceive that a mind capable of thinking for itſelf, a lively and

brilliant imagination, can never relish a science that depends solely on the memory. Yet of those whose superior talents have successively instructed mankind, many have applied themselves entirely to the study of the Belles Lettres; still more have encouraged and in a less degree cultivated them; but not one, at least hardly one, of them all, ever held them in contempt. All antiquity was known to Grotius; a knowledge that enabled him to unfold the Sacred Oracles, to combat ignorance and superstition, to soften the calamities and mitigate the horrors of war.

If Descartes, devoted entirely to his Philosophy, despised every kind of study that had not an immediate affinity with it: Newton [16] did not disdain to form a system of Chronology which has had both its advocates and admirers: Gassendi, the greatest Philosopher among the men of letters, and the greatest man of letters among the Philosophers, not only defended the doctrines of Epicurus, but critically explained his writings: Leibnitz laid aside his profound researches into history, to employ himself in the more abstruse researches of the Mathematics. Had his edition of the Capella appeared, his example alone in that valuable acquisition to the literary world, had justified the conduct of all those who apply themselves to letters [17]. An eternal monument exists, however, of the united efforts of erudition and genius, in the Dictionary of Mr. Bayle.

Men of letters great men.

VIII. If we confine ourselves to such as have devoted almost all their time and study to literature, the reader of taste will always know how to distinguish the subtle and extensive wit of Erasmus;

the accuracy of Casaubon and Gerard Vossius; the readiness of Justus Lipsius; the taste and delicacy of Taneguy le Febvre; the resources and fertility of Isaac Vossius; the daring penetration of Bentley; the agreeable manner of Massieu and de Fraguier; the solid and ingenious criticism of Sallier; and the profound philosophical genius of Le Clerc and Freret. He will never confound these truly great men with such mere compilers as Gruter, Saumaise, Masson, and many others, whose works, though not altogether useless, seldom gratify taste, never excite admiration, and in general only lay claim to the lowest kind of approbation.

IX. The ancients have left models for such writers as dare to copy after them, and lectures to others, from which they may deduce the principles of true taste, and learn to employ their leisure in the study of those valuable productions, wherein truth appears embellished with all the graces of the imagination. TASTE. Three sources of beauty.

It is the province of Poets and Orators to paint the beauties of nature. The whole universe supplies them with tints: of that infinite variety, however, which on every side presents itself, the images they employ may be ranged in three classes; those relating to man, to nature, and to art. The images of the first class, or those which compose the picture of man, his greatness, his meanness, his passions, his caprices; these are they which conduct the writer in the surest path to immortality. Every time one reads Euripides or Terence, one discovers new beauties. It is not, however, to the disposition or conduct of their performances, which are in this respect often defec-

tive; nor is it to their delicacy or ſimplicity of ſtyle, that theſe Poets owe their reputation. No, the heart beholds the picture of itſelf in their juſt and lively deſcriptions, and confeſſes it with pleaſure.

Nature vaſt and extenſive as it is, hath furniſhed the poets with but few images. Confined by the nature of the object, or the prejudices of mankind, to the exterior of things, they have ſucceeded only in painting the ſucceſſive variety of the ſeaſons; a ſea agitated by ſtorms; the Zephyrs, wafting love and pleaſure on the breeze, and the like. A few writers of genius were enow to exhauſt theſe images.

Artificial images.

X. Thoſe of arts remained. By the images of art I mean all thoſe things, by which men have embelliſhed, defaced, or diverſified nature, religion, laws or cuſtom. The Poets have univerſally made free with all theſe, and it muſt be owned they were in the right. Their fellow-countrymen underſtood them with eaſe, and peruſed them with pleaſure. They were pleaſed to ſee the genius of their great men exerciſed on things which had made their anceſtors reſpectable, on ſubjects they revered as ſacred, or practiſed as uſeful.

The manners of the ancients favorable to poetry.

XI. The manners of the ancients were more favorable to Poetry than ours; which is a ſtrong preſumption they ſurpaſſed us in that ſublime art.

In the military art.

In proportion as the arts grew more perfect, they grew leſs complex; in war, in politics, in religion, the moſt important effects have proceeded from the moſt ſimple cauſes.

Doubtleſs a Marſhal Saxe and a Duke of Cumberland [18] underſtood the art of war better than an Achilles or an Ajax:

*Tels ne parurent point aux rives du Scamandre,*
*Sous ces murs tant vantés que Pyrrhus mit en cendre,*
*Ces antiques héros qui montés sur un Char*
*Combattoient en désordre & marchoient au hazard.*

Are the battles, however, which are described by the French Poet diversified like those of the Greek? Are his heroes equally interesting? The single combats of the chiefs, the long conversations held with the dying, the unexpected rencounters we meet with; all betray the imperfection of the military art; but furnish the Poet with the means of making us acquainted with his heroes, and interesting us in their good or ill fortune. At present armies are vast machines animated by the breath of their General. The muse denies her assistance in the description of their evolutions: she is afraid to penetrate the clouds of powder and smoke, that conceal from her sight alike the coward and the brave, the private centinel and the commander in chief.

In government.

XII. The ancient republics of Greece were ignorant of the first principles of good policy. The people met in tumultuous assemblies rather to determine than to deliberate. Their factions were impetuous and lasting; their insurrections frequent and terrible; their most peaceful hours full of distrust, envy and confusion[20]: The citizens were indeed unhappy; but their writers, whose imaginations were warmed by such dreadful objects, described them naturally as they were felt. A peaceable administration of the laws; those salutary institutions, which projected in the cabinet of a Sovereign or his

council, diffuse happiness over a whole nation, excite only the Poet's admiration, the coldest of all the passions.

In religion.

XIII. The ancient mythology, which attributed life and intelligence to all nature, extended its influence to the pen of the Poet. Inspired by the muse, he sung the attributes, the adventures and misfortunes of his fabulous deities. That Infinite Being, which religion and philosophy have made known to us, is above such description: the sublimest flights become puerile on such a subject. The almighty *Fiat* of Moses strikes us with admiration[21]; but reason cannot comprehend, nor imagination describe, the operations of a deity, at whose command alone millions of worlds are made to tremble: nor can we read with any satisfactory pleasure of the devil, in Milton, warring for two whole days in heaven against the armies of the Omnipotent[21].

The ancients knew their advantages, and profited by them accordingly. Of this the masterly performances we still admire are the best proofs.

The means of perceiving their beauties.

XIV. But we, who are placed in another clime, and born in another age, are necessarily at a loss to see those beauties, for want of being able to place ourselves in the same point of view with the Greeks and Romans. A circumstantial knowledge of their situation and manners can only enable us to do this. The superficial ideas, the poor information we glean from a commentary, assist us only to seize the more palpable and apparent beauties: all the graces, all the delicacies of their writings escape us; and we are apt to abuse their contemporaries for want of taste,

in laviſhing ſuch encomiums on thoſe merits we are too ignorant to diſcover. An acquaintance with antiquity is the only true comment on the writings of the ancients: but what is ſtill more neceſſary, is a certain turn of mind, which is generally the reſult of it; a ſentiment not only making things known, but familiarizing them to our ideas, and inducing us to regard them with the eyes of the ancients. The famous example of Perrault may ſerve to illuſtrate my meaning. The rudeneſs of the horoic ages ſhocked the delicacy of the Pariſian.[21] It was in vain that Boileau remonſtrated to him, that Homer deſigned and ought to deſcribe Greeks and not Frenchmen: his judgment was convinced it was right, but he could not be perſuaded to be pleaſed. A ſmall portion of antique taſte, if I may ſo call it, would have done more than all the reaſonings of his antagoniſt.

Artificial images depend on love of fame.

XV. I have ſaid that the Poets were in the right to make uſe of artificial images; but I know not whether at the tribunal of fame it will be allowed me. We are all fond of reputation; but nothing is more different than the nature and degree of our paſſion for fame. Every man has different notions in his deſire of reputation. One writer, for inſtance, ſeeks only the praiſe of his contemporaries. Death puts an end to his hopes and fears of cenſure or applauſe; he cares not, if in the tomb that encloſes his body be buried alſo his name. Such a man may, without ſcruple, employ familiar and temporary images, in writing for thoſe whom only he deſires to pleaſe. Another, on the contrary, bequeaths his name to lateſt poſterity; and pleaſe s himſelf in thinking that a thouſand

years after his death, the Indian on the banks of the Ganges, and the Laplander on his hills of snow, will read his works, and envy the happy clime and æra that produced so extraordinary a genius.

Those who are ambitious to please universally, must deduce their images from the common resources of mankind, from the human heart and the representations of nature. Pride only can induce writers to exceed these bounds. They may presume, indeed, that the occult beauties of their writings will always secure a family of Burmans, to labor in their explication, and to admire the text the more because they themselves have written the comment.

And on the nature of the subject.

XVI. It is not, however, the character of the author altogether, but that of his work, which influences him in this particular. The sublimer species of Poetry, the epopeia, the tragedy, the ode, seldom employ the same images as comedy and satire; because the former are chiefly descriptive of the passions, and the latter of manners. Horace and Plautus are almost unintelligible to those who have not learnt to live and think as the Romans. The rival of the latter, the elegant Terence, is better understood, because he has sacrificed pleasantry to taste, whereas Plautus has even prostituted decency to mirth. Terence, one is apt to think, imagined he was describing the Athenians: his pieces are all over Greek, excepting the language [25]. Plautus knew that he wrote for the entertainment of the Romans; and therefore with him we find, at Thebes, at Athens, at Calydon, the manners, laws, and even the public buildings, of Rome [26].

XVII. In heroic poesy, although manners be not the principal objects of the piece, they are made use of as ornamental in the remote and distant shadowings of the picture. It is impossible to comprehend the design, the art, the circumstantial beauties of Virgil, without a perfect knowledge of the history, the government, and the religion of the Romans; of the geography of ancient Italy; the character of Augustus; and of that particular and singular relation he bore to the senate and the people[27]. Nothing could be more striking or interesting to this people, than the contrast between Rome, with its three thousand citizens living in hovels thatched with straw, and the same Rome the metropolis of the universe, whose houses were palaces, whose citizens Princes, and whose provinces were extensive empires. As Florus has remarked this contrast, it is not to be thought Virgil was regardless of it. He has struck it off in a most masterly manner. Evander conducts his guest through that village, where every thing, even its monarch, was all rusticity. He explains its antiquities; while the Poet gives artfully to understand for whom this village, this future capitol, concealed beneath tufts and briars, was reserved. How lively and striking a picture! How speaking, how expressive is this to a man versed in antiquity! How lifeless and unmeaning to those who are no otherwise prepared to read Virgil than by a natural taste for letters, and a knowlege of the language.

Contrast between the infancy and splendor of the Romans.

XVIII. The better one is acquainted with antiquity; the more one admires the art and address of the Poet. His subject, it must be confessed, was

The address of Virgil.

flat enough. The flight of a band of refugees; their squabbles with a few villagers, and the settling of a paltry town; these were the boasted labors, the great exploits of the pious Æneas. But the poet has dignified them, and in so doing has had art enough to render them interesting. By an illusion, too refined not to have escaped the generality of readers, and too excellent to displease the critic, he hath embellished the rude manners of the heroic ages, but has done it without disguising them [11]. The herdsman Latinus, and the quarrelsome Turnus, are indeed elevated into great monarchs. All Italy trembles for the cause of liberty: and Æneas triumphs over gods and men. Virgil knew how to reflect all the glory of the Romans on their Trojan ancestors. The founder of Rome eclipses that of Lavinium. It is a fire that kindles, and presently blazes over the face of the earth. Æneas, if I may so venture to express myself, contained the germ of all his descendants. When besieged in his camp, he naturally calls to mind a Cæsar and an Alexis. We cannot divide our admira- between them.

But Virgil never displayed greater address than when, descended with his hero, to the shades, his imagination seemed at full liberty. Yet here he neither created new nor imaginary beings. Romulus and Brutus, Scipio and Cæsar appeared, such as they had been in life, the admiration or terror of Rome.

Of the Georgics.

XIX. One reads the Georgics with that lively taste the beautiful excites, and that exquisite pleasure the charms of the subject naturally inspire, in a susceptible mind. It is easy to conceive, however, that

our admiration would be increaſed, by diſcovering in the Poet a deſign equally noble and elevated, as the execution of it is highly finiſhed. I conſtantly draw my examples from Virgil. His fine verſes, and the precepts of his friend Horace, fixed the ſtandard of taſte among the Romans, and may ſerve to convey inſtruction to the moſt diſtant poſterity. But to explain my ſentiments more clearly, it is neceſſary to trace things a little farther.

XX. The Romans firſt fought for glory and for their country. After the ſiege of Veiæ they received ſome ſmall pay, and ſometimes were recompenſed after a triumph: but they received theſe as gratuities, and not as their due. At the end of every war, the ſoldiers, becoming citizens, retired to their reſpective huts, and hung up their uſeleſs arms, to be reſumed at the firſt ſignal. The Roman veterans.

When Sylla reſtored the public tranquillity, circumſtances were much altered. Above three hundred thouſand men, accuſtomed to luxury and ſlaughter, without ſubſtance, without home, without principle, required rewards. Had the dictator paid them in money, according to the rate afterwards eſtabliſhed by Auguſtus, it had coſt him upwards of thirty-two millions, of our money [16]; an immenſe ſum in the moſt proſperous times, but then abſolutely out of the power of the republic to diſcharge. Sylla, therefore, embraced an expedient, rather dictated by neceſſity, and his own private intereſt, than the good of the commonwealth: he diſtributed the lands among the veterans, and accordingly forty-ſeven legions were immediately diſperſed over Italy. Four-

and-twenty military colonies were thus settled: ruinous expedient! It could not be otherwise; for if they were intermixed with the natives of the soil, they changed their habitations to find out their old acquaintance; and if they settled in a body, there was an army ready disciplined for any seditious general who would lead them to the field. These warriors, however, soon grew tired of an inactive life, and thinking it beneath them to earn by the sweat of their brows, what could only cost them a little blood, they soon dissipated their new substance in debaucheries, and, seeing no prospect of repairing their fortunes but by a civil war, they readily and powerfully entered into the designs of Catiline. Augustus, embarrassed in like manner, followed the same plan, and was justly apprehensive of the same fatal consequences. Still smoked in Italy the ashes of those fires its expiring liberty had kindled.

*Des feux qu'a rallumé sa liberté mourante.*

The hardy veterans had not acquired possessions but by a bloody war; and the frequent acts of violence they committed plainly showed they still thought themselves at liberty to keep them, sword in hand.

The design of Virgil.

XXI. In such circumstances, what could be more conformable to the mild administration of Augustus, than to employ the harmonious lays of his friend, to reconcile these turbulent spirits to their new situation? To this end, therefore, he advised him to compose this work.

*Da facilem cursum atque audacibus adhuc cœptis*
*Ignaroque viæ, mecum miseratus agrestes*
*Ingredere; & votis jam nunc assuesce vocari.*

Above fifty writers on agriculture had nevertheless appeared among the Greeks. The tracts also of Cato and Varro were more certain guides, as well as more circumstantial and exact in their precepts, than could be supposed those of a Poet. But it was more necessary to inspire the soldiers with a taste for a country-life than to instruct them in the rudiments of husbandry. Calculated to this end were his affecting descriptions of the innocent pleasures of the peaceful rustic; of his sports, his domestic ease, his delightful retreats; how different from the frivolous amusements, or the still more frivolous bustle, of the busy world!

We may yet discover, in the composition of this beautiful piece, some of those lively and unexpected strokes, of those artful and happy touches, which evince the talents of Virgil for satire; a species of writing which superior views and a natural goodness of heart prevented him from cultivating. Not one of those veterans could fail of seeing himself in the picture of the aged Corycian; who, inured to arms in his youth, is happy at last in the enjoyment of a solitary retreat, transformed, by his industry, from a wilderness into a paradise of sweets[11].

The poor Italian, weary of a life so full of anxieties, laments with the Poet the unhappiness of the times is concerned for his Prince, borne down by the violence of the veterans.

*Ut cum carceribus sese effudere quadrigæ,*
*Addunt in spatium, & frustra retinacula tendens*
*Fertur equis auriga, neque audit currus habenas.*

and returns to his labor, animated with the hopes of a second age of gold.

Criticism. An idea of it.

XXII. Taken in this light, Virgil is no longer to be considered as a mere writer, describing the business of a rural life; but as another Orpheus, who strikes the lyre only to disarm savages of their ferocity and unite them in the peaceful bonds of society.

His Georgics actually produced this admirable effect. The veterans became insensibly reconciled to a quiet life, and passed without disturbance the thirty years that slipt away before Augustus had established, not without much difficulty, a military fund to pay them in money.

His success.

XXIII. Aristotle, who introduced light amidst the obscurity that clouded the works both of nature and art, was the father of criticism. Time, whose justice, slow yet sure, distinguished at length truth from error, hath demolished the statues of the philosopher, but hath confirmed the decisions of the critic. Destitute of observations, he hath advanced chimeras instead of facts. Formed in the school of Plato, and by the writings of Homer, Sophocles, Euripides and Thucydides, he hath drawn his rules from the nature of things, and a knowledge of the human heart; illustrating them by examples from the greatest models of antiquity.

It is now two thousand years since the days of Aristotle. The critics have since improved their art;

art; they are not, however, as yet agreed concerning the object of their purſuit. Le Clerc, Couſin, Des-Maiſeaux, St. Marthe, have all defined it differently. For my part, I think every one of them too partial or too poſitive. Criticiſm is, in my opinion, the art of forming a judgment of writings and writers; of what they have ſaid; of what they have ſaid well, and what they have ſaid truly [12]. Under the firſt head are comprehended grammar, a knowledge of languages, and manuſcripts; a capacity of diſtinguiſhing ſuppoſed from genuine performances, and of reſtoring the true reading of corrupted paſſages. Under the ſecond, is included the whole theory of elocution and poeſy. The third opens an immenſe field, the inquiry into the circumſtances and truth of facts. Thus the whole generation of critics may be diſtinguiſhed under three kinds, grammarians, rhetoricians and hiſtorians. The excluſive pretenſions of the firſt have not only been prejudicial to their own endeavours, but to thoſe of their whole fraternity.

Materials of criticiſm.

XXIV. All that relates to what men are, or have been; all that creative genius hath invented; that the underſtanding hath conſidered; together with all which induſtry hath collected, are included in the department of criticiſm. A clear head, a fine taſte, acute penetration, are all neceſſary to form a good critic. Follow the man of letters into his ſtudy, you will ſee him ſurrounded by the literary productions of all ages; his library is ſtocked with them; and his mind informed without being overburdened by their peruſal. He looks about him on all ſides; nor is the author, whoſe writings may have the moſt diſtant relation to the ſubject of his thoughts, for-

gotten: he may happen to meet there with some accidental and striking passage, to confirm the discoveries of the critic, or stagger his hypotheses. And here ends the business of the scholar. The superficial reader looks no farther, but admires the reading and memory of the commentator; who is not less the dupe of the encomnium, and mistakes the materials of building for the edifice itself.

The task of a critic.

XXV. But the true critic is sensible his task is only begun. He deliberates, compares, hesitates, and decides. Impartial as exact, he submits only to reason, or to authority", which is reason with regard to facts. The most respectable names yield sometimes to the testimony of writers, who owe all their weight to momentary circumstances. The true critic, ready and fertile in resources, but void of false refinement, scruples not to sacrifice the most brilliant, the most specious hypotheses to truth, nor presumes to talk to his masters in the language of mere conjecture. A professed advocate for the truth, he seeks that kind of proof his subject admits of, and is satisfied. He employs not the desperate scythe of analysis, in gathering those delicate flowers that shrink and fade at the least ungentle touch. At the same time, as little content with insipid admiration, he searches into the most secret emotions of the human heart, to discover the causes of his pleasure or disgust. Diffident and sensible, he deals not out conjectures as truths, reasonings for facts, or probabilities for demonstrations.

Criticism good logic.

XXVI. Geometry has been called a good species of logic, which has been thought also a great encomium on that science: as it is certainly more noble

to display and improve the faculties of the human mind than to trace the limits of the material universe. But has not criticism also the same pretensions to logic? It has more: Geometry is employed only in demonstrations peculiar to itself: criticism deliberates between the different degrees of probability. It is by comparing these we daily regulate our actions, and often determine our future destiny". Let us examine here some critical probabilities.

Controversy on the Roman History.

XXVII. The present age, which imagines itself destined to introduce change into every thing, has adopted a historical scepticism, as dangerous as it may be useful. M. de Pouilly, a sprightly and superficial genius, who generally quoted more than he read, was dubious concerning the certainty of the five first ages of Rome"; but, little adapted for such kind of researches he readily gave up the point to the erudition and criticism of M. Freret and the Abbé Sallier. M. de Beaufort revived this controversy; and the Roman history has suffered not a little from the attacks of a writer, who not only knew to doubt, but to determine.

Of a treaty between Rome and Carthage.

XXVIII. A treaty, concluded between the Romans and Carthaginians, became, in the hands of this author, a most powerful objection. This treaty is found in Polybius a historian as accurate as sensible. The original was in his time at Rome. And yet this authentic monument contradicted all the historians. It appeared by this, that L. Brutus and M. Horatius were consuls at that time; although Horatius was not invested with the consulship till after the death of Brutus. Again, a people are therein called Roman subjects, who were at that time only allies, and we hear of the

marine of a nation that began to construct ships only in the time of the first Punic war; two hundred and fifty years after the consulship of Brutus. What mortifying conclusions might not be drawn from these contradictions! How greatly to the disadvantage of the historians!

This treaty cleared up.

XXIX. This objection of Mr. de Beaufort greatly embarrassed his adversaries. They suspected the authenticity of the pretended original. They even altered its date. Let us see, if by a probable explanation, we cannot reconcile this monument with the historians. To do this we shall begin by separating the date from the body of the treaty. The former agrees with the time of Brutus: the latter resembles the manner of Polybius, or that of his Roman antiquaries. But the names of their consuls were never inserted in their solemn treaties, in the *fœdera* consecrated by all the ceremonies of their religion. The ministers of that religion, the *feciales*, only signed them: and in this consisted the distinction between the *fœdera* and the *sponsiones*. The account of this circumstance, for which we are indebted to Livy, obviates the difficulty. The antiquaries mistook the *feciales* for the consuls; and, without thinking of the mistake, as nothing obliged them to be precise in their explanation of their public monuments, they distinguished the year, of the expulsion of their kings, by the celebrated names of the author of their liberty, and the founder of the capitol. It little concerned them, whether they were consuls at the same time, or not.

Of the Roman subjects.

XXX. The people of Ardea, Antium and Terracina, were not then subjects of Rome; at least, if they were, historians have given us very false ideas

of the extent of that republic. Let us imagine ourselves existing in the time of Brutus; and we shall deduce, from the politics of the Romans, a definition of the term Ally, very different from what we should lay down at present. Rome, although the last colony of the Latins, begun very early to form the project of subjecting the whole nation to its laws. Its discipline and police, its heroes, its victories, soon manifested its incontestible superiority. The Romans, not less politic than bold, made use of this superiority with a discretion worthy of their good fortune. They knew well that cities hardly subjected would stop the progress of their arms, would waste the treasures, and corrupt the manners of the republic. Under the more specious name, therefore, of allies, they reconciled the vanquished to the yoke of submission; while the latter consented with pleasure to acknowledge Rome as the capital of the Latin nation, and to furnish it with a quota of troops in its wars. The republic, in return, afforded them only bare protection, the mark of that sovereignty which cost its vassals so dear. These people were indeed denominated allies to Rome; but they soon found themselves no better than her slaves.

XXXI. This explication, it may be said, diminishes the difficulty, but does not remove it. Υπηκοοι, the word Polybius in this place makes use of, taken in its proper sense, signifies a subject. I will not dispute it. But it must be observed, we have only a translation of this treaty; and though we should conditionally admit the copies to be depended on, as to the main substance and tenor of it, their expres-

sions ought not to be strictly taken according to the letter. The association of our ideas is so extremely arbitrary, their various shades so indistinct, and languages so different and changeable, that the most able translator may long look for equivalent expressions, and find at last none but what are barely similar. The language of this treaty was antique. Polybius trusted to the Roman antiquaries; whose vanity was apt to magnify their subject. *Fœderati*, said they, does not directly signify allies, as of people upon an equal footing, let us render it therefore by the word subjects.

Their marine. XXXII. Again, the Roman marine is an object of no little embarrassment to the critics. Polybius himself however assures us, that the fleet of Duillius was their first essay of this kind. Polybius therefore must be in one case or the other mistaken, since he contradicts himself; which is all the conclusion I shall draw from the matter. But even admitting the truth of his relation, the Roman history does not therefore fall to the ground. The following hypothesis affords a probable solution of this paradox; and that is as much as can be reasonably expected of an hypothesis. Tarquin oppressed both his subjects and the army. He seized, and appropriated to himself, their plunder; which gave them a disgust to military expeditions. They fitted out, therefore, small sloops, and went to cruize at sea. The infant republic protected them, but, by this treaty, laid a restraint on their depredations. The continual wars, in which it was afterwards engaged, and wherein the land-forces were well paid, made this marine neglected; and, in an

age or two; it was even forgotten that it had ever existed [*]. Polybius may have only spoken in too indistinct and general terms.

XXXIII. It may be further remarked, that this first marine of the Romans could be composed only of vessels of no more than fifty oars. Galen and Hiero constructed much larger ships. The Greeks and Carthaginians followed the example; and in the first Punic war the Romans fitted out vessels of three or four tier of oars, a circumstance that astonishes the antiquaries and mechanics to this day. So different an armament was sufficient to make them forget their former rude essays [*].

XXXIV. I have with pleasure undertaken the defence of an useful and interesting history. My principal view, however, is to show by these reflections, the nicety of critical discussions, in which, the business is not to produce demonstration, but to make a comparison between opposite probabilities; as also to show how little confidence ought to be placed in the most specious and dazzling systems, since there are so few that can bear a free and attentive examination. Reflections on this dispute.

XXXV. A further consideration involves criticism in a new difficulty. There are some sciences which are purely theoretical: their principles consisting only of speculative truths, and not of practical maxims. It is more easy barely to comprehend a proposition, than to render it familiar to one's thoughts, to apply it with propriety, to make use of it as a guide to our studies, or as a light to show us the way to new discoveries. Criticism, though practical, not to be acquired by rote.

The art of criticism is not to be acquired by rote or practice. Its elements are just, but of themselves dry and fruitless. The writer who knows these only is equally mistaken, whether he determines to follow, or ventures to forsake them. A great genius, fertile of invention, master of critical rules, and at the same time, of the reasons on which those rules are founded, will often appear to hold them very cheap. New and enterprising in his attempts, he will seem to have thrown off their restraint: but follow him to the end, and you will always find him an admirer, though not an implicit one, of those rules; and that he always makes them the basis of his investigations and discoveries. Would the sciences were all *legum non hominum respublica*, such would be the wish of a learned and wise nation. The accomplishment of that wish would also constitute its felicity: but it is too well known that the happiness of a people, and the glory of those who instruct, or govern them, are different, and sometimes contrary, objects. Our literary champions apply themselves only to studies resembling the spear of Achilles, adapted to the arm and strength of heroes. Shall we try a little how we can manage it?

XXXVI. A legislator in criticism has pronounced, that the Poet should ever represent his heroes such as we find them in history.

*Aut famam sequere aut sibi convenientia finge*
*Scriptor; Homereum si forte reponis Achillen.*
*Impiger, iracundus, inexorabilis, acer,*
*Jura neget sibi nata, nihil non arrogat armis, &c.*

Shall we then reduce the Poet to the ſituation of a frigid annaliſt? Shall we deprive him of that grand reſource, invention, of the power of contraſting his characters, and of placing them in thoſe critical and unexpected ſituations, in which we admire the hero, or tremble for the man? Or ſhall we not rather, attached to beauties more than rules, be more ready to pardon a writer's anachroniſms than his dulneſs.

XXXVII. To charm, to move, to elevate the ſoul, are the great objects of Poetry. Its particular laws, therefore, ſhould never make us forget they were framed to aid, and not embarraſs, the efforts of genius. We have ſeen Philoſophy ſo environed with demonſtrations, as hardly to admit the moſt obvious of received opinions: theſe, however, are the peculiar province of Poetry. We are pleaſed at taking a review of the heroes and events of antiquity: when they are traveſtied in the repreſentation, we are ſtruck with ſurpriſe; but it is a ſurpriſe that revolts againſt the innovation. If a writer has a mind to riſque any thing new, he ſhould reflect whether the beauties of the alteration, or novelty, be ſtriking or trivial; whether they will compenſate for that violation of the rules, which they only can juſtify.

The anachroniſms of Ovid greatly diſpleaſe us"; as truth is violated without embelliſhment. How different is that of Virgil, reſpecting Mezentius, who dies by the hand of Aſcanius. But what reader can be ſo cold and inſenſible, as to attend a moment to this circumſtance, when he ſees Æneas, the miniſter of divine vengeance, become the protector of oppreſſed nations, dart the thunder of his rage on

the head of the guilty tyrant, but melt with pity over the unfortunate victim of his resentment, the youthful and pious Lausus, worthy another father and a better fate? Had the Poet been confined to historical truth, how many beauties had he not lost! Encouraged by this success, however, he wanders from it when he should have pursued it. Æneas arrives at the long-wished-for shores of Italy; the Latins run together to defend their habitations, and every thing denounces a dreadful and bloody combat.

*Déjà de traits en l'air s'élevoit un nuage;*
*Déjà couloit le sang, prémices du carnage.*

At hearing the name of Æneas, however, his enemies threw down their arms. They were afraid to encounter a warrior, whose glory took its rise from the ashes of his country. They ran, with open arms, to embrace a Prince, whose coming the oracles had foretold; who brought with him from Asia, his gods, a race of heroes, and a promise of universal empire. Latinus offered him an asylum, and his daughter. What a subject this for the drama! How worthy the majesty of the Epopeia and the pen of Virgil! Let any one, who will venture, compare this with the embassy of Ilioneus, the description of the palace of Latinus, and the discourse of that Monarch.

Explanations and restrictions.

XXXVIII. The poet, I say again, may safely venture to depart from truth, provided the reader finds in his fiction, the same pleasure which truth and consistency would give him. Not that it is

permitted to subvert the annals of an age for the sake of introducing an antithesis. Nor will this rule, I am persuaded, be thought severe upon the rights of invention, if we reflect that all mankind are possessed of some degree of sensibility; but that knowledge is the portion only of a few. It is to be observed also, that beauty of sentiment operates more powerfully on the soul, than that of truth on the understanding. The writer, however, should always remember, that there are some liberties which must not be taken. Not even the sublime imagination of a Milton, joined to the harmonious versification of a Voltaire, could ever reconcile the reader to a cowardly Cæsar, a virtuous Catiline, or Henry the IVth subduing the Romans. In forming a just association of ideas, the characters of great men should doubtless be held sacred; but Poets, in writing their history, may be indulged in giving it us, rather as it ought to have been, than as it actually was. Pure invention is less disgusting than essential alterations, because the latter seems to infer error, and the former only simple ignorance. It is, besides, much easier to reconcile times than places.

Great indulgence ought certainly to be given to the ancients, whose chronology depended, in a great measure, on the Poets, who modelled it almost as they pleased. Whoever condemns the episode of Dido, must have more philosophy or less taste than I have [7].

XXXIX. The farther we advance in the sciences, the more we are convinced of their intimate connection. Their prospect resembles that of a thick and

extenſive foreſt. At firſt view, the trees, of which it is compoſed, appear ſeparate and diſtinct; but pierce the ſurface of the ſoil, and their roots are all intermixed and connected.

There is no ſtudy, even the moſt contemptible, and leaſt cultivated, that doth not ſometimes fall upon facts, ſtrike out lights, or raiſe objections cloſely connected with the moſt ſublime and diſtant branches of ſcience. It is pleaſing to dwell on this conſideration. Different people and profeſſions ought to be made acquainted with their reciprocal wants. Diſplay to an Engliſhman the advantages of a Frenchman; repreſent to a naturaliſt the benefits of literature, by theſe means philoſophy extends itſelf, humanity is a gainer; men heretofore rivals become brothers.

The connection between phyſics and literature.

XL. In all the ſciences we depend on reaſonings and facts. Without the latter, the objects of our ſtudy would be chimerical; and, without the former, our moſt ſcientific acquirements would be implicit and irrational. Thus it is, the Belles-Lettres are miſcellaneous: and thus every branch of natural philoſophy, the ſtudy of which, under an apparent meanneſs, often hides its real importance, is equally ſo. If Phyſics hath its buffoons, it hath alſo (to ſpeak the language of the times) its *erudits*, its pedants. The knowledge of antiquity preſents both to the one and the other, a plentiful harveſt of facts, proper to diſplay the ſecrets of nature, or at leaſt to prevent thoſe, who make them their ſtudy, from embracing a cloud inſtead of a Goddeſs. What information may not a phyſician draw from the deſcription of the

plague that depopulated Athens? I can admire with him the majesty and force of Thucydides, the art and energy of Lucretius; but he goes farther, and learns from the miseries of the Athenians to alleviate those of his countrymen.

I know the ancients applied themselves but little to the study of nature; that destitute of instruments, and single in their experiments, they were able to collect only a small number of observations, mixed with uncertainty, diminished by the injuries of time, and scattered up and down at random, through a number of volumes[76]: But should their scarcity induce us to neglect them? The activity of the human mind is usually increased by difficulties; and strange would it be if relaxation and negligence should be the offspring of necessity.

The advantages of the ancients. The representations on their amphitheatre.

XLI. The most zealous advocates for the moderns, I think, don't deny the superior advantages which the ancients in some respects possessed. I shudder at the recollection of the bloody spectacles of the Romans; those savage combats of wild beasts, which Cicero so much despised and detested[77]. Solitude and silence were by him preferred to these masterpieces of magnificence, horror, and wretchedness of taste. In fact, to take delight in blood-shed is only worthy a herd of savages.

The construction of palaces, in which to exhibit the combats of wild beasts, could be thought of only among a people, who preferred the decorations and machinery of a theatre, to the finest verses and the most exquisite beauties of the drama. But such were the Romans: their virtues, their vices, and

even their most ridiculous amusements were connected with their ruling passion, the love of their country.

Those spectacles, nevertheless, so shocking in the eye of the Philosopher, so frivolous in that of a man of taste, ought to be valued by the naturalist. Let us imagine the whole world ransacked to furnish subjects for these diversions; the treasures of the Rich, the influence of the Great, all employed to find out creatures remarkable for their figure, strength, or rarity; to bring them into the amphitheatre at Rome, and there to make a display of the whole animal. This must certainly be an admirable school, particularly for the study of that noblest branch of natural history, which applies itself rather to the nature and properties of animals, than to the minute description of their bones and muscles. We must not forget that Pliny frequented this school, nor that ignorance hath two daughters, incredulity and implicit faith. Let us be equally cautious to defend ourselves against the one and the other.

The countries in which the ancient physicians studied nature.

XLII. If we leave this theatre to enter on a more extensive one, and inquire what countries were open to the researches of the ancient naturalists, we shall find they had in this respect no reason to complain.

Navigation, indeed, hath since discovered to us another hemisphere; but the discoveries of the seaman, and the voyages of the merchant, do not always improve the world so much as they enrich it. The limits of the known world are more confined than the material one, while those of the enlightened world are still more narrow and contracted. From the

times of its Plinys and Ptolemys, Europe has been, as at this day, the ſeat of the ſciences: but Greece, Aſia, Syria, Ægypt, Africa, countries fruitful in the wonders of nature, then abounded with Philoſophers worthy to regard them. All that vaſt body of men were united by peace, by the laws, and by a common language. The African and the Briton, the Spaniard and the Arabian, met together at the capital, and mutually inſtructed each other. Thirty perſons of the firſt rank in Rome, often men of ſcience themſelves, but always accompanied by ſuch as were, ſet out every year from that metropolis, to govern the ſeveral provinces; and, if they had any curioſity at all, authority was always at hand, to facilitate the operations of ſcience.

XLIII. It was, doubtleſs, from his father-in-law Agricola, that Tacitus learnt that the ſea, overflowing the iſland of Britain, had rendered it a country of bogs and marſhes. Herodian confirms the fact. And yet at preſent, the land of this iſland, except in ſome few places, is ſufficiently high and dry. May not we place this circumſtance among thoſe, which ſerve to confirm the ſyſtem of the diminution of fluids? Or is it in the power of art to deliver the land from its ſubjection to the ſea? The ſituation of the moraſs of Pomptina " and ſome others, gives us but indifferent ideas of that of the ancients in this particular. Be this as it will, content with having furniſhed the materials, I leave the uſe of them to the naturaliſts. It is not from the ancients that we learn to ſkim the ſuperficies of things, to examine nothing to the bottom, and to ſpeak with moſt confidence on thoſe ſubjects we underſtand the leaſt.

Of the inundation of Great-Britain by the ſea.

Of a genius for Philosophy.

XLIV. "Next to the talent of discernment, the "rarest thing in the world, (says the judicious "Bruyere) we may prize pearls and diamonds." I will not scruple to place the talent for philosophizing above that of discernment. There is nothing in the world more talked of, less known, or more rare. There is not a writer of them all who does not aspire to it, or would not readily give up his pretensions to science, to make good his claim to this. Press him ever so little, and he will admit that a nice judgment must embarrass the operations of genius: but he will, notwithstanding, constantly assure you that the philosophical spirit, which breathes throughout his writings, is characteristical of the present age. The philosophical turn and talents of a few great men, have, according to him, formed the genius of the age. This influence has extended itself over all the different ranks in the state, and has trained up scholars worthy of such eminent masters.

Pretensions to this talent.

What it is not.

XLV. If we take a survey, however, of the works of our Philosophers, their diversity will leave us in great doubt concerning the nature of this talent; and this may not unreasonably lead us to doubt also, whether it has fallen to their lot. With some it consists in a humor for striking out into some new path, and for exploding every established opinion, whether that of a Socrates, or a Spanish inquisitor, for no other reason than because it is established. With others again, it is the same thing as a talent for Geometry, that haughty and imperious science, which, not content with absolute sovereignty itself, hath proscribed its sister-sciences, and pronounces all reasoning unworthy

unworthy that name, whose object is not confined to lines and figures. Let us do justice, however, to that enterprising spirit, whose errors have sometimes led the way to truth, and whose very extravagancies, like the rebellion of a people, have inspired a salutary indignation against arbitrary power. Let us acknowledge every thing we owe to the mathematics: but let us at present attend to the genius of philosophy, an object more judicious than the former, and less confined than the latter.

What it is.

XLVI. Those who are intimately acquainted with the writings of Cicero, Tacitus, Bacon, Leibnitz, Bayle, Fontenelle, and Montesquieu, will be able to form a more just and adequate idea of this talent than what I shall attempt to describe.

A philosophical genius consists in the capacity of recurring to the most simple ideas; in discovering and combining the first principles of things. The possessor of this distinguishing faculty has a view as piercing as extensive. Situated on an eminence, he takes in a wide extensive field, of which he forms a precise and exact idea; while a genius of an inferior cast, though what he sees he distinguishes with equal precision, is more contracted in his views, and discovers only a part of the whole. A philosopher may be a mathematician, a musician, an antiquary; but in every thing he is still the philosopher; and, in consequence of his abilities, to comprehend the first principles of his art, he rises superior to every other artist. Placed among that small number of geniuses, formed for so arduous a task, he labors to compleat that elementary science, to which, if once brought

to perfection, every other must submit. Taken in this sense, a philosophical genius is very uncommon. There are many men capable of forming particular Ideas with precision; but there are few who can comprehend, in one abstract idea, a numerous association of others, less general.

The assistance it may gain from literature.

XLVII. Will it be asked, What study can form such a genius? I know of none. It is the gift of heaven, which the greater part of mankind are ignorant of, or despise; it is the wish of the wise; some have received, but not one has acquired, it: I conceive, however, that the Study of Literature, the habit of becoming by turns, a Greek, a Roman, the disciple of Zeno and of Epicurus, is extremely proper to exercise its powers and display its merit. It is remarkable, that, throughout that infinite diversity of geniuses, there is a general conformity of sentiment between those whom their age, country and religion have led to take a view of the same objects, in nearly the same manner. We see that minds, the most exempt from prejudice, cannot altogether shake it off. Their ideas have an air of paradox; and we perceive even by their broken chains, that they have worn them. It is among the Greeks that I look for the abettors of democracy; among the Romans, the enthusiasts to the love of their country; among the subjects of Commodus, Severus and Caracalla, for the apologists for arbitrary power; and among the ancient followers of Epicurus, the enemies of the religion of their country **. What a retrospect is it to a genius truly philosophical, to see the most absurd opinions received among the most enlightened

people; to see barbarians, on the other hand, arrive at the knowlege of the most sublime truths; to find true consequences falsely deduced from the most erroneous principles; admirable principles, bordering on the verge of truth, without ever conducting thither: languages formed on ideas, and yet those ideas corrected by such languages; the springs of morality uniuersally the same; the opinions of contentious metaphysics universally varied, and generally extravagant, accurate only while superficial, but subtile, obscure and uncertain whenever they were profound! A philosophical work written by an Iroquois, though full of absurdities, would be to us an inestimable performance. It would present us with a singular instance of the nature of the human mind, placed in circumstances we have never experienced, and influenced by customs and religious opinions totally different from ours. Sometimes it would surprise and instruct us, by the contrariety of ideas, that would thence necessarily arise; we should be led to inquire into the reasons, and trace the mind from error to error: Sometimes, again, we should see our own principles, but deduced by different means, and almost always peculiarly modified and altered. We should hence learn, not only to acknowledge, but to feel the force of prejudice; we should learn never to be surprised at apparent absurdity, and often to suspect the truth of what might appear to want no confirmation.

I must own, I like to see the reasonings of mankind take a tincture from their prejudices; to take a view of such as are afraid to deduce, even from principles

they acknowledge to be juſt, concluſions which they know to be logically exact. I like to detect thoſe who deteſt in a barbarian what they admire in a Greek, and who would call the ſame hiſtory impious if written by a heathen, and ſacred if penned by a Jew.

Without a philoſophical knowledge of antiquity, we ſhould be induced to do too much honor to human-kind. The influence of cuſtom would be little known. We ſhould every moment be apt to confound the incredible and the abſurd. The Romans were an enlightened people; and yet theſe very Romans were not ſhocked at ſeeing united, in the perſon of Cæſar, a God, a prieſt, and an atheiſt [87]. He ſaw temples erected, to his clemency, and received, with Romulus, the adoration of the people. In the ſacred feſtivals, his ſtatue was placed by the ſide of that Jupiter, whom the next inſtant he himſelf was going to invoke [90]. After all which, tired with ſuch idle pomp, he uſed to ſend for Panſa and Trebatius, to laugh with him at the credulity of the vulgar, and at thoſe deities which were the effect and objects of their fear [91].

History is the ſcience of cauſes and effects.

XLVIII. Hiſtory is, to a philoſophical genius, what play was to the Marquis Dangeau. He ſaw a ſyſtem, regularity and connexion, where others only perceived the wanton caprices of chance. The knowledge of hiſtory is to the philoſopher that of cauſes and effects. It deſerves, therefore, that I ſhould endeavour to lay down ſome rules, not to enable genius to proceed, but to prevent its wandering from the right path. Perhaps, if things had been

always duly considered, subtlety had not been so often mistaken for ingenuity, obscurity for profundity, or a turn for paradox been misconceived to be the index of a creative genius.

XLIX. Among a multitude of historical facts, there are some, and those by much the majority, which prove nothing more than that they are facts. There are others which may be useful in drawing a partial conclusion, whereby the philosopher may be enabled to judge of the motives of an action, or some peculiar features in a character: these relate only to single links of the chain. Those whose influence extends throughout the whole system, and which are so intimately connected as to have given motion to the springs of action, are very rare; and what is still more rarely to be met with is, a genius who knows how to distinguish them, amidst the vast chaos of events wherein they are jumbled, and deduce them, pure and unmixt, from the rest. Rules for the choice of facts.

It will appear unnecessary to observe to those, whose judgment is superior to their erudition, that causes ought always to be proportioned to their effects; that it is wrong to trace the character of an age, from the conduct of an individual; or to estimate from a single effort, often forced and destructive, the strength and riches of a state. It will be needless to put such in mind, that, it is only by collecting and comparing facts any judgment is to be deduced from them; that a signal action may sometimes dazzle like a flash of lightning, but that we shall be able to gather little from it, unless we compare it with others of the same kind. The Romans, in making

choice of Cato, ſhowed they liked better to be corrected than flattered; and this they did in the ſame age in which they condemned the like manly ſeverity in the perſon of Livius Salinator.

Trivial facts, of conſequence.

L. It is ſafer to yield to facts, that of themſelves unite to form a ſyſtem, than to ſuch as one may diſcover in conſequence of a pre-conceived hypotheſis. Slight circumſtances are alſo often more worthy notice than the moſt brilliant actions; it being exactly the ſame thing with an age, or a nation, as with the individual. Alexander diſplays his character more in the tent of Darius than in the field of battle. I diſcover as much the ferocity of the Roman people in their condemnation of an unhappy criminal, to be torn to pieces in the amphitheatre, as in their ſtrangling a captive King before the capitol. There is no preparatory diſguiſe to trivial actions. We undreſs only when we imagine we are not ſeen; but the curious will endeavour to penetrate the moſt ſecret retirement. Should I undertake to determine, whether virtue prevailed in the character of a certain age, or people, I ſhould examine into their actions rather than their diſcourſe. In order to condemn them as vicious, I ſhould attend rather to their words than their actions. Virtue is praiſed without being known; known without being felt; and felt without being practiſed; but the caſe is different with vice. We are led to vice by our paſſions, and defend it by ſubtlety of reaſoning. There are beſides bad men in all ages and countries: but, if the depravation be not too general, even theſe will ſhow ſome reſpect to the times. If the age itſelf is vicious, (and they are apt

The difference between virtue and vice.

enough to discern this) they hold it in contempt, show themselves openly what they are, and laugh at penalties, which they flatter themselves will fall but lightly. In this also they are never deceived. The man who, in the time of Cato, had detested vice, would have contented himself with the simple admiration of virtue in that of Tiberius.

LI. I have made choice of this age with design. Vice had then arrived at its highest pitch. This I learn from the court of Tiberius itself; but there is a small circumstance related by Suetonius and Tacitus, which gives me a still greater assurance of it. It is this. The virtue of the Romans punished the inconstancy of their wives with death [96]. Their policy permitted the debaucheries of their courtesans [97]; and, in order even to regulate their irregularities, formed them into a licensed body. Now it appears, that under Tiberius, a great number of women of distinction did not blush to make public application to the Ediles, to get themselves enrolled among the number of privileged curtesans; and thus, though to their own infamy, broke through that barrier which the laws opposed to their prostitution.

The age of Tiberius the most vicious of antiquity.

LII. To select those facts, which ought to form the principles of our reasonings, is a task whose extreme difficulty is easy to be perceived. The negligence or bad taste of a historian may probably have occasioned us to lose for ever a choice circumstance, for the sake of stunning our ears with the noise of a battle. If philosophers are not always historians, it were at least to be wished that all historians were philosophers.

A parallel between Tacitus and Livy.

Tacitus is the only writer I know that comes up to my idea of such a philosophical historian. Even the interesting Livy himself cannot, in this sense, be compared to him. Both indeed have soared far above those ignorant compilers, who see nothing in facts but the circumstances of which they are composed: but the one has written history as a rhetorician, and the other as a philosopher. Not that either Tacitus was ignorant of the language of the passions, or Livy of that of reason; but the latter, more earnest to please than instruct, conducts us step by step in the retinue of his heroes, and makes us alternately experience the effects of horror, pity, and admiration. Tacitus employs the force of rhetoric only to display the connexion between the links that form the chain of historical events, and to instruct the reader by sensible and profound reflections. It is true, I climb the Alps with Hannibal; but I deliberate in the council of Tiberius. Livy describes to me the abuse of power; a severity that nature shudders at while it approves; the spirit of resentment and patriotism, which constitute that of liberty, and the tyranny which fell before their united efforts: but the laws of the decemvirs, their character, their failings, their conformity to the genius of the Roman people, to their own party, to their ambitious designs; all these he has entirely forgotten. I do not find it accounted for in him, why the laws, made for the use of a small, poor, and half-civilized republic, should overturn it when the force of their institution had carried it to the highest pitch of greatness. This I should have found in Tacitus; I think so, not only

from the known bent of his genius, but from that ſtriking and diverſified picture he has given of the laws, thoſe children of corruption, of liberty, of equity, and of faction.

Remarks on an obſervation of Mr. d'Alembert.

LIII. An eminent writer, who, like Fontenelle, has united erudition and taſte, gives us a piece of advice, which I would by no means have followed. At the cloſe of every century he would have the facts collected, a choice made of a few, and the reſt committed to the flames. I enter my proteſt, however, without fear of incurring the contemptible name of a mere ſcholar, againſt the ſentence of this enlightened, but ſevere judge. No, let us carefully preſerve every hiſtorical fact. A Monteſquieu may diſcover, in the moſt trivial, connexions unknown to the vulgar. Let us in this imitate the botaniſts. Every plant is not uſeful in medicine; they proceed, nevertheleſs, in their ſearch after new ones, in hopes that ſome happy genius or experiment may diſcover properties in them hitherto concealed.

Mankind are either too ſyſtematical or too capricious.

LIV. Uncertainty is a ſtate of conſtraint. A contracted mind cannot fix itſelf in that exact equilibrium affected by the ſchool of Pyrrho. A bright genius is often dazzled by its own conjecture; and ſacrifices its liberty to hypotheſes. It is this diſpoſition that is productive of ſyſtems. Deſign has been often obſerved to govern the actions of a great man; a ruling principle has been perceived in his character; hence theoretical minds have conceived the notion, that mankind in general are as ſyſtematical in practice as in ſpeculation. They have pretended to diſcover art in our paſſions, policy in our foibles, diſſimulation

in our caprices; in a word, by their endeavours to enhance the merit of the underſtanding, they have done little honor to the heart.

Juſtly diſguſted at ſuch exceſſive refinement, and diſpleaſed to ſee thoſe pretenſions extended to mankind in general which ſhould be confined to a Philip or a Cæſar, others of a more natural turn have run into the other extreme. Theſe have entirely baniſhed art from the moral world, in order to ſubſtitute accident in its room. According to them, weak mortals act altogether from caprice: the phrenzy of a madman raiſes up the pillars of an empire, and the weakneſs of a woman throws them down.

Of general and determinate cauſes.

LV. The ſtudy of general and determinate cauſes ſhould be agreeable to both parties; as in this the one would, with pleaſure, ſee the pride of man humbled; the motives of his actions unknown to himſelf; a puppet moved by foreign wires; and from particular liberty would ſee the origin of general neceſſity. The others alſo, would find in the ſtudy of general cauſes, that connexion they ſo much admire, and ample room for indulging thoſe ſpeculations for which their genius is turned.

What a wide field opens itſelf to my reflection! The theory of general cauſes would, in the hands of a Monteſquieu, become a philoſophical hiſtory of man. He would diſplay theſe cauſes operating in the riſe and fall of empires; ſucceſſively aſſuming the appearance of accident, of prudence, of courage, and of cowardice; acting without the concurrence of particular cauſes, and ſometimes directly againſt them. Superior to a fondneſs for his own ſyſtems,

that meaneſt paſſion in a philoſopher, he would diſcover that, notwithſtanding the extenſive influence of thoſe cauſes, its effect muſt neceſſarily be confined, and that it would principally diſplay itſelf in general events; in ſuch whoſe ſlow, but certain, operation works imperceptibly a change on the face of things, particularly on religion, on manners, and indeed every thing that depends on opinion. Such would in part be the leſſon ſuch a philoſopher would give on the ſubject. As to myſelf, I only lay hold of it as an occaſion juſt to exerciſe my thoughts. To this end, I ſhall point out ſome intereſting facts, and endeavour to account for them.

The ſyſtem of Paganiſm.

LVI. We are not ignorant of the pleaſant and abſurd ſyſtem of Paganiſm, according to which the univerſe is peopled with whimſical beings, whoſe ſuperior power only ſerves to make them more unjuſt and ridiculous than ourſelves. What could be the nature and origin of theſe Deities? Were they Princes, founders of ſocieties, or inventors of the arts? Did ingenuous gratitude, implicit admiration, or an intereſted homage place thoſe great men in heaven when dead, who, while they lived, were eſteemed as the benefactors of mankind on earth? Or may we not diſcover in thoſe Divinities, ſo many different parts of the univerſe, to whom the ignorance of primitive ages attributed life and ſentiment? This queſtion is worth our attention; and, curious as it is, is no leſs difficult to reſolve.

The difficulty of coming to the knowledge of a religion

LVI. We have no other method of coming at the knowledge of the heathen ſyſtem, than by means of their Poets [102] and Prieſts, both greatly addicted to

fiction. The enemies of a religion never arrive at a juſt knowledge of it, becauſe they hate it; and often hate it for that very reaſon, becauſe they are ignorant of it. They eagerly adopt the moſt atrocious calumnies thrown out againſt it. They impute to their adverſaries even dogmas they deteſt, and draw conſequences which the accuſed never once thought of. On the other hand, the profeſſors of a religion, full of that implicit faith, which makes a crime of doubt, often ſacrifice both their reaſon and virtue in its defence. To invent prophecies and miracles, to palliate thoſe they cannot defend, to allegorize thoſe they cannot palliate, and to deny ſtoutly thoſe they cannot allegorize, are means which devotees have never bluſhed to employ. Call to mind the Chriſtians and the Jews; and ſee what their enemies the magicians and idolaters have had to ſay againſt them, againſt thoſe whoſe worſhip was as pure, as their manners irreproachable. Never was there a true Muſſulman who heſitated about the unity of God; and yet how often have our good anceſtors accuſed the Mahometans of worſhipping the ſtars? Nay, even in the centre of theſe religions, have ſtarted up a hundred different ſectaries, who, accuſing each other of having corrupted the common articles of their faith, have excited the mob to zeal and fury, and the diſcerning few to moderation. Theſe were, notwithſtanding, a civilized people, and had books which, acknowledged to be written by the inſpiration of Divinity, ſettled the principles of their faith. But how were theſe principles to be diſcovered, amidſt a confuſed heap of fables, which a ſingle, contra-

dictory and diversified tradition had taught a few clans of savages in Greece.

LVII. Reason is here of little use. It is absurd to consecrate temples to those whose tombs are before our eyes. But what is too absurd for mankind? Don't we know that there are very enlightened people who appeal to the evidence of sense as a proof of the truth of their religion, while at the same time one of their principal dogmas is directly contradictory to that evidence? If the gods of Paganism, however, had been men, the reciprocal homage their worshippers had paid them had been something reasonable; and a toleration something reasonable is not generally the fault of the multitude. Reason of little use.

LVIII. Cresus sent to consult the oracle at Delphos, and Alexander traversed the burning sands of Lybia, to know of Jupiter Ammon if he was not his son. But had this Grecian Jupiter, this King of Crete, become possessed of the thunder, would he not have let it loose to crush that Ammon, that Lybian, that new Salmoneus, who endeavoured to wrest it from him? If two rivals dispute the empire of the world, is it possible to acknowledge both at once? If indeed they were no otherwise distinguished than as the æther, and the heavens, the same Divinity, the Greek and the African might describe it by these symbols, which their manners, and by those terms which their different languages, should furnish them with to express its attributes. But we have nothing to do with speculative argumentation; we are to inquire only of facts. Cresus sent to consult the oracle at Delphos.

LXIX. The Greeks, but wretched inhabitants of The religion of the Greeks was of Ægyptian origin.

the foreſt, proud as they were, were obliged for every thing to ſtrangers. The Phenicians taught them the uſe of letters; for their arts, for their laws, for every thing that raiſes man above the brute, they were indebted to the Ægyptians. The latter brought over their religion, and the Greeks, in adopting it, paid that tribute which ignorance owes to wiſdom. Their ancient prejudices made only a formal reſiſtance, and gave up the point without difficulty, after hearing the ſenſe of the oracle of Dodona, who determined in favor of the new religion. Such is the relation of Herodotus, who was well acquainted both with Greece and Ægypt, while the age in which he lived, being that interval between the groſſneſs of ignorance and the refinements of philoſophy, renders his teſtimony deciſive.

The Ægyptian religion allegorical.

LX. I ſee already a great part of the Greek legends fall to the ground; of their Apollo, born in the iſland of Delos; and their Jupiter, buried in Crete. If theſe deities were ever upon earth, Ægypt, and not Greece, was their habitation. But if the prieſts of Memphis underſtood their religion ſo well as the Abbé Bannier [111], not Ægypt itſelf gave birth to their gods. The light of reaſon ſhone too clearly through the obſcurity of their metaphyſics, not to enable them to perceive that human beings could never become gods, and that the gods never transformed themſelves into mere men. Myſterious in their tenets as in their worſhip, theſe interpreters of wiſdom and the divinity diſguiſed by a pompous ſtyle, the truths of nature, which an ignorant people had deſpiſed, if delivered to them in their genuine majeſtic ſimpli-

city. The Greeks were ignorant of this religion in many reſpects. They altered it by the introduction of foreign mixtures, but the ground-work remained ſtill the ſame; and that, being Ægyptian, was conſequently allegorical [113].

LXI. The worſhip of heroes, ſo well diſtinguiſhed from that of the gods, in the primitive ages of Greece, proves that their gods were not heroes. The ancients believed, that theſe great men, admitted after their deceaſe to the feaſts of the gods, enjoyed their felicity without participating of their power. Hence they aſſembled about the tombs of their benefactors; celebrated their memory in ſongs of praiſe, and this excited a ſalutary emulation of their virtue; while they imagined the ghoſts of the dead, conjured up from the ſhades, took pleaſure in theſe offerings of their devotion. It is true, that this ſpecies of devotion became inſenſibly a religious worſhip; but it was not till long after, when the identity of theſe heroes became confuſed with that of the ancient deities, whoſe name they bore, or whoſe characters they reſembled. They were conſidered as diſtinct in the days of Homer. Hercules is not one of his divinities. He acknowledges Æſculapius only as an eminent phyſician; and Caſtor and Pollux are with him two deceaſed warriors, buried at Sparta. Of the worſhip of heroes.

LXII. Superſtition, however, had exceeded theſe bounds; the heroes were become gods, and the worſhip paid to them as deities had elevated them above the rank of men, when an interpriſing philoſopher undertook to prove they had been mortals. Ephemerus, the Meſſenian, advanced this para- The ſyſtem of Ephemerus.

doxical opinion [119]. But, instead of appealing to the authentic monuments of Greece and Ægypt, which might have preserved the memory of those celebrated men, he launched forth and lost himself in the ocean. An Utopia, held in derision by the ancients, the rich, the fertile, superstitious isle of Panchia, known to himself only, furnished him with a magnificent temple consecrated to Jupiter, in which was a column of gold, whereon Mercury had engraven the exploits and apotheosis of the heroes of his race [120]. These fables were too gross to pass on the Greeks themselves, bringing the author into general contempt, and getting him stigmatized by the name of atheist.

LXIII. Encouraged, perhaps, by his example, the Cretans next boasted of their being in possession of the tomb of Jupiter, who, after having reigned many years, died in their island. Callimachus appears angry at this fiction, and his scholiast shows on what foundation it was raised. The following words, says he, had been inscribed on a tomb. *The tomb of Minos the son of Jupiter.* But accident or design having erased the words *Minos the son*, it stood thus *The tomb of Jupiter* [125]. The system of Ephemerus, however, notwithstanding the insufficiency of his proofs, by degrees gained ground. Diodorus Siculus searched the world over for traditions of different people to support it. But the Stoics, in their whimsical mixture of pure Theism, Spinosism and popular idolatry, adapted this paganism, for which they were sticklers, to the worship of nature, divided into as many deities as it had different faces. Cicero, whom every thing served for an objection, hardly any thing for a proof,

proof, hardly durſt confront them with the ſyſtem of Ephemerus.

LXIV. It was not till the time of the Emperors, that this ſyſtem grew into vogue. In an age, when a ſervile world beſtowed the title of gods on monſters, unworthy the name of men, it was artfully paying their court to confound the diſtinctions between Jupiter and Domitian. Benefactors to mankind (for ſo the voice of adulation called them) their right to divinity the ſame; their nature and their power were equal. Pliny himſelf, either through policy or contempt, commits the ſame error. It was in vain Plutarch attempted to vindicate the religion of his anceſtors. Ephemerus carried all before him; and the fathers of the church, taking all advantages, attacked paganiſm on its weakeſt ſide. And who can blame them? Say, thoſe pretended divinities were not in fact originally deified mortals, they were now become ſo, at leaſt in the opinion of their worſhippers; and their opinions were all the fathers troubled themſelves about.

Did not prevail till the time of the Emperors.

LXV. Let us go ſtill further, and endeavour to trace a connected ſeries, not of facts, but of notions; to ſound the human heart, and to lay hold of that chain of errors, which, from a ſentiment ſo juſt, ſimple and univerſal as that *there is a power above us*, conducted by degrees to the conception of deities, which a man would bluſh to reſemble.

A concatenation of errors.

Sentiment is only a conſcious appeal to ourſelves. Our ideas relate to objects without us; and by their number and diverſity, enfeeble the ſentiment. It is therefore among uncultivated ſavages, whoſe ideas

The ſentiments of uncivilized men confuſed.

are confined to their wants, and whose wants are simply those of nature, that the force of sentiment should be more keen and lively, although at the same time confused and indistinct. Savage man must be every moment in agitations he can neither explain nor suppress. Ignorant and weak, he is afraid of every thing, because he can defend himself from nothing. He admires every thing because he knows nothing. The despicable opinion he justly entertains of himself (for vanity is the creature of society) makes him perceive the existence of some superior power. It is this power whose attributes he is ignorant of, that he invokes, and of a whom he asks assistance, without knowing what pretensions he may have to hope it will be granted. This sentiment, indistinct as it was, naturally produced the good deities of the primitive Greeks, and the divinities of most of the savage nations; none of whom, however, knew how to ascertain their number, attributes, or worship.

Every thing he sees becomes an object of adoration.

LXVI. This sentiment, in time, is modified into a notion. Savage man pays homage to every thing about him; as every thing seems to him more excellent than himself. The majestic oak, that shelters him with its spreading boughs, had afforded a shade to his ancestors, down from the first of his race. It lifted its head into the clouds, while the towering eagle lost itself in its branches. What was the duration, the size, the strength, of an human creature, compared to such a tree? Gratitude next united itself to admiration. That oak, which afforded him plenty of acorns, the clear stream, at which he

quenched his thirſt, were his benefactors: they made his life comfortable; without them he could not ſubſiſt, while at the ſame time they ſtood in no need of him. In effect, without theſe lights, that enable us to ſee how much reaſon alone is ſuperior to all thoſe neceſſary parts of an intelligent ſyſtem, every one of them is ſuperior to man. But wanting ſuch lights, ſavage man attributes life and power to them all; and proſtrates himſelf before imaginary beings which he hath thus created.

His ideas are ſingular.

LXVII. The ideas of uncivilized man are ſingular becauſe they are ſimple. To remark the different qualities of objects, to obſerve thoſe which are common to many, and from that reſemblance to form an abſtract idea, repreſentative of the genus of objects, without being the image of any one in particular; this is the operation of the underſtanding, which acts and reflects within itſelf; and which, overſtocked with ideas, thus endeavours to relieve itſelf by the forms of method. In a primitive ſtate, the ſoul, paſſive and ignorant of its faculties, is capable only of receiving external impreſſions: theſe impreſſions repreſent only ſingle objects, and in ſuch a manner as they ſeem to exiſt in themſelves. The ſavage therefore ſees himſelf ſurrounded with deities: every field, every foreſt ſwarms with them.

He combines his ideas and multiplies his deities.

LXVIII. Experience unfolds his ideas, for individuals as well as ſocieties owe every thing to experience. A variety of objects becoming familiar to his perceptions, he begins to diſcover their common nature, and this nature becomes a new divinity ſuperior to all particular deities. But every

thing that exists has its existence determined by time or place, which distinguish its identity. Now the human-mind would be differently influenced with regard to these two modes of existence; the one being plain and obvious to the senses, the other transient, metaphysial, and perhaps nothing more than the succession of our ideas. A common property, varied only in the mode of time, would eclipse all particular properties, whilst those which should be diversified in the mode of place, might subsist as distinct parts of a common property. The God of rivers lays an indisputed claim to his local rights on the Tiber and Clitumnus; but the South-wind that blew yesterday, and that we feel to-day, are both the same blustering tyrant, that stirs up the mountainous waves of the Adriatic.

Combination of ideas continued.

LXIX. The more the mind exercises its thoughts, the more it combines its ideas. Two species are different in some respects, and alike in others: they are destined to the same use, they are part of the same element. The stream of a fountain becomes a river, the river loses itself in the sea. This sea makes part of a vast ocean of waters, that encompass the whole earth: while the earth itself contains every thing that subsists by the principle of vegetation. In proportion as mankind become enlightened, their idolatry would refine. They would become better able to perceive how the universe is governed by general laws; and would approach nearer the unity of a sole, efficient cause. The Greeks could never generalize their ideas beyond the elements of water, earth and air; which, under the names of Jupiter, Neptune, and Pluto,

comprehended and governed all things. But the Ægyptians, whose genius was better adapted to abstract speculations, arrived at length to their Osiris [111] or principal Divinity, an intelligent principle, which operated constantly on the material principle, couched under the name and personage of Isis, his wife and sister. Those who believe in the eternity of matter, can hardly go farther than this [111].

LXX. Jupiter, Neptune, and grisly Pluto were brothers; the branches of whose posterity spread themselves infinitely wide, and comprehended the whole system of nature. Such was the mythology of the ancients. To the ignorant, the idea of generation was more natural than that of creation. It was more easy for them to acquire; and supposed less power exerted in the operation. This generation, however, led them to establish a hierarchy, which these beings, though free, yet limited, could not possibly do without. Thus the three principal deities exercised a paternal authority over their children, dispersed in the air, over the earth and the sea. The primogeniture of Jupiter gave him also a superiority over his brothers, which entitled him to the name of the King of Gods and Father of Men. But this king, this supreme father, was too limited and impotent, in all respects, to suffer us to do the Greeks the honor of attributing to them the belief of a Supreme Being. The generation and hierarchy of Gods.

LXXI. This system, ill-constructed as it was, accounted for all the physical effects of nature. But the moral world, man, his destiny, and actions were without divinities. The earth, or the air, had been ill adapted deities. The want of new Gods, there- The Gods of human life.

fore, forged a new chain of errors, which, joined to the former, encircled the regions of theological romance. I ſuſpect the latter ſyſtem muſt take its riſe very late; man never thinking of entering into himſelf, till he had exhauſted external objects.

The ſyſtem of liberty and neceſſity.

LXXII. There are two hypotheſes which always have been, and ever will, ſubſiſt. In the one, man is ſuppoſed to have received from his Creator Reaſon and Will; that he is left to himſelf to put them to uſe, and regulate his actions accordingly. In the other, he is ſuppoſed incapable of acting otherwiſe than agreeable to the pre-eſtabliſhed laws of the Deity, of whom he is only the inſtrument: that his ſentiment deceives him, and when he imagines he follows his own inclination; he in fact only purſues that of his maſter. The latter notion might be ſuggeſted to the minds of a people, little removed from a primitive ſtate. Little inſtructed in the movements of ſo complicated a machine, they ſaw with admiration the great virtues, the atrocious crimes, the uſeful inventions of a few ſingular men, and thought they ſurpaſſed the powers of humanity. Hence they conceived, on every ſide, active deities, inſpiring virtue and vice into weak mortals, incapable of reſiſting their impulſive influence. It was not prudence that inſpired Pandarus with the deſign of breaking the truce, and of aiming a dart at the breaſt of Menelaus. It was the Goodeſs Minerva excited him to that attempt. The unhappy Phedra was not criminal. No. It was Venus, who, irritated by the ſlights of Hyppolitus, lighted up an inceſtuous flame in the heart of that Princeſs, which

The ancients adopted the latter.

plunged her into guilt, infamy, and death. Thus a Deity was ſuppoſed to undertake the charge of every event in life, of every paſſion of the ſoul, and every order of ſociety.

LXXIII. Theſe deities of the moral world, however, theſe paſſions and faculties ſo generalized and perſonated, had only a metaphyſical exiſtence, too occult for the generality of mankind. It became neceſſary, therefore, to incorporate them with the phyſical deities; in doing which, allegory has imagined a thouſand fantaſtical relations; for the mind always requires at leaſt the appearance of truth. It was natural enough for the God of the ſea to be alſo that of the ſailors. The figurative expreſſion of the eye, that ſees every thing at one view; of thoſe rays, which dart through the immenſity of the air, might eaſily be applied to the ſun, and make an able prophet and a ſkilful archer, of that luminary. But wherefore muſt the planet Venus be the mother and goddeſs of love? Why muſt ſhe take her riſe out of the foam of the ocean? But we muſt leave theſe enigmas to ſuch as may be able to interpret them. No ſooner were theſe moral deities aſſigned their ſeveral departments, than, it is natural to conceive, they engroſſed the homage of mankind. They had to do immediately with the heart and the paſſions, whereas the phyſical divinities, to whom no moral attributes had been given, fell inſenſibly into contempt and oblivion. Thus, it is only in the earlieſt ages of antiquity that I deſcry the ſmoke on the altars of Saturn [117]. The union of the two ſpecies of divinities.

LXXIV. From this period the Gods became particularly intereſted in human affairs. Nothing paſſed Poſſeſſed of human paſſions.

of which they were not the authors. But were they the authors of injuſtice? We are ſtartled at this concluſion: a heathen, however, did not heſitate to admit, and in fact could not doubt it. His Gods often ſuggeſted very vicious deſigns. To ſuggeſt them, it was neceſſary they ſhould concur, and even take pleaſure in them. They had not the reſource of a ſmall quantity of evil admiſſible into the beſt of poſſible worlds. The evil, they were acceſſary to, was not only permitted, but authorized; beſides, theſe ſeveral divinities, confined to their reſpective departments, were quite indifferent as to the general good; with which they had nothing to do. Every one acted agreeable to his own character, and inſpired only the paſſions he was ſuppoſed to feel. The God of War was fierce, blood-thirſty and brutal; the Goddeſs of Wiſdom, prudent and reſerved; the Queen of Love, an amiable, voluptuous goddeſs, all charm and caprice: ſubtlety and low cunning diſtinguiſhed the God of Trade; and the cries of the unhappy were ſuppoſed to pleaſe the ear of the inexorable tyrant o'er the dead, the gloomy Monarch of the infernal ſhades.

These deities reſpecters of perſons.

LXXV. A God, the Father of mankind, is equally ſo to every individual of the ſpecies. He is incapable of love or hatred. But partial divinities muſt, doubtleſs have their favorites. Could it be ſuppoſed they ſhould not prefer thoſe who moſt reſembled themſelves! Mars could nor but love the Thracians, of whom war was the only occupation; he could not but love thoſe Scythians, whoſe moſt delicious potation was compoſed of the blood of their enemies.

The manners of the inhabitants of Cyprus and Corinth, where all was luxury, effeminacy and pleasure; must necessarily engage the Goddess of Love. It was but a grateful return, to prefer those people, whose manners were a kind of disguised homage to their tutelar divinities. That homage itself was always adapted to their character. The human victims, that expired on the altar of Mars, those thousands of courtesans who devoted themselves to the services of the temple of Venus, those famous women of Babylon, who there made a sacrifice of their modesty [14], could not but obtain, for their respective people, the most distinguished favor of their protectors. But as the interests of nations are not less opposite than their manners, it became necessary that these Gods should adopt the quarrels of their worshippers. "What! shall I patiently behold a city, that "has erected a hundred temples to my divinity, fall "before the sword of the conqueror? No. Rather "will I—." It is thus that, among the Greeks, a war kindled on earth, soon lighted up the torch of discord in the skies. The siege of Troy put all heaven into confusion. The Scamander reflected the rays that darted from the Ægis of Minerva, was witness of the fatal effects of the arrows taken from the quiver of Apollo, and felt the tremendous trident of Neptune shake the foundations of the earth. Sometimes indeed the irresistible decrees of Fate re-established peace. But most generally the several deities mutually agreed to abandon each others enemies; for on Olympus, as upon earth, hatred is always more powerful than friendship. Their quarrels

They assumed the human form.

LXXVI. A refined homage was little suitable to such a kind of deities. The multitude required sensible objects; the image of something to decorate their temples, and fix their ideas. The choice, to be sure, must be fixed on the most amiable. But which is that? The human form will doubtless be preferred by men. Should a bull have answered the question, he would probably have determined in favor of some other. Sculpture now began to improve itself in the service of devotion, and the temples were filled with statues of old men and young, women and children, expressive of the different attributes ascribed to their deities.

Were liable to corporeal pains and pleasures.

LXXVII. Beauty is perhaps only founded on use; the human figure being beautiful only because it is so well adapted to the functions to which it is destined. The figure of the divinity, the same, should be certainly expressive of its properties, and even of its defects. Hence came that absurd generation of deities, who composed only a celestial family, similar to those among mankind: hence their feasts of nectar and ambrosia, and the nourishment they were supposed to receive from the sacrifices. Hence also their quiet slumbers, and their afflicting pains. The Gods, thus become only a race of superior men, used often to make visits on earth, inhabit their temples, take pleasure in the amusements of mankind, join in the chase, mix in the dance, and sometimes grow susceptible of the charms of a mortal beauty, and give birth to a race of heroes.

Of general events.

LXXVIII. In those great events, wherein, from the diversity of actors, whose views, situation, and

character, are different, there arises an unity of action, or rather of effect; it is perhaps only into general causes we must look for the springs of those.

LXXIX. In more particular events, the process of nature is very different from that of the philosophers. In nature there are few effects so simple as to owe themselves to one sole cause; whereas our philosophers are generally attached to one cause, sole and universal. Let us avoid this precipice: on the contrary, if an action appears ever so little complicated, let us admit of general causes, not excluding either hazard or design. Sylla resigned the sovereignty of Rome. Cæsar lost it with his life: nevertheless their encroachments on liberty were alike preceded by their conquests: before they became the most powerful, they became the most famous, among the Romans. Augustus trod nearly in the same steps. A sanguinary tyrant[111], suspected of cowardice, that greatest of all crimes in the leader of a party, he reached the throne, and soon made those republicans forget they had ever been free. Indeed the disposition of those people diminishes my surprise. Equally incapable of liberty under Sylla as under Augustus, they were ignorant of this truth in the time of the former: a civil war and two proscriptions, more cruel and bloody than that war itself, had taught them, by the time of the latter, that the republic, sinking beneath the weight of its greatness and corruption, could not subsist without a master. Besides, Sylla, one of the first of the nobles, fought at the head of those haughty Patricians, who, though they put a sword into the hand of despotism to avenge themselves of their

A mixture of causes in particular events.

The elevation of Augustus.

enemies, would not leave it there with the power of converting it to the deſtruction of themſelves. They had conquered with him, not for him: the harangue of Lepidus, and the conduct of Pompey, make it ſufficiently clear, that Sylla choſe rather to deſcend from his invidious ſituation, than be thrown headlong from it. But Auguſtus, after the example of Cæſar, employed only thoſe enterpriſing adventurers, Agrippa, Mecenas, and Pollio, whoſe fortunes, attached to his, had been nothing divided among an ariſtocracy of nobles, but were when united ſufficient to cruſh a new pretender.

The cauſes of it.

LXXX. Thoſe fortunate circumſtances of the debauchery of Anthony, the weakneſs of Lepidus, and the credulity of Cicero, operated in concert with the general diſpoſition, in his favor: but it muſt be confeſſed, that though he did not give birth to theſe circumſtances, he employed them with great art and policy. The vaſt variety of objects, that preſent themſelves, will not permit to diſplay the nature of that refined government; to deſcribe the yoke that was borne without being felt, the Prince undiſtinguiſhed from the citizens, or the ſenate reſpected by its maſter[156]. We will ſelect, however, one circumſtance.

Auguſtus, maſter of the revenues of the empire, and the riches of the world, conſtantly diſtinguiſhed between his own particular patrimony and the treaſure of the public. By which means he diſplayed his moderation, in having bequeathed to his heirs effects of leſs value than the fortunes of many of his ſubjects[157]; and his love to his country, in having

given up to the ſervice of the ſtate two entire patrimonies; together with an immenſe ſum, ariſing from the legacies of his deceaſed friends.

LXXXI. An ordinary degree of penetration is ſufficient to diſcover when an action is at once both cauſe and effect. In the moral world there are many ſuch; or rather, there are but few, which do not, more or leſs, partake of both the one and the other. The ſame action both cauſe and effect.

The corruption of all orders of men among the Romans, was owing to the extent of their empire, and was itſelf productive of the greatneſs of the republic [159].

But it requires an uncommon ſhare of judgment, when two things are conſtantly united, and ſeem intimately connected, to diſcern that they are neither effect nor cauſe to one another.

LXXXII. The ſciences, it is ſaid, take their riſe from luxury; an enlightened muſt be always a vicious people. For my part, I cannot be of this opinion. The ſciences are not the daughters of luxury, but both the one and the other owe their birth to induſtry. The arts, in their rudeſt ſtate, ſatisfied the primitive wants of men. In their ſtate of perfection they ſuggeſt new ones, even from Vitellius's ſhield of Pallas [160], to the philoſophical entertainments of Cicero. But in proportion as luxury corrupts the manners, the ſciences ſoften them; like to thoſe prayers in Homer, which conſtantly purſue injuſtice, to appeaſe the fury of that cruel deity. The ſciences do not ariſe from luxury.

Thus have I thrown together a few reflections, which, appeared to me juſt and rational, on the utility of the Belles-Lettres. Happy ſhould I think Concluſion.

myself, if, by so doing, I should inspire a taste for them in others. I should entertain too good an opinion of myself, if I did not see the imperfections of this Essay; and should have too bad a one if I did not hope, at an age less premature, and with a more extensive knowledge, to be able to correct them. It may possibly be said, these reflections are just, but hackneyed and trite, or that they are new, but paradoxical. Where is the author who loves the critics? The former imputation, however, will displease me least; the advantage of the art being more dear to me than the reputation of the artist.

## *Mr.* GIBBON *to Mr.* LANGER.

ROLLE, 12th October 1790.

SIR,

I SHOULD have acknowledged sooner your kindness in procuring for me the *Origines Guelficæ*, if I had not been told by our obliging bookseller, Mr. Pott, that you were on a journey, while I myself was confined with the longest and most severe fit of the gout that I ever experienced. But we are now, both of us, restored to our ordinary state, I can walk, and you no longer travel post. I suppose by this time you are thoroughly established, and deeply immured in your immense library. Your curiosity, perhaps your friendship, will desire to know what have been my amusements, labors, and projects, during the two years that have elapsed since the last publication of my great work. To indiscreet questions on this subject, with which I am often teased, I answer vaguely or peevishly; but from you I would keep nothing concealed; and to imitate the frankness in which you so much delight, will freely confess, that I more readily trust you with my secret, because I greatly need your assistance. After returning from England, the first months were spent in the enjoyment of my liberty and my library; and you will not be surprised that I should have renewed my familiar acquaintance with the Greek authors, and vowed to consecrate to them daily a portion of my leisure. I pass over in silence the sad hours employed in the care of my friend, and in lamentation for his loss. When the agitation of my mind abated, I endeavoured to find out for myself some occupation more interesting and more invigorating than mere reading can afford. But the remembrance of a servitude of twenty years frightened me from again engaging in a long undertaking, which I might

probably never finish. It would be better, I thought to select from the historical monuments of all ages, and all nations, such subjects as might be treated separately, both agreeably to their own nature, as well as to my taste. When these little works, which might be entitled Historical Excursions, amounted to a volume, I would offer it to the Public; and the present might be repeated, until either the Public or myself were tired; for as each volume would be complete in itself, no continuation would be requisite; and instead of being obliged to follow, like the stage-coach, the high road, I would expatiate at large in the field of history, stopping to admire every beautiful prospect that opened to my view. One inconvenience, indeed, attends this design. An important subject grows and expands with the labor bestowed on it. I might thus be carried beyond my prescribed bounds; but I should be carried gently, without foresight and withouth constraint.

This suspicion was justified in my first excursion, the subject of which will explain the reason why I was so earnest to procure the *Origines Guelficæ*. In my History, I had given an account of two illustrious marriages; the first, of the son of Azo, Marquis of Este, with the daughter of Robert Guiscard; and the second, of a Princess of Brunswick with the Greek Emperor. The first view of the antiquity and grandeur of the House of Brunswick excited my curiosity, and made me think that the two nations, whom I esteem the most, might be entertained by the history of a family, which sprung from the one, and reigns over the other. But my researches showed me not only the beauty, but the extent and difficulty of my subject. Muratori and Leibnitz have sufficiently explained the origin of the Marquisses of Liguria, and perhaps of Tuscany: I am well acquainted with the history and monuments of Italy,

during

during the middle ages; and I am not dissatisfied with what I have already written concerning that branch of the family of Este, which continued to reside in its hereditary possessions. I am not unacquainted with the ancient Guelphs, nor incapable of giving an account of the power and downfal of their heirs, the Dukes of Bavaria and Saxony. The succession of the House of Brunswick to the Crown of Great Britain will doubtless form the most interesting part of my narrative; but the authors on this subject are in English; and it would be unpardonable in a Briton not to have studied the modern history and present constitution of his country. But there is an interval of four hundred and fifty years between the first Duke of Brunswick and the first Elector of that family; and the design of my work compels me to follow in obscurity a rough and narrow path; where, by the division and subdivision of so many branches and so many territories, I shall be involved in the mazes of a genealogical labyrinth. The events, which are destitute of connexion as well as of splendor, are confined to a single province of Germany; and I must have reached near the end of the period, before my subject will be enlivened by the reformation of religion, the war of thirty years, and the new power acquired by the Electorate. As it is my purpose, rather to sketch memoirs than to write history, my narrative must proceed with rapidity; and contain rather results than facts — rather reflections than details; but you are aware how much particular knowledge is requisite for this general description, the author of which ought to be far more learned than his work. Unfortunately, this author resides at the distance of two hundred leagues from Saxony; he knows not the language, and has never made the history of Germany his particular study. Thus remote from the sources of information, he can think of only one channel by which they may be made to

flow into his library; which is, by finding in the country itself an accurate correspondent, an enlightened guide, in one word, an oracle, whom he may consult in every difficulty. Your learning and character, as well as your abilities and situation, singularly qualify you for gratifying my wishes; and should you point out to me a substitute equally well qualified with yourself, yet I could not have equal confidence in the assistance of a person unknown to me. I would teaze you with questions, and new questions would often be suggested by your answers; I would request you to ransack your vast library, and to supply me with books, extracts, translations, and information of every kind, conducive to my undertaking. But I know not how far you are inclined to sacrifice your leisure and your favorite studies to a laborious correspondence, which promises neither fame nor pleasure. I flatter myself, you would do something to oblige me; you would do more for the honor of the Family with which you are connected by your employment. But what title have I to suppose that any work of mine can contribute to its honor? I expect, Sir, your answer; and request that it may be speedy and frank. Should you condescend to assist my labors, I will immediately send you some interrogatories. Your refusal, on the other hand, will make me lay aside the design, or at least oblige me to give it a new form. I venture, at the same time, to entreat that the subject of this letter may remain a profound secret. An indiscreet word would be repeated by a hundred mouths; and I should have the uneasiness of seeing in the foreign journals, and soon afterwards in the English newspapers, an account, and that, perhaps, an unfaithful one, of my literary projects, the secret of which I intrust to you alone.

# NOTES

## TO THE

# MISCELLANEOUS WORKS.

### *Note to the Preface.*

* At Petersburgh and Vienna it was currently obſerved by the Corps Diplomatique, that the English Miniſtry had published a Memorial written not only with great ability, but alſo in French, ſo correct, that they muſt have employed a Frenchman.

### *Notes to the Memoirs.*

[1] This paſſage is found in one only of the ſix ſketches, and in that which ſeems to have been the firſt written, and which was laid aſide among looſe papers. Mr. Gibbon, in his communications with me on the ſubject of his Memoirs, a ſubject which he had never mentioned to any other perſon, expreſſed a determination of publiſhing them in his life-time; and never appears to have departed from that reſolution, excepting in one of his letters annexed, in which he intimates a doubt, though rather careleſsly, whether in his time, or at any time, they would meet the eye of the public.—In a converſation, however, not long before his death, it was ſuggeſted to him, that, if he ſhould make them a full image of his mind, he would not have nerves to publiſh them in his life-time, and therefore that they ſhould be poſthumous;—He anſwered, rather eagerly, that he was determined to publiſh them *in his life-time*. S.

[2] The father of Lord Chancellor Hardwicke married an heireſs of this family of Gibbon. The Chancellor's eſcutcheon in the Temple-Hall quarters the arms of Gibbon, as does alſo that, in Lincoln's-Inn-Hall, of Charles York, Chancellor in 1770. S.

[3] Since inhabited by Mr. Wood, Sir John Shelley, the Duke of Norfolk, &c. S.

[4] The union to which I owe my birth was a marriage of inclination and eſteem. Mr. James Porten, a merchant of London, reſided with his family at Putney, in a houſe adjoining to the bridge and church-yard, where I have paſſed many happy hours of my childhood. He left one ſon the late Sir Stanier Porten, and three daughters: Catherine, who preſerved her maiden name, and of whom I ſhall hereafter ſpeak; another daughter married

Mr. Darrel of Richmond, and left two sons, Edward and Robert: the youngest of the three sisters was Judith, my mother.

[5] It is said in the family, that she was principally induced to this undertaking by her affection for her nephew, whose weak constitution required her constant and unremitted attention. S.

[6] Mr. Gibbon never talked with me on the subject of his conversion to popery but once; and then, he imputed his change to the works of Parsons the jesuit, who lived in the reign of Elizabeth, and who, he said, had urged all the best arguments in favor of the Roman catholic religion. S.

[7] He described the letter to his father, announcing his conversion, as written with all the pomp, the dignity, and self satisfaction of a martyr. S.

[8] This was written on the information Mr. Gibbon had received, and the observation he had made, previous to his late residence at Lausanne. During his last visit to England, he had an opportunity of seeing at Sheffield-place some young men of the college above alluded to; he had great satisfaction in conversing with them, made many inquiries respecting their course of study, applauded the discipline of Christ-Church, and the liberal attention shown by the Dean, to those whose only recommendation was their merit. Had Mr. Gibbon lived to revise this work, I am sure he would have mentioned the name of Dr. Jackson with the highest commendation. There are other colleges at Oxford, with whose discipline my friend was unacquainted, to which, without doubt, he would willingly have allowed their due praise, particularly Brazen-Nose and Oriel-Colleges; the former under the care of Dr. Cleaver, bishop of Chester, the latter under that of Dr. Eveleigh. It is still greatly to be wished that the general expense, or rather extravagance, of young men at our English universities may be more effectually restrained. The expense, in which they are permitted to indulge, is inconsistent not only with a necessary degree of study, but with those habits of morality which should be promoted, by all means possible, at an early period of life. An academical education in England is at present an object of alarm and terror to every thinking parent of moderate fortune. It is the apprehension of the expense, of the dissipation, and other evil consequences, which arise from the want of proper restraint at our own universities, that forces a number of our English youths to those of Scotland, and utterly excludes many from any sort of academical instruction. If a charge be true, which I have heard insisted on, that the heads of our colleges in Oxford and Cambridge are vain of having under their care chiefly men of opulence, who may be supposed exempt from the necessity of œconomical control, they are indeed highly censurable; since the mischief of allowing early habits of expense and dissipation is great, in various respects, even to those possessed of large property; and the most serious evil from this indulgence must happen to youths of humbler fortune, who certainly form the majority of students both at Oxford and Cambridge. S.

[9] The author of a life of Bacon, which has been rated above its value; of some forgotten poems and plays; and of the pathetic ballad of William and Margaret.

[10] *Extract of a Letter from* M. PAVILLIARD *to* EDWARD GIBBON esq.

A Lausanne, ce 25 Juillet 1753.

Monsieur de Gibbon se porte très bien par la Grace de Dieu, et il me paroit qu'il ne se trouve pas mal de notre Maison; j'ai même lieu de penser qu'il prend de l'attachement pour moi, ce dont je suis charmé et que je travaillerai à augmenter, parce qu'il aura plus de confiance en moi, dans ce que je me propose de lui dire.

Je n'ai point encore entrepris de lui parler sur les matières de religion, parce que je n'entens pas assez la langue Angloise pour soutenir une longue conversation en cette langue, quoique je lise les auteurs Anglois avec assez de facilité; et Monsieur le Gibbon n'entend pas assez le François, mais il y fait beaucoup de progrès.

Je suis fort content de la politesse et de la douceur de charactère de Monsieur votre Fils, et je me flatte que je pourrai toujours vous parler de lui avec éloge; il s'applique beaucoup à la lecture.

*From the Same to the Same.*

A Lausanne, ce 13 Août 1753.

Monsieur de Gibbon se porte bien par la grace de Dieu; je l'aime, et je me suis extrêmement attaché à lui parce qu'il est doux et tranquille. Pour ce qui regarde ses sentimens, quoique je ne lui aie encore rien dit là dessus, j'ai lieu d'espérer qu'il ouvrira les yeux à la verité. Je le pense ainsi, parce qu'étant dans mon cabinet il a choisi deux livres de controverse qu'il a pris dans sa chambre et qu'il lit. Il m'a chargé de vous offrir ses très humble respects, et de vous demander la permission de le laisser monter au manége: cet exercise pourroit contribuer à donner de la force à son corps, c'est l'idée qu'il en a.

[11] M. Pavilliard has described to me the astonishment with which he gazed on Mr. Gibbon standing before him: a thin little figure, with a large head, disputing, and urging, with the greatest ability, all the best arguments that had ever been used in favor of popery. Mr. Gibbon many years ago became very fat and corpulent, but he had uncommonly small bones, and was very slight made. S.

[12] *Letter from* Mr. PAVILLIARD *to* EDWARD GIBBON esq.

Monsieur, June 26th. 1754.

J'espère que vous pardonnerez mon long silence en faveur des nouvelles que j'ai à vous apprendre. Si j'ai tant tardé, ce n'a été ni par oubli, ni par néligence, mais je croyois de semaine en semaine pouvoir vous annoncer que Monsieur votre fils avoit entièrement renoncé aux fausses idées qu'il avoit embrassées; mais il a fallu disputer le terrein pied, à pied, et je n'ai pas trouvé en lui un homme léger, et qui passe rapidement d'un sentiment à un autre. Souvent après avoir détruit toutes ses idées sur un article de manière qu'il n'avoit rien à répliquer, ce qu'il avouoit sans détour, il me disoit qu'il ne croioit pas, qu'il n'y eut rien à me répondre. Là dessus je n'ai pas jugé qu'il fallut le pousser à bout, et extorquer de lui un aveu que son cœur désavoueroit; je lui donnois alors du temps pour réfléchir

tous mes livres etoient à sa disposition; je revenois à la charge quand il m'avouoit qu'il avoit étudié la matière aussi bien qu'il avoit pu, et enfin j'établissois une vérité.

Je me persuadois, que quand j'aurois détruit les principales erreurs de l'église Romaine, je n'aurois qu'à faire voir que les autres sont des conséquences des premières, et qu'elles ne peuvent subsister quand les fondamentales sont renversées; mais, comme je l'ai dit, je me suis trompé, il a fallu traiter chaque article dans son entier. Par la grace de Dieu, je n'ai pas perdu mon temps, et aujourdhui, si même il conserve quelques restes de ses pernicieuses erreurs, j'ose dire qu'il n'est plus membre de l'église Romaine; voici donc où nous en sommes.

J'ai renversé l'infaillibilité de l'église; j'ai prouvé que jamais St. Pierre n'a été chef des apôtres: que quand il l'auroit été, le pape n'est point son successeur; qu'il est douteux que St. Pierre a jamais été à Rome, mais supposé qu'il y ait été, il n'a pas été évêque de cette ville: que la transubstantiation est une invention humaine, et peu ancienne dans l'église; que l'adoration de l'Eucharistie et le retranchement de la coupe sont contraires à la parole de Dieu: qu'il y a des saints, mais que nous ne savons pas qui ils sont, et par conséquent qu'on ne peut pas les prier; que le respect et le culte qu'on rend aux reliques est condamnable; qu'il n'y a point de purgatoire, et que la doctrine des indulgences est fausse: que le Carême et les jeûnes du Vendredi et du Samedi sont ridicules aujourdhui, et de la manière que l'église Romaine les prescrit: que les imputations que l'église de Rome nous fait de varier dans notre doctrine, et d'avoir pour reformateurs des personnes dont la conduite et les mœurs ont été en scandale, sont entièrement fausses.

Vous comprenez bien, Monsieur, que ces articles sont d'un longue discussion, qu'il a fallu du temps à Monsieur votre fils pour méditer mes raisons et pour y chercher des réponses. Je lui ai demandé plusieurs fois, si mes preuves et mes raisons lui paroissoient convainquantes: il m'a toujours assuré qu'oui, de façon que j'ose assurer, aussi comme je le lui ai dit à lui même, il y a peu de temps, qu'il n'étoit plus catholique Romain. Je me flatte, qu'après avoir obtenu la victoire sur ces articles, je l'aurai sur le reste avec le secours de Dieu. Tellement que je compte de vous marquer dans peu que cet ouvrage est fini, je dois vous dire encore, que quoique j'aie trouvé Mr. votre fils très ferme dans ses idées, je l'ai trouvé raisonnable, qu'il s'est rendu à la lumière, et qu'il n'est pas, ce qu'on appele, chicaneur. Par rapport à l'article du jeûne le Vendredi et Samedi, long temps après que je vous eus écrit qu'il n'avoit jamais marqué qu'il voulut l'observer, environ le commencement du mois de Mars je m'apperçus un Vendredi qu'il ne mangeoit point de viande; je lui parlai en particulier pour en savoir la raison, craignant que ce ne fut par indisposition; il me répondit qu'il l'avoit fait à dessein, et qu'il avoit cru être obligé de se conformer à la pratique d'une église dont il étoit membre: nous parlâmes quelques temps sur ce sujet; il m'assura qu'il n'envisageoit cela que comme une pratique bonne à la verité, et qu'il devoit suivre, quoiqu'il ne la crut pas sainte en elle même, ni d'institution divine. Je ne crus pas devoir

insister pour lors, ni le forcer à agir contre ses lumières: j'ai traité cette article qui est certainement un des moins importants, des moins fondés; et cependant il m'a fallu un temps considérable pour le détromper, et pour lui faire comprendre qu'il avoit tort de s'assujettir à la pratique d'un Eglise qu'il ne reconnoissoit plus pour infaillible; que si même cette pratique avoit eu quelque utilité dans son institution, cependant elle n'en avoit aucune en elle même, puis qu'elle ne contribuoit en rien à la pureté des mœurs; qu'ainsi il n'y avoit aucune raison, ni dans l'institution de cette pratique, ni dans la pratique elle même, qui l'autorisât à s'y soumettre: qu'aujourdhui ce n'étoit qu'une affaire d'intérêt, puis qu'avec de l'argent on obtenoit des dispenses pour manger gras, &c. de manière que je l'ai ramené à la liberté Chrétienne avec beaucoup de peine et seulement depuis quelques semaines. Je l'ai engagé a vous ecrire, pour vous manifester les sentimens où il est, et l'état de sa santé, et je crois qu'il l'a fait.

[13] JOURNAL, December 1755.]—In finishing this year, I must remark how favorable it was to my studies. In the space of eight months, from the beginning of April, I learnt the principles of drawing; made myself complete master of the French and Latin languages, with which I was very superficially acquainted before, and wrote and translated a great deal in both; read Cicero's Epistles ad Familiares, his Brutus, all his Orations, his Dialogues de Amicitiâ, and de Senectute; Terence, twice; and Pliny's Epistles. In French, Giannone's History of Naples, and l'Abbé Bannier's Mythology, and M. de Bochat's Mémoires sur la Suisse, and wrote a very ample relation of my tour. I likewise began to study Greek, and went through the Grammar. I begun to make very large collections of what I read. But what I esteem most of all, from the perusal and meditation of De Crousaz's Logic, I not only understood the principles of that science, but formed my mind to a habit of thinking and reasoning I had no idea of before.

[14] JOURNAL, January 1756.]—I determined to read over the Latin authors in order; and read this year, Virgil, Sallust, Livy, Velleius Paterculus, Valerius Maximus, Tacitus, Suetonius, Quintus Curtius, Justin, Florus, Plautus, Terence, and Lucretius. I also read and meditated Locke upon the Understanding.

[15] *Extract of a Letter from* M. PAVILLIARD *to* EDWARD GIBBON esq.

Monsieur, January 12th, 1757.

Vous avez souhaité que Monsieur votre fils s'appliquât à l'algèbre; le goût qu'il a pour les belles lettres lui faisoit appréhender que l'algèbre ne nuisit à ses études favorites; je lui ai persuadé qu'il ne se faisoit pas une juste idée de cette partie des mathématiques; l'obéissance qu'il vous doit, jointe à mes raisons, l'ont déterminé à en faire un cours. Je ne croiois pas qu'avec cette répugnance il y fit de grand progrès: je me suis trompé: il fait bien tout ce qu'il fait; il est exact à ses leçons, il s'applique à lire avant sa leçon, et il repasse avec soin, de manière qu'il avance beaucoup, et plus que je ne me serois attendu: il est charmé d'avoir

commencé, et je penſe qu'il fera un petit cours de géometrie, ce qui en tout ne lui prendra que ſept à huit mois. Pendant qu'il fait ſes leçons, il ne s'eſt point relâché ſur ſes autres études; il avance beaucoup dans le Grec, et il a preſque lu la moitié de l'Iliade d'Homere; je lui fais régulièrement des leçons ſur cet auteur: il a auſſi fini les Hiſtoriens Latins; il en eſt à preſent aux Poëtes; et il a lu entièrement Plaute et Terence, et bientôt il aura fini Lucrece. Au reſte, il ne lit pas ces auteurs à la légère, il veut s'éclaircir ſur tout; de façon, qu'avec le génie qu'il a, l'excellente mémoire et l'application, il ira loin dans les ſciences.

J'ai eu l'honneur de vous dire ci-devant, que malgré ſes études il voioit compagnie; je puis vous le dire encore aujourdhui.

*From the Same to the Same.*

Monſieur, Jan. 14th, 1758.

J'ai eu l'honneur de vous écrire le 27 Juillet et le 26 8bre paſſés, et je vous ai rendu compte de la ſanté, des études, et de la conduite de Monſieur votre fils. Je n'ai rien à ajouter à tout ce que je vous en ai dit: il ſe porte parfaitement bien par la grace de Dieu: il continue à étudier avec application, et je puis vous aſſurer qu'il fait des progrès conſidérables dans les études, et il ſe fait extrêmement eſtimer par tous ceux qui le connoiſſent, et j'eſpère que quand il vous montrera en détail ce qu'il fait, vous en ſerez très content. Les Belles Lettres qui ſont ſon étude favorite ne l'occupent pas entièrement; il continue les mathématiques, et ſon profeſſeur m'aſſure qu'il n'a jamais vu perſonne avancer autant que lui, ni avoir plus d'ardeur et d'application qu'il en a. Son génie heureux et pénétrant eſt ſecondé par une mémoire des plus heureuſes, tellement qu'il n'oublie preſque rien de ce qu'il apprend. Je n'ai pas moins lieu d'être content de ſa conduite; quoiqu'il étudie beaucoup, il voit cependant compagnie, mais il ne voit que des perſonnes dont le commerce peut lui être utile.

[16] JOURNAL, January 1757.]—I began to ſtudy algebra under M. de Traytorrens, went through the elements of algebra and geometry, and the three firſt books of the Marquis de l'Hôpital's Conic Sections. I alſo read Tibullus, Catullus, Propertius, Horace (with Dacier's and Torrentius's notes), Virgil, Ovid's Epiſtles, with Meziriac's Commentary, the Ars Amandi, and the Elegies; likewiſe the Auguſtus and Tiberius of Suetonius, and a Latin tranſlation of Dion Caſſius, from the death of Julius Cæſar to the death of Auguſtus. I alſo continued my correſpondence begun laſt year with M. Allemand of Bex, and the Profeſſor Breitinger of Zurich; and opened a new one with the Profeſſor Geſner of Gottingen.

N B Laſt year and this, I read St John's Goſpel, with part of Xenophon's Cyropœdia; the Iliad, and Herodotus: but, upon the whole, I rather neglected my Greek.

[17] *From* EDWARD GIBBON *to* Mrs. PORTEN.

* * * *

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * Now for myſelf.

As my father has given me leave to make a journey round Switzerland, we set out to-morrow. Buy a map of Switzerland, it will cost you but a shilling, and follow me. I go by Iverdun, Neufchatel, Bienne or Biel, Soleure or Solothurn, Bale or Basil, Bade, Zurich, Lucerne, and Bern. The voyage will be of about four weeks; so that *I hope to find a letter from you waiting for me.* As my father had given me leave to learn what I had a mind, I have learned to ride, and learn actually to dance and draw. Besides that, I often give ten or twelve hours a day to my studies. I find a great many agreeable people here; see them sometimes, and can say upon the whole, without vanity, that though I am the Englishman here who spends the least money, I am he who is the most generally liked. I told you that my father had promised to send me into France and Italy. I have thanked him for it; but if he would follow my plan, he won't do it yet a while. I never liked young travellers; they go too raw to make any great remarks, and they lose a time which is (in my opinion) the most precious part of a man's life. My scheme would be, to spend this winter at Lausanne: for though it is a very good place to acquire the air of good company and the French tongue, we have no good professors. To spend (I say) the winter at Lausanne; go into England to see my friends a couple of months, and after that, finish my studies, either at Cambridge (for after what has passed one cannot think of Oxford), or at an university in Holland. If you liked the scheme, *could you not propose it to my father by Metcalf, or somebody* who has *a certain credit over him?* I forgot to ask you whether, in case my father writes to tell me of his marriage, would you advise me to compliment my mother-in-law? I think so. My health is so very regular, that I have nothing to say about it.

I have been the whole day writing you this letter; the preparations for our voyage gave me a thousand interruptions. Besides that, I was obliged to write in English. This last reason will seem a paradox, but I assure you the French is much more familiar to me. I am, &c.

E. GIBBON.

LAUSANNE,
Sept. 20, 1756.

[18] See Appendix, Letters, N° I. [19] Ditto, N° IV. and V.
[20] Ditto, N° VI. VII. and VIII.
[21] Ditto, N° II and III.
[22] *Extracts from the Journal.*

March 1757. I wrote some critical observations upon Plautus.
March 8th. I wrote a long dissertation on some lines of Virgil.
June. I saw Mademoiselle Curchod—*Omnia vincit amor, et nos cedamus amori.*
August. I went to Crassy, and staid two days.
Sept. 15th. I went to Geneva.
Oct. 15th. I came back to Lausanne, having passed through Crassy.
Nov. 1st. I went to visit M. de Watteville at Loin. and saw Mademoiselle Curchod in my way through Rolle.

Nov. 17th. I went to Craſſy, and ſtaid there ſix days.

Jan. 1758. In the three firſt months of this year I read Ovid's Metamorphoſes, finiſhed the conic ſections with M. de Traytorrens, and went as far as the infinite ſeries; I likewiſe read Sir Iſaac Newton's Chronology, and wrote my critical obſervations upon it.

Jan. 23d. I ſaw Alzire acted by the ſociety at Monrepos. Voltaire acted Alvares; d'Hermanches, Zamore; de St. Cierge, Guſman; M. de Gentil, Monteze; and Madame Denys, Alzire.

[23] See Oeuvres de Rouſſeau, tom. xxxiii. p. 88, 89. octavo edition. As an author I ſhall not appeal from the judgment, or taſte, or caprice of *Jean Jacques*: but that extraordinary man, whom I admire and pity, ſhould have been leſs precipitate in condemning the moral character and conduct of a ſtranger.

[24] Thus, like the creſted bird of Mars, at home
Engag'd in foul domeſtic jars,
And waſted with inteſtine wars,
Inglorious had'ſt thou ſpent thy vig'rous bloom;
Had not ſedition's civil broils
Expell'd thee from thy native *Crete*,
And driv'n thee with more glorious toils
Th' *Olympic* crown in *Piſa's* plain to meet. *Weſt's Pindar.*

[25] The eſtate and manor of Beriton, otherwiſe Buriton, were conſiderable, and were ſold a few years ago to Lord Stawell. S.

[26] JOURNAL, March 8th, 1758.]—I began my Eſſai ſur l'Etude de la Littérature, and wrote the 23 firſt chapters (excepting the following ones, 11, 12, 13. 18, 19, 20, 21, 22.) before I left Switzerland.

July 11th. I again took in hand my Eſſay; and in about ſix weeks finiſhed it, from C. 23—55. (excepting 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33. and note to C. 38.) beſides a number of chapters from C. 55. to the end, which are now ſtruck out.

Feb. 11th, 1759. I wrote the chapters of my Eſſay, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31. the note to C. 38. and the firſt part of the preface.

April 23d, 1761. Being at length, by my father's advice, determined to publiſh my Eſſay, I reviſed it with great care, made many alterations, ſtruck out a conſiderable part, and wrote the chapters from 57—78. which I was obliged myſelf to copy out fair.

June 10th, 1761. Finding the printing of my book proceeded but ſlowly, I went up to town, where I found the whole was finiſhed. I gave Becket orders for the preſents: 20 for Lauſanne; copies for the Duke of Richmond, Marquis of Carnarvon, Lords Waldegrave, Litchfield, Bath, Granville, Bute, Shelbourn, Cheſterfield, Hardwicke, Lady Hervey, Sir Joſeph Yorke, Sir Matthew Featherſtone, M. M. Mallet, Maty, Scott, Wray, Lord Egremont, M. de Buſſy, Mademoiſelle la Ducheſſe d'Aguillon, and M. le Comte de Caylus:—great part of theſe were only my father's or Mallet's acquaintance.

[27] See Appendix, Letter, N°. X.

28 The copious extracts which were given in the *Journal Etranger* by Mr. Suard, a judicious critic, muſt ſatisfy both the author and the public. I may here obſerve, that I have never ſeen in any literary review a tolerable account of my Hiſtory. The manufacture of journals, at leaſt on the continent, is miſerably debaſed.

29 Epiſt. ad Atticum, lib. v. 15.

30 JOURNAL, January 11th, 1761.]—In theſe ſeven or eight months of a moſt diſagreeably active life, I have had no ſtudies to ſet down; indeed, I hardly took a book in my hand the whole time. The firſt two months at Blandford, I might have done ſomething; but the novelty of the thing, of which for ſome time I was ſo fond as to think of going into the army, our field-days, our dinners abroad, and the drinking and late hours we got into, prevented any ſerious reflections. From the day we marched from Blandford I had hardly a moment I could call my own, almoſt continually in motion; if I was fixed for a day, it was in the guard-room, a barrack, or an inn. Our diſputes conſumed the little time I had left. Every letter, every memorial relative to them fell to my ſhare; and our evening-conferences were uſed to hear all the morning-hours ſtrike. At laſt I got to Dover, and Sir Thomas left us for two months. The charm was over, I was ſick of ſo hateful a ſervice; I was ſettled in a comparatively quiet ſituation. Once more I began to taſte the pleaſure of thinking.

Recollecting ſome thoughts I had formerly had in relation to the ſyſtem of Paganiſm, which I intended to make uſe of in my Eſſay, I reſolved to read Tully de Naturâ Deorum, and finished it in about a month. I loſt ſome time before I could recover my habit of application.

Oct. 23d.]—Our firſt deſign was to march through Marlborough; but finding on inquiry that it was a bad road, and a great way about, we reſolved to puſh for the Devizes in one day, though nearly thirty miles. We accordingly arrived there about three o'clock in the afternoon.

Nov. 2d.]—I have very little to ſay for this and the following month. Nothing could be more uniform than the life I led there. The little civility of the neighbouring gentlemen gave us no opportunity of dining out; the time of year did not tempt us to any excurſions round the country; and at firſt my indolence, and afterwards a violent cold, prevented my going over to Bath. I believe in the two months I never dined or lay from quarters. I can therefore only ſet down what I did in the literary way. Deſigning to recover my Greek, which I had ſomewhat neglected, I ſet myſelf to read Homer, and finished the four firſt books of the Iliad, with Pope's tranſlation and notes; at the ſame time, to underſtand the geography of the Iliad, and particularly the catalogue, I read the 8th, 9th, 10th, 12th, 13th, and 14th books of Strabo, in Caſaubon's Latin's tranſlation: I likewiſe read Hume's Hiſtory of England to the Reign of Henry the Seventh, juſt published, *ingenious but ſuperficial*; and the *Journals des Sçavans* for Auguſt, September, and October 1761, with the *Bibliothéque des Sciences*, etc. from July to October: Both theſe Journals ſpeak very handſomely of my book.

December 28th, 1761.] — When, upon finishing the year, I take a review of what I have done, I am not dissatisfied with what I did in it, upon making proper allowances. On the one hand, I could begin nothing before the middle of January. The Deal-duty lost me part of February; although I was at home part of March, and all April. yet electioneering is no friend to the Muses. May, indeed, though dissipated by our sea-parties, was pretty quiet; but June was absolutely lost, upon the march, at Alton, and settling ourselves in camp. The four succeeding months in camp allowed me little leisure, and less quiet. November and December were indeed as much my own as any time can be whilst I remain in the militia; but still it is, at best, not a life for a man of letters. However in this tumultuous year, (besides smaller things which I have set down,) I read four books of Homer in Greek, six of Strabo in Latin, Cicero de Naturâ Deorum, and the great philosophical and theological work of M. de Beausobre: I wrote in the same time a long dissertation on the succession of Naples; reviewed, fitted for the press, and augmented above a fourth, my Essay sur l'Etude de la Littérature.

In the six weeks I passed at Beriton, as I never stirred from it, every day was like the former. I had neither visits, hunting, or walking. My only resources were myself, my books, and family-conversations — But to me these were great resources.

April 24th, 1762.] — I waited upon Colonel Harvey in the morning, to get him to apply for me to be brigade-major to Lord Effingham, as a post I should be very fond of, and for which I am not unfit. Harvey received me with great good-nature and candor, told me he was both willing and able to serve me; that indeed he had already applied to Lord Effingham for *****, one of his own officers, and though there would be more than one brigade major, he did not think he could properly recommend two; but that if I could get some other person to break the ice, he would second it, and believed he should succeed: should that fail, as ***** was in bad circumstances, he believed he could make a compromise with him (this was my desire) to let me do the duty without pay. I went from him to the Mallets, who promised to get Sir Charles Howard to speak to Lord Effingham.

August 22d.] — I went with Ballard to the French church, where I heard a most indifferent sermon preached by M. ******. A very bad style, a worse pronunciation and action, and a very great vacuity of ideas, composed this excellent performance. Upon the whole, which is preferable, the philosophic method of the English, or the rhetoric of the French preachers? The first (though less glorious) is certainly safer for the preacher. It is difficult for a man to make himself ridiculous, who proposes only to deliver plain sense on a subject he has thoroughly studied. But the instant he discovers the least pretensions towards the sublime, or the pathetic, there is no medium; we must either admire or laugh: and there are so many various talents requisite to form the character of an orator, that it is more than probable we shall laugh. As to the advantage of the hearer, which ought to be the great considera-

tion, the dilemma is much greater. Excepting in some particular cases, where we are blinded by popular prejudices, we are in general so well acquainted with our duty, that it is almost superfluous to convince us of it. It is the heart, and not the head, that holds out; and it is certainly possible, by a moving eloquence, to rouse the sleeping sentiments of that heart, and incite it to acts of virtue. Unluckily it is not so much acts, as habits of virtue, we should have in view; and the preacher who is inculcating, with the eloquence of a Bourdaloue, the necessity of a virtuous life, will dismiss his assembly full of emotions, which a variety of other objects, the coldness of our northern constitutions, and no immediate opportunity of exerting their good resolutions, will dissipate in a few moments.

August 24th.] — The same reason that carried so many people to the assembly to-night, was what kept me away; I mean the dancing.

28th.] — To-day Sir Thomas came to us to dinner. The Spa has done him a great deal of good, for he looks another man. Pleased to see him, we kept bumperizing till after roll-calling; Sir Thomas assuring us, every fresh bottle, how infinitely soberer he was grown.

29th.] — I felt the usual consequences of Sir Thomas's company, and lost a morning, because I had lost the day before. However, having finished Voltaire, I returned to Le Clerc (I mean for the amusement of my leisure-hours): and laid aside for some time his *Bibliothéque Universelle*, to look into the *Bibliothéque Choisie*, which is by far the better work.

September 23.] — Colonel Wilkes, of the Buckingamshire militia, dined with us, and renewed the acquaintance Sir Thomas and myself had begun with him at Reading. I scarcely ever met with a better companion; he has inexhaustible spirits, infinite wit and humor, and a great deal of knowledge. He told us himself, that in this time of public dissension he was resolved to make his fortune. Upon this principle he has connected himself closely with Lord Temple and Mr. Pitt, commenced a public adversary to Lord Bute, whom he abuses weekly in the North-Briton, and other political papers in which he is concerned. This proved a very debauched day: we drank a good deal both after dinner and supper; and when at last Wilkes had retired, Sir Thomas and some others (of whom I was not one) broke into his room, and made him drink a bottle of claret in bed.

October 5th.] — The review, which lasted about three hours, concluded, as usual, with marching by Lord Effingham, by grand divisions. Upon the whole, considering the camp had done both the Winchester and the Gosport-duties all the summer, they behaved very well, and made a fine appearance. As they marched by, I had my usual curiosity to count their files. The following is my field-return: I think it a curiosity; I am sure it is more exact than is commonly made to a reviewing general.

| | | Number of Files. | Number of Men. | Eſtabliſhment. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Berkshire,* | Grenadiers, 91<br>Battalion, 72 | 91 — | 273 — | 560 |
| *W. Eſſex,* | Grenadiers, 15<br>Batalion, 80 | 95 — | 285 — | 480 |
| *S. Glôſter,* | Grenadiers, 20<br>Battalion, 84 | 104 — | 312 — | 600 |
| *N. Glôſter,* | Grenadiers, 13<br>Battalion, 52 | 65 — | 195 — | 360 |
| *Lancashire,* | Grenadiers, 20<br>Battalion, 88 | 108 — | 324 — | 800 |
| *Wiltshire,* | Grenadiers, 24<br>Battalion, 120 | 144 — | 432 — | 800 |
| | Total, | 607 | 1821 | 3600 |

N. B. The Goſport-detachment from the Lancashire conſiſted of two hundred and fifty men. The Buckinghamshire took the Wincheſter duty that day.

So that this camp in England, ſuppoſed complete, with only one detachment, had under arms, on the day of the grand review, little more than half their eſtablishment. This amazing deficiency (though exemplified in every regiment I have ſeen) is an extraordinary military phœnomenon: what muſt it be upon foreign ſervice? I doubt whether a nominal army of a hundred thouſand men often brings fifty into the field.

Upon our return to Southampton in the evening, we found Sir Thomas Worsley.

October 21ſt.] — One of thoſe impulſes, which it is neither very eaſy nor very neceſſary to withſtand, drew me from Longinus to a very different ſubject, the Greek Calendar. Laſt night, when in bed, I was thinking of a diſſertation of M. de la Nauze upon the Roman calendar, which I read laſt year. This led me to conſider what was the Greek, and finding myſelf very ignorant of it, I determined to read a short, but very excellent abſtract of Mr. Dodwell's book de Cyclis, by the famous Dr. Halley. It is only twenty-five pages; but as I meditated it thoroughly, and verified all the calculations, it was a very good morning's work.

October 28th.] — I looked over a new Greek Lexicon which I have juſt received from London. It is that of Robert Conſtantine, Lugdun. 1637. It is a very large volume in folio, in two parts, compriſing in the whole 1785 pages. After the great Theſaurus, this is eſteemed the beſt Greek Lexicon. It ſeems to be ſo. Of a variety of words for which I looked, I always found an exact definition; the various ſenſes well diſtinguiſhed, and properly ſupported, by the beſt authorities. However, I ſtill prefer the radical method of Scapula to this alphabetical one.

December 11th.] — I have already given an idea of the Goſport-duty; I ſhall only add a trait which characterizes admirably our unthinking

ſailors. At a time when they knew that they should infallibly be diſcharged in a few weeks, numbers, who had conſiderable wages due to them, were continually jumping over the walls, and riſquing the loſing of it for a few hours amuſement at Portſmouth.

17th.] — We found old Captain Meard at Alresford, with the ſecond diviſion of the fourteenth. He and all his officers ſupped with us, and made the evening rather a drunken one.

18th.] — About the ſame hour our two corps paraded to march off. They, an old corps of regulars, who had been two years quiet in Dover-caſtle. We, part of a young body of militia, two-thirds of our men recruits, of four months ſtanding, two of which they had paſſed upon very diſagreeable duty. Every advantage was on their ſide, and yet our ſuperiority, both as to appearance and diſcipline, was ſo ſtriking, that the moſt prejudiced regular could not have heſitated a moment. At the end of the town our two companies ſeparated; my father's ſtruck off for Petersfield, whilſt I continued my rout to Alton; into which place I marched my company about noon; two years ſix months and fifteen days after my firſt leaving it. I gave the men ſome beer at roll-calling, which they received with great cheerfulneſs and decency. I dined and lay at Harriſon's, where I was received with that old-faſhioned breeding, which is at once ſo honorable and ſo troubleſome.

23d.] — Our two companies were diſembodied; mine at Alton, and my father's at Beriton. Smith marched them over from Petersfield: they fired three vollies, lodged the major's colors, delivered up their arms, received their money, partook of a dinner at the major's expenſe, and then ſeparated with great cheerfulneſs and regularity. Thus ended the militia; I may ſay ended, ſince our annual aſſemblies in May are ſo very precarious, and can be of ſo little uſe. However, our ſerjeants and drums are ſtill kept up, and quartered at the rendezvous of their company, and the adjutant remains at Southampton in full pay.

As this was an extraordinary ſcene of life, in which I was engaged above three years and a half from the date of my commiſſion, and above two years and a half from the time of our embodying, I cannot take my leave of it without ſome few reflections. When I engaged in it, I was totally ignorant of its nature and conſequences. I offered, becauſe my father did, without ever imagining that we ſhould be called out, till it was too late to retreat with honor. Indeed, I believe it happens throughout, that our moſt important actions have been often determined by chance, caprice, or ſome very inadequate motive. After our embodying, many things contributed to make me ſupport it with great impatience. Our continual diſputes with the duke of Bolton; our unſettled way of life, which hardly allowed me books or leiſure for ſtudy; and more than all, the diſagreeable ſociety in which I was forced to live.

After mentioning my ſufferings, I muſt ſay ſomething of what I found agreeable. Now it is over, I can make the ſeparation much better than I could at the time. 1. The unſettled way of life itſelf had its advantages.

The exercise and change of air and of objects amused me, at the same time that it fortified my health. 2. A new field of knowledge and amusement opened itself to me; that of military affairs, which, both in my studies and travels, will give me eyes for a new world of things, which before would have passed unheeded. Indeed, in that respect I can hardly help wishing our battalion had continued another year. We had got a fine set of new men, all our difficulties were over; we were perfectly well clothed and appointed; and, from the progress our recruits had already made, we could promise ourselves that we should be one of the best militia corps by next summer: a circumstance that would have been the more agreeable to me, as I am now established the real acting major of the battalion. But what I value most, is the knowledge it has given me of mankind in general, and of my own country in particular. The general system of our government, the methods of our several offices, the departments and powers of their respective officers, our provincial and municipal administration, the views of our several parties, the characters connexions, and influence of our principal people, have been impressed on my mind, not by vain theory, but by the indelible lessons of action and experience. I have made a number of valuable acquaintance, and am myself much better known, than (with my reserved character) I should have been in ten years, passing regularly my summers at Beriton, and my winters in London. So that the sum of all is, that I am glad the militia has been, and glad that it is no more.

[31] JOURNAL, May 8th, 1762.]—This was my birth-day, on which I entered into the twenty-sixth year of my age. This gave me occasion to look a little into myself, and consider impartially my good and bad qualities. It appeared to me, upon this inquiry, that my character was virtuous, incapable of a base action, and formed for generous ones; but that it was proud, violent, and disagreeable in society. These qualities I must endeavour to cultivate, extirpate, or restrain, according to their different tendency. Wit I have none. My imagination is rather strong than pleasing. My memory both capacious and retentive. The shining qualities of my understanding are extensiveness and penetration; but I want both quickness and exactness. As to my situation in life, though I may sometimes repine at it, it perhaps is the best adapted to my character. I can command all the conveniences of life, and I can command too that independence, (that first earthly blessing,) which is hardly to be met with in a higher or lower fortune. When I talk of my situation, I must exclude that temporary one, of being in the militia. Though I go through it with spirit and application, it is both unfit for, and unworthy of me.

[32] See Appendix, Letter, N° XIV. *excellent*, from Mr. Scott to Mr. Gibbon.

[33] —— Fair wind, and blowing fresh,
Apollo sent them; quick they rear'd the mast,
Then spread th'unsullied canvas to the gale,
And the wind fill'd it. Roar'd the sable flood

Around

Around the bark, that ever as she went
Dash'd wide the brine, and scudded swift away.

COWPER'S *Homer*.

34 See Miscellaneous Works.

35 Ibid.

36 JOURNAL, July 27, 1762.]— The reflections which I was making yesterday I continued and digested to day. I don't absolutely look on that time as lost, but that it might have been better employed than in revolving schemes, the execution of which is so far distant. I must learn to check these wanderings of my imagination.

Nov. 24.] — I dined at the Cocoa Tree with ****; who, under a great appearance of oddity, conceals more real honor, good sense, and even knowledge, than half those who laugh at him. We went thence to the play (the Spanish Friar); and when it was over, returned to the Cocoa Tree. That respectable body, of which I have the honor of being a member, affords every evening a sight truly English. Twenty or thirty, perhaps, of the first men in the kingdom, in point of fashion and fortune, supping at little tables covered with a napkin, in the middle of a coffee-room, upon a bit of cold meat, or a Sandwich, and drinking a glass of punch. At present, we are full of king's counsellors and lords of the bedchamber; who, having jumped into the ministry, make a very singular medley of their old principles and language, with their modern ones.

Nov. 26.] — I went with Mallet to breakfast with Garrick; and thence to Drurylane House, where I assisted at a very private rehearsal, in the Green-room, of a new tragedy of Mallet's, called Elvira. As I have since seen it acted, I shall defer my opinion of it till then; but I cannot help mentioning here the surprising versatility of Mrs. Pritchard's talents, who rehearsed, almost at the same time, the part of a furious queen in the Green-room, and that of a coquette on the stage; and passed several times from one to the other with the utmost ease and happiness.

Dec. 30.] — Before I close the year I must balance my accounts — not of money, but of time. I may divide my studies into four branches: 1. Books that I have read for themselves, classic writers, or capital treatises upon any science; such books as ought to be perused with attention, and meditated with care. Of these I read *the twenty last books of the Iliad twice*, *the three first books of the Odyssee*, *the Life of Homer*, and *Longinus* περι Υψους. 2. Books which I have read, or consulted, to illustrate the former. Such as this year, *Blackwell's Inquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer*, *Burke's Sublime and Beautiful*, *Hurd's Horace*, *Guichard's Mémoires Militaires*, a great variety of passages of the ancients occasionally useful: large extracts from *Meziriac*, *Bayle*, and *Potter*; and many memoirs and abstracts from the *Academy of Belles Letters*: among these I shall only mention here two long and curious suites of dissertations — *the one upon the Temple of Delphi*, *the Amphictyonic Council*, *and the Holy Wars*, *by M. M. Hardion and de Valois*; *the other upon the Games of the Grecians*, *by M. M. Burette*, *Gedoyne*, *and de la Barre*. 3. Books of

amuſement and inſtruction, peruſed at my leiſure hours, without any reference to a regular plan of ſtudy. Of theſe, perhaps, I read too many, ſince I went through the Life of Eraſmus, by Le Clerc and Burigny, many extracts from *Le Clerc's Bibliothéques*, *The Ciceronianus*, and *Colloquies of Eraſmus*, *Barclay's Argenis*, *Teraſſon's Sethos*, *Voltaire's Siècle de Louis XIV.* *Madame de Motteville's Memoirs*, and *Fontenelle's Works*. 4. Compoſitions of my own. I find hardly any, except *this Journal*, and the *Extract of Hurd's Horace*, which (like a chapter of Montaigne) contains many things very different from its title. To theſe four heads I muſt this year add a fifth. 5. Thoſe treatiſes of English hiſtory which I read in January, with a view to my now abortive ſcheme of the *Life of Sir Walter Raleigh*. I ought indeed to have known my own mind better before I undertook them. Upon the whole, after making proper allowances, I am not diſſatisfied with the year.

The three weeks which I paſſed at Beriton, at the end of this and the beginning of the enſuing year, are almoſt a blank. I ſeldom went out; and as the ſcheme of my travelling was at laſt entirely ſettled, the hurry of impatience, the cares of preparations, and the tenderneſs of friends I was going to quit, allowed me hardly any moments for ſtudy.

37 JOURNAL, January 11th, 1763.] — I called upon Dr. Maty in the morning. He told me that the Duke de Nivernois deſired to be acquainted with me. It was indeed with that view that I had written to Maty from Beriton to preſent, in my name, a copy of my book to him. Thence I went to Becket, paid him his bill, (fifty-four pounds,) and gave him back his translation. It muſt be printed, though very indifferent. My comfort is, that my misfortune is not an uncommon one. We dined and ſupped at the Mallets.

12th. I went with Maty to viſit the Duke in Albemarle Street. He is a little emaciated figure, but appears to poſſeſs a good underſtanding, taſte and knowledge. He offered me very politely letters for Paris. We dined at our lodgings. I went to Covent Garden to ſee Woodward in Bobadil, and ſupped with the Mallets at George Scott's.

JOURNAL, Jan. 19th, 1763.]—I waited upon Lady Hervey and the Duke de Nivernois, and received my credentials. Lady Hervey's are for M. le Comte de Caylus, and Madame Geoffrin. The Duke received me civilly, but (perhaps through Maty's fault) treated me more as a man of letters, than as a man of faſhion. His letters are entirely in that ſtyle; for the Count de Caylus and M. M. de la Bleterie, de Ste Palaye, Caperonier, du Clos, de Foncemagne, and d'Alembert. I then undreſſed for the play. My father and I went to the Roſe, in the paſſage of the play-houſe, where we found Mallet, with about thirty friends. We dined together, and went thence into the pit, where we took our places in a body, ready to ſilence all oppoſition. However, we had no occaſion to exert ourſelves. Notwithſtanding the malice of party, Mallet's nation, connexions, and, indeed, imprudence, we heard nothing but applauſe. I think it was deſerved. The plan was borrowed from de la Motte, but the details and language have great merit. A fine vein of dramatic poetry runs through the piece. The ſcenes between

the father and son awaken almost every sensation of the human breast; and the counsel would have equally moved, but for the inconvenience unavoidable upon all theatres, that of intrusting fine speeches to indifferent actors. The perplexity of the catastrophe is much, and I believe justly, criticised. But another defect made a stronger impression upon me. When a poet ventures upon the dreadful situation of a father who condemns his son to death, there is no medium, the father must either be a monster or a hero. His obligations of justice, of the public good, must be as binding, as apparent, as perhaps those of the first Brutus. The cruel necessity consecrates his actions, and leaves no room for repentance. The thought is shocking, if not carried into action. In the execution of Brutus's sons I am sensible of that fatal necessity. Without such an example, the unsettled liberty of Rome would have perished the instant after its birth. But Alonzo might have pardoned his son for a rash attempt, the cause of which was a private injury, and whose consequences could never have disturbed an established government. He might have pardoned such a crime in any other subject; and as the laws could exact only an equal rigor for a son, a vain appetite for glory, and a mad affectation of heroism, could alone have influenced him to exert an unequal and superior severity.

[38] JOURNAL, 21 Février 1763.] — Aujourd'hui j'ai commencé ma tournée, pour voir les endroits dignes d'attention dans la ville. D'Augny m'a accompagné. Nous sommes allés d'abord à la bibliothéque de l'Abbaye de St. Germain des Prez, où tout le monde étoit occupé à l'arrangement d'un cabinet de curiosités, et à l'hôpital des Invalides, où le dôme étoit fermé à cause des réparations qu'on y faisoit. Il faut donc différer la visite et la description de ces deux endroits. De là nous sommes allés voir l'école militaire. Comme ce bâtiment s'éleve à côté des Invalides, bien des gens y verroient un moyen assez facile d'apprécier les ames différentes de leurs fondateurs. Dans l'un tout est grand et fastueux, dans l'autre tout est petit et mesquin. De petits corps de logis blancs et assez propres, qui, au lieu de 500 gentilshommes, dont on a parlé, en contiennent 258, composent tout l'établissement; car le manége et les écuries ne sont rien. Il est vrai qu'on dit que ces bâtimens ne sont qu'un échaffaudage, qu'on doit ôter, pour élever le véritable ouvrage sur ces débris. Il faut bien en effet qu'on n'ait pas bâti pour l'éternité, puisque dans vingt ans la plûpart des poutres se sont pourries. Nous jettâmes ensuite un coup d'œil sur l'église de St. Sulpice, dont la façade (le prétexte et le fruit de tant de lotteries) n'est point encore achevée.

[39] JOURNAL, Février 23, 1763.] — Je fis une visite à l'Abbé de la Bléterie, qui veut me mener chez la Duchesse d'Aiguillon; je me fis écrire chez M. de Bougainville que j'ai grande envie de connoître, et me rendis ensuite chez le Baron d'Olbach, ami de M. Helvetius. C'étoit ma première visite, et le premier pas dans une fort bonne maison. Le Baron a de l'esprit et des connoissances, et surtout il donne souvent et fort bien à dîner.

Février 24.] — L'Abbé Barthélémy est fort aimable et n'a de l'antiquaire

qu'une très grande érudition. Je finis la soirée par un souper très agréable chez Madame Bontemps avec M. le Marquis de Mirabeau. Cet homme est singulier; il a assez d'imagination pour dix autres, et pas assez de sens rassis pour lui seul. Je lui ai fait beaucoup de questions sur les titres de la noblesse Françoise; mais tout ce que j'en ai pu comprendre, c'est que personne n'a là dessus des idées bien nettes.

Mai 1763.] — Muni d'une double lettre de recommandation pour M. le Comte de Caylus, je m'étois imaginé que je trouverois reunis en lui l'homme de lettres et l'homme de qualité. Je le vis trois ou quatre fois, et je vis un homme simple, uni, bon, et qui me témoignoit une bonté extrême. Si je n'en ai point profité, je l'attribue moins à son caractère qu'à son genre de vie. Il se leve de grand matin, court les ateliers des artistes pendant tout le jour, et rentre chez lui à six heurs du soir pour se mettre en robe de chambre, et s'enfermer dans son cabinet. Le moyen de voir ses amis?

Si ces recommendations étoient stériles, il y en eut d'autres qui devinrent aussi fécondes par leurs suites, qu'elles étoient agréables en elles mêmes. Dans une capitale comme Paris, il est nécessaire, il est juste que des lettres de recommendation vous ayent distingué de la foule. Mais dèsque la glace est rompue, vos connoissances se multiplient, et vos nouveaux amis se font un plaisir de vous en procurer d'autres plus nouveaux encore. Heureux effet de ce caractère léger et aimable du François, qui a établi dans Paris une douceur et une liberté dans la société, inconnues à l'antiquité, et encore ignorées des autres nations. A Londres il faut faire son chemin dans les maisons qui ne s'ouvrent qu'avec peine. Là on croit vous faire plaisir en vous recevant. Ici on croit s'en faire à soi-même. Aussi je connois plus de maisons à Paris qu'à Londres: le fait n'est pas vraisemblable, mais il est vrai.

4° JOURNAL, September 16, 1763.] — ***** et **** nous ont quitté. Le premier est une méchante bête, grossier, ignorant, et sans usage du monde. Sa violence lui a fait vingt mauvaises affaires ici. On vouloit cependant lui faire entreprendre le voyage d'Italie, mais **** refusant de l'y accompagner, on a pris le parti de le rappeler en Angleterre en le faisant passer par Paris. **** est philosophe, et fort instruit, mais froid et nullement homme d'esprit. Il est las de courir le monde avec des jeunes foux. Après avoir rendu celui-ci à sa famille, il compte venir chercher le repos et la retraite dans ce pays. Qu'il a raison!

September 21me.] — J'ai essuyé une petite mortification au cercle. Le départ de Frey ayant fait vacquer l'emploi de directeur des étrangers, on m'avoit fait entrevoir qu'on me le destinoit, et ma franchise naturelle ne m'avoit pas permis de dissimuler que je le recevrois avec plaisir, et que je m'y attendois. Cependant la pluralité des voix l'a donné à M. Roel Hollandois. J'ai vu qu'on a saisi le premier moment que les loix permettoient de balloter, et que, si j'avois voulu rassembler mes amis, je l'aurois emporté; mais je sais en même temps que je l'aurois eu il y a trois mois.

fans y fonger un moment. Ma reputation baiſſe ici avec quelque raiſon, et j'ai des ennemis.

Septembre 25me.] — J'ai paſſé l'après dîner chez Madame de *****. Je ne l'avois pas vue depuis le 14 de ce mois. Elle ne m'a point parlé, qui n'a paru s'être apperçue de mon abſence. Ce ſilence m'a fait de la peine. J'avois une très belle réputation ici pour les mœurs, mais je vois qu'on commence à me confondre avec mes compatriotes et à me regarder comme un homme qui aime le vin et le déſordre.

Octobre 15me.] — J'ai paſſé l'après midi chez Madame de Meſery. Elle vouloit me faire rencontrer avec une Demoiſelle Françoiſe qu'elle a prié à ſouper; cette Demoiſelle, qui s'apelle Le Franc, a ſix pieds de haut. Sa taille, ſa figure, ſon ton, ſa converſation, tout annonce le grenadier le plus déterminé, mais un grenadier, qui a de l'eſprit, des connoiſſances, et l'uſage du monde. Auſſi ſon ſexe, ſon nom, ſon état, tout eſt myſtère. Elle ſe dit Pariſienne, fille de condition, qui s'eſt retirée dans ce pays pour cauſe de religion. Ne ſeroit-ce pas plûtot pour une affaire d'honneur?

Lauſanne, December 16me, 1763.] — Je me ſuis levé tard, et une viſite fort amicale de M. de Chandieu Villars†, m'a enlevé ce qui me reſtoit de la matinée. M. de Chandieu a ſervi en France avec diſtinction, et s'eſt retiré avec le grade de maréchal de camp. C'eſt une homm d'une grande politeſſe, d'un eſprit vif et facile; il ſeroit aujourd'hui à ſoixante ans, l'agrément d'une ſociété de jeunes filles. C'eſt preſque le ſeul étranger qui ait pu acquérir l'aiſance des manières Françoiſes, ſans en prendre en même temps les airs bruyans et étourdis.

Lauſanne, Décembre 18me, 1763.] — C'étoit un Dimanche de Communion. Les cérémonies religieuſes ſont bien étendues dans ce pays. Elles ſont rares, et par là même plus reſpectées; les Vieillards ſe plaignent à la vérité du refroidiſſement de la dévotion; cependant un jour, comme celui-ci, offre encore un ſpectacle très édifiant. Point d'affaires, point d'aſſemblée; on s'interdit juſqu'au *whiſt* ſi néceſſaire a l'exiſtence d'un Lauſannois.

Décembre 31me.]—Jetons un coup d'œil ſur cette année 1763. Voyons comment j'ai employé cette portion de mon exiſtence qui s'eſt écoulée et qui ne reviendra plus. Le mois de Janvier s'eſt paſſé dans le ſein de ma famille à qui il falloit ſacrifier tous mes momens, parcequ'ils étoient les derniers dans les ſoins d'un départ et dans l'embarras d'un voyage. Dans ce voyage cependant je trouvai moyen de lire les lettres de *Busbequius*, Miniſtre Impérial à la Porte. Elles ſont auſſi intéreſſantes qu'inſtructives. Je reſtai à Paris depuis le 28 JANVIER juſqu'au 9 MAI. Pendant tout ce temps je n'étudiai point. Les amuſements m'occupoient beaucoup, et l'habitude de la diſſipation, qu'on prend ſi facilement dans les grandes

† The father of Madame de Severy, whoſe family were Mr. Gibbon's moſt intimate friends, after he had ſettled at Lauſanne in the year 1783. S.

villes, ne me permettoient pas de mettre à profit le temps qui me demeuroit. A la vérité, si j'ai peu feuilleté les livres, l'observation de tous les objets curieux qui se présentent dans une grande capitale, et la conversation avec les plus grands hommes du siècle, m'ont instruit de beaucoup de choses que je n'aurois point trouvé dans les livres. Les sept ou huit derniers mois de cette année on été plus tranquilles. Dès que je me suis vu établi à Lausanne, j'ai entrepris une étude suivie sur la géographie ancienne de l'Italie. Mon ardeur s'est très bien soutenue pendant six semaines jusqu'à la fin du mois de Juin. Ce fut alors qu'un voyage de Geneve interrompit un peu mon assiduité, que le séjour de Mesery m'offrit mille distractions, et que la société de Saussure acheva de me faire perdre mon temps. Je repris mon travail avec ce Journal au milieu *d'Août*, et depuis ce temps, jusqu'au commencement de *Novembre*, j'ai mis a profit tous mes instans; j'avoue que pendant les deux derniers mois mon ardeur s'est un peu rallentie. Irement, Dans cette étude suivie j'ai lu: 1. Près de deux livres de la Géographie de *Strabon* sur l'Italie deux fois. 2. Une partie du deuxième livre de l'histoire naturelle de *Pline*. 3. Le quatrième chapitre du deuxième livre de *Pomponius Mela*. 4. Les Itinéraires d'Antonin, et de Jerusalem pour ce qui regarde l'Italie. Je les ai lus avec les Commentaires de Wesseling, &c. J'en ai tiré des tables de toutes les grandes routes de l'Italie, réduisant partout les milles Romains, en milles Anglois, et en lieues de France, selon les calculs de M. d'Anville. 5. L'Histoire des Grands Chemins de l'Empire Romain, par M. Bergier, deux volumes in 4°. 6. Quelques Extraits choisis de Ciceron, Tite Live, Velleius Paterculus, Tacite, et les deux Plines. La *Roma Vetus* de Nardini et plusieurs autres opuscules sur le même sujet qui composent presque tout le quatrième tome du Trésor des Antiquités Romaines de Grævius. 7. L'*Italia Antiqua* de Cluvier, en deux volumes in folio. 8. L'*Iter* ou le Voyage de Cl. Rutilius Numatianus dans les Gaules. 9. Les Catalogues de Virgile. 10. Celui de Silius Italicus. 11. Le Voyage d'Horace à Brundusium. N. B. J'ai lu deux fois ces trois derniers morceaux. 12. Le Traité sur les Mesures Itinéraires par M. d'Anville, et quelques Mémoires de l'Académie des Belles Lettres. IIment, On me fit attendre Nardini de la Bibliothéque de Geneve. Je voulus remplir ce moment de vide par la lecture de *Juvenal*, poëte que je ne connoissois encore que de réputation. Je l'ai lu deux fois avec plaisir et avec soin. IIIment, Pendant l'année j'ai lu quelques journaux, entre autres le Journal Etranger depuis son commencement, un tome des Nouvelles de Bayle, et les xxxv premiers volumes de la Bibliothéque raisonnée. IVment, J'ai beaucoup écrit de mon Recueil Géographique de l'Italie qui est déjà bien ample et assez curieux. Vment, Je ne dois point oublier ce journal même qui est devenu un ouvrage; 214 pages en quatre mois et demi et des pages des mieux fournies font un objet considérable. Aussi sans compter un grand nombre d'observations détachées, il s'y trouve des dissertations savantes et raisonnées. Celle du passage d'Annibal contient dix pages, et celle sur la guerre sociale en a douze. Mais ces morceaux sont trop étendus, et le journal même a besoin d'une reforme

qui lui retranche quantité de pièces qui sont assez étrangères à son veritable plan. Après avoir un peu réfléchi là dessus, voici quelques règles que je me suis faites sur les objets qui lui conviennent. Iment, Toute ma vie civile et privée, mes amusemens, mes liaisons, mes écarts même, et toutes mes réflexions qui ne roulent que sur des sujets qui me sont personnels, je conviens que tout cela n'est interessant que pour moi, mais aussi ce n'est que pour moi que j'écris mon journal. IIment, Tout ce que j'apprens par l'observation ou la conversation. A l'égard de celle-ci je ne rapporterai que ce que je tiens de personnes tout à la fois instruites et véridiques, lorsqu'il est question de faits, ou du petit nombre de ceux qui méritent le titre de grand homme, s'il s'agit de sentimens et d'opinions. IIIment, J'ai mettrai soigneusement tout ce qu'on peut appeler la partie matérielle de mes études; combien d'heures j'ai travaillé, combien de pages j'ai écrites ou lues, avec une courte notice du sujet qu'elles contenoient. IVment, Je serois fâché de lire sans réfléchir sur mes lectures, sans porter des jugemens raisonnés sur mes auteurs, et sans éplucher avec soin leurs idées et leurs expressions. Mais toute lecture ne fournit pas également. Il y a des livres qu'on parcourt, et il y en a qu'on lit; il y en a enfin qu'on doit étudier. Mes observations sur ceux de la première classe ne peuvent qu'être courtes et détachées. Elles conviennent au journal. Celles qui regardent la seconde classe n'y entreront qu'autant qu'elles auront le même caractère. Vment, Mes réflexions sur ce petit nombre d'auteurs classiques, qu'on médite avec soin, seront naturellement plus approfondies et plus suivies. C'est pour elles, et pour des pièces plus étendues et plus originales, aux quelles la lecture ou la méditation peut donner lieu, que je ferai un recueil séparé. Je conserverai cependant sa liaison avec le journal par des renvois constans qui marqueront le numero de chaque pièce avec le temps et l'occasion de sa composition. Moyennant ces précautions mon journal ne peut que m'être utile. Ce compte exact de mon temps m'en fera mieux sentir le prix; il dissipera par son détail, l'illusion qu'on se fait d'invisager seulement les années et les mois et de mépriser les heures et les jours. Je ne dis rien de l'agrément. C'en est un bien grand cependant de pouvoir repasser chaque époque de sa vie, et de se placer, dès qu'on le veut, au milieu de toutes les petites scenes qu'on a joué, ou qu'on a vu jouer.

6 Avril 1764. ] — J'ai été éveillé par Pavilliard et H**** pour arrêter une facheuse affaire qui s'étoit passée au bal après notre départ. G**** qui faisoit sa cour a Mademoiselle *'**** depuis long temps, voyoit avec peine que **'** (*****') menaçoit de le supplanter. Il ne répondoit jamais aux politesses de son rival, que par des brusqueries; et à la fin à l'occasion de la main de Mademoiselle ****** il s'emporta contre lui le plus mal à propos du monde, et le traita devant tout le monde *d'impertinent*, &c. J'ai appris de Pavilliard que******* lui avoit envoyé un cartel, et que la réponse de G'*** ne l'ayant point contenté ils devoient se rencontrer à cinq heures du soir. Au désespoir de voir mon ami engagé dans une affaire qui ne pouvoit que lui faire du tort, j'ai couru chez M. de Crousaz où demeuroit *'*'**. J'ai bientôt vu qu'il ne lui falloit qu'une explication assez légère, jointe a

quelque apologie de la part de G*** pour le désarmer, et je suis retourné chez lui avec H**** pour l'engager à la donner. Nous lui avons fait comprendre que l'aveu d'une véritable tort ne blessoit jamais l'honneur, et que son insulte envers les dames aussi bien qu'envers **** étoit sans excuse. Je lui ai dicté un billet convenable, mais sans la moindre bassesse, que j'ai porté au Hollandois. Il a rendu les armes sur le champ, lui a fait la réponse la plus polie, et m'a remercié mille fois du rôle que j'avois fait. En vérité cet homme n'est pas difficile. Après dîner j'ai vu nos dames à qui j'ai porté une lettre d'excuses. La mère n'en veut plus a G ***, mais Mademoiselle ***** est désolée du tort que cette affaire peut lui faire dans le monde. Cette négociation m'a pris le jour entier; mais peut-on mieux employer un jour qu'à sauver la vie, peut-être a deux personnes, et à conserver la réputation d'un ami? Au reste j'ai vu au fond plus d'un caractère. G*** est brave, vrai, et sensé, mais d'une impétuosité qui n'est que plus dangereuse pour être supprimée à l'ordinaire. C***** est d'une étourderie d'enfant. De S*** d'une indifférence qui vient bien plus d'un défaut de sensibilité, que d'un excès de raison. J'ai conçu une véritable amitié pour H***. Il a beaucoup de raison et des sentimens d'honneur avec un cœur des mieux placé.

41 JOURNAL, Lausanne, Avril 17, 1764.] — Guise et moi, nous avons donné un dîner excellent et beaucoup de vin à Dupleix, et à beaucoup d'autres. Après dîner nous nous sommes échappés pour faire quelques visites aux ***, aux ***, et aux ***. Je pars avec quelques regrets: cependant un peu de vin, et une gaieté dont je ne pouvois rendre raison, m'ont rendu d'une étourderie sans pareille, vis-à-vis de ces petites. Je leur ai dit cent folies, et nous nous sommes embrassés en riant. Mesery nous a donné un très beau souper avec une partie de la compagnie du matin, augmentée de Bourgeois et de Pavilliard. Ce souper, les adieux sur-tout a Pavilliard, que j'aime véritablement, et les préparatifs du départ, m'ont occupé jusqu'à deux heures du matin.

Je quitte Lausanne avec moins de regret que la première fois. Je n'y laisse plus que des connoissances. C'étoit là maîtresse et l'ami dont je pleurois la perte. D'ailleurs je voyois Lausanne avec les yeux encore novices d'un jeune homme, qui lui devoit la partie raisonable de son existence, et qui jugeoit sans objets de comparaison. Aujourd'hui j'y vois une ville mal bâtie, au milieu d'un pays délicieux, qui jouit de la paix et du repos, et qui les prend pour la liberté. Un peuple nombreux et bien élevé, qui aime la société, qui y est propre, et qui admet avec plaisir les étrangers dans ses cotteries, qui seroient bien plus agréables, si la conversation n'avoit pas cédé la place au jeu. Les femmes sont jolies, et malgré leur grande liberté, elles sont très sages. Tout au plus peuvent-elles être un peu complaisantes, dans l'idée honnête, mais incertaine, de prendre une étranger dans leurs filets. L'affectation est le péché originel des Lausannois. Affectation de dépense, affectation de noblesse, affectation d'esprit: les deux premières sont fort répandues, pendant que la troisième est fort rare. Comme ce vice se choque a tout instant avec celui des autres, Lausanne se trouve partagée

dans un grand nombre d'états, dont les principes et le langage varient à l'infini, et qui n'ont de commun que leur mépris réciproque les uns pour les autres. Leur goût pour la dépense s'accorde mal avec celui de la noblesse. Ils périroient plutôt que de renoncer à leurs grandeurs, ou d'embrasser la seule profession qui puisse les y soutenir. La maison de M. de Mesery est charmante: le caractère franc et généreux du Mari, les agrémens de la femme, une situation délicieuse, une chère excellente, la compagnie de ses compatriotes, et une liberté parfaite, font aimer ce séjour à tout Anglois. Que je voudrois en trouver un semblable à Londres! J'y regrette encore Holroyd, mais il nous suit de près.

42 See Appendix, Letter, N°. XVII.

43 JOURNAL, Florence, Août 9me, 1764.] — Cocchi à diné avec nous. Nous avons beaucoup causé, mais je ne lui trouve pas le genre qu'on lui attribue, c'est peut-être, parceque les nôtres ne sont pas analogues. J'entrevois de l'extravagance dans ses idées, de l'affectation dans ses manières. Il se plaint à tout moment de sa pauvreté. Il connoit peu la véritable dignité d'un homme de lettres. S'il a beaucoup de science, elle est bornée à la physique. Il m'a demandé si Lord Spenser ne pouvoit pas faire des évêques, et m'a fait un conte de Lord Lyttelton (dont il ne peut souffrir le fils) où il étoit question des Parlemens de Campagne.

44 Now the church of the Zoccolants, or Franciscan Friars. S.

45 The members were Lord Mountstuart (now Earl of Bute), Colonel Edmonstone, Weddal, Palgrave, Lord Berkley, Godfrey Clarke, Holroyd (Lord Sheffield), Major Ridley, Sir William Guize, Sir John Aubrey, Lord Abingdon, Hon. Peregrine Bertie, Cleaver, Hon. John Damer, Hon. George Damer (Lord Milton), Sir Thomas Gascoygne, Sir John Hort, E. Gibbon.

46 Mr. Hume seems to have had a different opinion of this work.

## *From* Mr. HUME *to* GIBBON.

SIR,

It is but a few days ago since M. Deyverdun put your manuscript into my hands, and I have perused it with great pleasure and satisfaction. I have only one objection, derived from the language in which it is written. Why do you compose in French, and carry faggots into the wood, as Horace says with regard to Romans who wrote in Greek? I grant that you have a like motive to those Romans, and adopt a language much more generally diffused than your native tongue: but have you not remarked the fate of those two ancient languages in following ages? The Latin, though then less celebrated, and confined to more narrow limits, has in some measure outlived the Greek, and is now more generally understood by men of letters. Let the French, therefore, triumph in the present diffusion of their tongue. Our solid and increasing establishments in America, where we need less dread the inundation of Barbarians, promise a superior stability and duration to the English language.

Your use of the French tongue has also led you into a style more poetical and figurative, and more highly colored, than our language seems to admit

of in historical productions: for such is the practice of French writers, particularly the more recent ones, who illuminate their pictures more than custom will permit us. On the whole, your History, in my opinion, is written with spirit and judgment; and I exhort you very earnestly to continue it. The objections that occurred to me on reading it, were so frivolous, that I shall not trouble you with them, and should, I believe, have a difficulty to recollect them. I am, with great esteem,

SIR,

Your most obedient,
and most humble Servant,
(Signed) DAVID HUME.

LONDON,
24th of Oct. 1767.

[47] He neglected to burn them. He left at Sheffield-Place the introduction, or first book, in forty-three pages folio, written in a very small hand, besides a considerable number of notes. If Mr. Gibbon had not declared his judgment, perhaps Mr. Hume's opinion, expressed in the letter in the last note, might have justified the publication of it. S.

[48] The editor of the Warburtonian tracts, Dr. Parr, (p. 192.) considers the allegorical interpretation "as completely refuted in a most clear, "elegant, and decisive work of criticism; which could not, indeed, "derive authority from the greatest name; but to which the greatest name "might with propriety have been affixed."

[49] The Divine Legation of Moses is a monument, already crumbling in the dust, of the vigor and weakness of the human mind. If Warburton's new argument proved any thing, it would be a demonstration against the legislator, who left his people without the knowledge of a future state. But some episodes of the work, on the Greek philosophy, the hieroglyphics of Egypt, &c. are entitled to the praise of learning, imagination, and discernment.

[50] Like the first mortals, blest is he,
From debts, and usury, and business free,
With his own team who ploughs the soil,
Which grateful once confess'd his father's toil. FRANCIS.

[51] From the mixed, though polite, company of Boodle's, White's, and Brooks's, I must honorably distinguish a weekly society, which was instituted in the year 1764, and which still continues to flourish, under the title of the Literary Club. (Hawkins's Life of Johnson, p. 415. Boswell's Tour to the Hebrides, p. 97.) The names of Dr. Johnson, Mr. Burke, Mr. Topham Beauclerck, Mr. Garrick, Dr. Goldsmith, Sir Joshua Reynolds, Mr. Colman, Sir William Jones, Dr. Percy, Mr. Fox, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Adam Smith, Mr. Steevens, Mr. Dunning, Sir Joseph Banks, Dr. Warton, and his brother Mr. Thomas Warton, Dr. Burney, &c. form a large and luminous constellation of British stars.

[52] A French sketch of Mr. Gibbon's Life, written by himself, probably for the use of some foreign journalist or translator, contains no fact not

mentioned in his English Life. He there describes himself with his usual candor. Depuis huit ans il a assisté aux délibérations les plus importantes, mais il ne s'est jamais trouvé *le courage*, ni *le talent*, de parler dans une assemblée publique. This sketch was written before the publication of his three last volumes, as in closing it he says of his History: Cette entreprise lui demande encore plusieurs années d'une application soutenue; mais quelqu'en soit le succès, il trouve dans cette application même un plaisir toujours varié et toujours renaissant.

53 Of the voluminous writings of the Abbé de Mably, (see his Eloge by the Abbé Brizard,) the *Principes du droit public de l'Europe*, and the first part of the *Observations sur l'Histoire de France*, may be deservedly praised; and even the *Manière d'écrire l'Histoire* contains several useful precepts and judicious remarks. Mably was a lover of virtue and freedom; but his virtue was austere, and his freedom was impatient of an equal. Kings, magistrates, nobles, and successful writers, were the objects of his contempt, or hatred, or envy; but his illiberal abuse of Voltaire, Hume, Buffon, the Abbé Raynal, Dr. Robertson, and *tutti quanti*, can be injurious only to himself.

" Est il rien de plus fastidieux (says the polite Censor) qu'un M. Gibbon; " qui dans son éternelle Histoire des Empereurs Romains, suspend à " chaque instant son insipide et lente narration, pour vous expliquer la " cause de faits que vous allez lire. " (Manière d'écrire l'Histoire, p. 184. See another passage, p. 280.) Yet I am indebted to the Abbé de Mably for two such advocates as the anonymous French Critic and my friend Mr. Hayley. (Hayley's Works, 8vo Edit. Vol. ii. p. 261——263.)

54 See Appendix, Letters, N° LXXXII. LXXXIII. and CXIV.

55 The stupendous title, *Thoughts on the Causes of the grand Apostacy*, at first agitated my nerves, till I discovered that it was the apostacy of the whole church, since the Council of Nice, from Mr. Taylor's private religion. His book is a thorough mixture of *high* enthusiasm and *low* buffoonery, and the Millennium is a fundamental article of his creed.

56 From his grammar-school at Kingston upon Hull, Mr. Joseph Milner pronounces an anathema against all rational religion. *His* faith is a divine taste, a spiritual inspiration; *his* church is a mystic and invisible body: the *natural* Christians, such as Mr. Locke, who believe and interpret the Scriptures, are, in his judgment, no better than profane infidels.

57 Astruc de la Structure du Cœur, tom. i. 77. 79. Appendix, Letter CXLIV.

58 Monthly Review, Oct. 1790.

59 Oeuvres de Beaumarchais, tom. iii. p. 299. 355.

60 I can never forget the delight with which that diffusive and ingenious orator, Mr. Burke, was heard by all sides of the house, and even by those whose existence he proscribed. (See Mr. Burke's speech on the Bill of Reform, p. 72——80.) The Lords of Trade blushed at their insignificancy, and Mr. Eden's appeal to the two thousand five hundred volumes of our Reports, served only to excite a general laugh. I take this opportunity of certifying the correctness of Mr. Burke's printed speeches, which I have heard and read.

[61] *From* EDWARD GIBBON esq. *to* —— esq.

DEAR SIR, 2d July 1779.

Yesterday I received a very interesting communication from my friend, whose kind and honorable behaviour towards me I must always remember with the highest gratitude. He informed me that, in consequence of an arrangement, a place at the Board of Trade was reserved for me, and that as soon as I signified my acceptance of it, he was satisfied no farther difficulties would arise. My answer to him was sincere and explicit. I told him that I was far from approving all the past measures of the administration, even some of those in which I myself had silently concurred; that I saw, with the rest of the world, many capital defects in the characters of some of the present ministers, and was sorry that in so alarming a situation of public affairs, the country had not the assistance of several able and honest men who are now in opposition. But that I had not formed with any of those persons in opposition any engagements or connexions which could in the least restrain or affect my parliamentary conduct; that I could not discover among them such superior advantages, either of measures or of abilities, as could make me consider it as a duty to attach myself to their cause; and that I clearly understood, from the public and private language of ——, one of their leaders, that in the actual state of the country, he himself was seriously of opinion that opposition could not tend to any good purpose, and might be productive of much mischief; that, for those reasons, I saw no objections which could prevent me from accepting an office under the present government, and that I was ready to take a step which I found to be consistent both with my interest and my honor.

It must now be decided, whether I may continue to live in England, or whether I must soon withdraw myself into a kind of philosophical exile in Switzerland. My father left his affairs in a state of embarrassment, and even of distress. My attempts to dispose of a part of my landed property have hitherto been disappointed, and are not likely at present to be more successful: and my plan of expense, though moderate in itself, deserves the name of extravagance, since it exceeds my real income. The addition of the salary which is now offered will make my situation perfectly easy; but I hope you will do me the justice to believe that my mind could not be so, unless I were satisfied of the rectitude of my own conduct.

[62] The borough which Mr. Gibbon had represented in parliament.

[63] *Extract from* M. GIBBON's *Common Place Book.*

Thomas Newton, Bishop of Bristol and Dean of St. Paul's, was born at Litchfield on the 21st of December 1703, O. S. (1st January 1704, N. S.), and died the 14th of February 1782, in the 79th year of his age. A few days before his death he finished the memoirs of his own life, which have been prefixed to an edition of his posthumous works, first published in quarto, and since (1787) re-published in six volumes octavo.

*P.* 173, 174. Some books were published in 1781, which employed some of the Bishop's leisure-hours, and during his illness. Mr. Gibbon's *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* he read throughout, but it by no means answered his expectation; for he found it rather a prolix and tedious performance, his matter uninteresting, and his style affected; his testimonies not to be depended upon, and his frequent scoffs at religion offensive to every sober mind. He had before been convicted of making false quotations, which should have taught him more prudence and caution. But, without examining his authorities, there is one which must necessarily strike every man who has read Dr. Burnet's Treatise *de Statû Mortuorum.* In vol. iii. p. 99. Mr. G. has the following note: — "Burnet (*de S. M.* "p. 56—84.) collects the opinions of the Fathers, as far as they assert "the sleep or repose of human souls till the day of judgment. He afterwards "exposes (p. 91.) the inconveniences which must arise if they possessed "a more active and sensible existence. Who would not from hence infer "that Dr. B. was an advocate for the sleep or insensible existence of the soul "after death? whereas his doctrine is directly the contrary. He has "employed some chapters in treating of the state of human souls in the "interval between death and the resurrection; and after various proofs "from reason, from scripture, and the Fathers, his conclusions are, "that human souls exist after their separation from the body, that they are "in a good or evil state according to their good or ill behaviour, but that "neither their happiness nor their misery will be complete or perfect "before the day of judgment. His argumentation is thus summed up at "the end of the 4th chapter — *Ex quibus constat primo, animas superesse* "*extincto corpore; secundo, bonas bene, malas male se habituras; tertio,* "*nec illis summam felicitatem, nec his summam miseriam, accessuram esse* "*ante diem judicii.*" (The Bishop's reading the whole was a greater compliment to the work than was paid to it by two of the most eminent of his brethren for their learning and station. The one entered upon it, but was soon wearied, and laid it aside in disgust: the other returned it upon the bookseller's hands; and it is said that Mr. G. himself happened unluckily to be in the shop at the same time.)

Does the Bishop comply with his own precept in the next page? (p. 175.) "Old age should lenify, should soften men's manners, and "make them more mild and gentle; but often has the contrary effect, "hardens their hearts, and makes them more sour and crabbed." — He is speaking of Dr. Johnson.

Have I ever insinuated that preferment-hunting is the great occupation of an ecclesiastical life? (Memoirs passim); that a minister's influence and a bishop's patronage are sometimes pledged eleven deep? (p. 151.) that a prebendary considers the audit-week as the better part of the year? (p. 127.) or that the most eminent of priests, the pope himself, would change their religion, if any thing better could be offered them? (p. 56.) Such things are more than insinuated in the Bishop's Life, which afforded some scandal to the church, and some diversion to the profane laity.

[64] It may not be generally known that Louis the Sixteenth is a great reader, and a reader of English books. On perusing a passage of my History which seems to compare him to Arcadius or Honorius, he expressed his resentment to the Prince of B*****, from whom the intelligence was conveyed to me. I shall neither disclaim the allusion, nor examine the likeness; but the situation of the late King of France excludes all suspicion of flattery; and I am ready to declare that the concluding observations of my third volume were written before his accession to the throne.

[65] Sir Richard Worsley, Lord Chesterfield, Broderic Lord Midleton, and Mr. Hume, brother to Sir Abraham.

[66] See Appendix, Letters, N° CL. CLI. CLII. CLIII. CLIV. CLVI. CLIX.

[67] Ibid. Letter, N° CLXXVI.

[68] Ibid. Letters, N° CLXXI. CLXXVI.

[69] Mémoires Secrets de la Cour de Berlin.

[70] See Letter in the Continuation, October 1, 1788.

[71] See preface to the Life of Mahomet, p. 10, 11.

[72] I have followed the judicious precept of the Abbé de Mably, (Manière d'écrire l'Histoire, p. 110.) who advises the historian not to dwell too minutely on the decay of the eastern empire; but to consider the barbarian conquerors as a more worthy subject of his narrative. "Fas est et ab "hoste doceri."

[73] *Extract from* Mr. GIBBON's *Common-place Book.*

| | |
|---|---|
| The IVth Volume of the History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, - - | begun March 1st, 1782—ended June 1784. |
| The Vth Volume, - - | begun July 1784—ended May 1st, 1786. |
| The VIth Volume, - - | begun May 18th, 1786—ended June 27th, 1787. |

These three volumes were sent to press August 15th; 1787, and the whole impression was concluded April following.

[74] Observations on the Commerce of the American States, by John Lord Sheffield, the 6th edition, London, 1784, in octavo.

[75] He said the facts that made up the volume of narrative were unparalleled in atrociousness, and that nothing equal in criminality was to be traced, either in ancient or modern history, in the correct periods of Tacitus or the luminous page of Gibbon. *Morning Chronicle, June* 14, 1788.

[76] OCCASIONAL STANZAS, *by* Mr. HAYLEY, *read after the Dinner at* Mr. CADELL's, *May* 8, 1788; *being the Day of the Publication of the Three Last Volumes of* Mr. GIBBON's *History, and his Birth-day.*

GENII of ENGLAND, and of ROME!
In mutual triumph here assume
The honors each may claim!

This ſocial ſcene with ſmiles ſurvey!
And conſecrate the feſtive day
To Friendſhip and to Fame!

Enough, by Deſolation's tide,
With anguiſh, and indignant pride,
Has ROME bewail'd her fate;
And mourn'd that Time, in Havoc's hour,
Defac'd each monument, of power
To ſpeak her truly great:

O'er maim'd POLYBIUS, juſt and ſage,
O'er LIVY'S mutilated page,
How deep was her regret!
Touch'd by this Queen, in ruin grand,
See! Glory, by an Engliſh hand,
Now pays a mighty debt:

Lo! ſacred to the ROMAN Name,
And rais'd, like ROME'S immortal Fame,
By Genius and by Toil,
The ſplendid Work is crown'd to-day,
On which Oblivion ne'er ſhall prey,
Nor Envy make her ſpoil!

ENGLAND, exult! and view not now
With jealous glance each nation's brow,
Where Hiſt'ry's palm has ſpread!
In every path of liberal art,
Thy Sons to prime diſtinction ſtart,
And no ſuperior dread.

Science for Thee a NEWTON rais'd;
For thy renown a SHAKESPEARE blaz'd,
Lord of the drama's ſphere!
In different fields to equal praiſe
See Hiſt'ry now thy GIBBON raiſe
To ſhine without a peer!

Eager to honor living worth,
And bleſs to-day the double birth,
That proudeſt joy may claim,
Let artleſs Truth this homage pay,
And conſecrate the feſtive day
To Friendſhip and to Fame!

77 SONNET *to* EDWARD GIBBON esq.

*On the Publication of his Second and Third Volumes*, 1781.

WITH proud delight th' imperial founder gaz'd
On the new beauty of his second Rome,
When on his eager eye rich temples blaz'd,
And his fair city rose in youthful bloom:
A pride more noble may thy heart assume,
O GIBBON! gazing on thy growing work,
In which, constructed for a happier doom,
No hasty marks of vain ambition lurk:
Thou may'st deride both Time's destructive sway,
And baser Envy's beauty mangling dirk;
Thy gorgeous fabric, plann'd with wise delay,
Shall baffle foes more savage than the Turk;
As ages multiply, its fame shall rise,
And earth must perish ere its splendor dies.

HAYLEY's *Works*, 8vo edit. vol. i. p. 162.

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78 *A* CARD *of* INVITATION *to* Mr. GIBBON *at Brighthelmstone*, 1781.

AN English sparrow, pert and free,
Who chirps beneath his native tree,
Hearing the Roman eagle's near,
And feeling more respect than fear,
Thus, with united love and awe,
Invites him to his shed of straw.
Tho' he is but a twittering sparrow,
The field he hops is rather narrow,
When nobler plumes attract his view
He ever pays them homage due,
He looks with reverential wonder
On him, whose talons bear the thunder;
Nor could the Jackdaws e'er inveigle
His voice to vilify the eagle,
Tho' issuing from the holy tow'rs,
In which they build their warmest bow'rs,
Their sovereign's haunt they slyly search,
In hopes to catch him on his perch,
(For Pindar says, beside his God
The thunder-bearing bird will nod,)
Then, peeping round his still retreat,
They pick from underneath his feet

Some

Some molted feather he lets fall,
And ſwears he cannot fly at all. —
Lord of the ſky! whoſe pounce can tear
Theſe croakers, that infeſt the air,
Truſt him! the ſparrow loves to ſing
The praiſe of thy imperial wing!
He thinks thou'lt deem him, on his word,
An honeſt, though familiar bird;
And hopes thou ſoon wilt condeſcend
To look upon thy little friend;
That he may boaſt around his grove
A viſit from the bird of Jove.

HAYLEY's *Works*, vol. i. p. 189.

[79] See his preface, page 28. 32.

[80] Vol. iv. part I. page 342. 344.

[81] Of their fourteen octavo volumes the two laſt include the whole body of the notes. The public importunity had forced *me* to remove them from the end of the volume to the bottom of the page; but I have often repented of my compliance.

[82] M. Wilhelm. de Severy.

[83] The family of de Severy.

[84] See Buffon, Supplément à l'Hiſtoire naturelle, tom. vii. page 158—164. of a given number of new-born infants, one half, by the fault of nature or man, is extinguiſhed before the age of puberty and reaſon. — A melancholy calculation!

[85] Mr. d'Alembert relates, that as he was walking in the gardens of Sans Souci with the King of Pruſſia, Frederic ſaid to him, "Do you ſee "that old woman, a poor weeder, aſleep on that ſunny bank? "ſhe is probably a more happy being than either of us." The king and the philoſopher may ſpeak for themſelves; for my part I do not envy the old woman.

[86] In the firſt of ancient or modern romances (Tom Jones), this proud ſentiment, this feaſt of fancy, is enjoyed by the genius of Fielding. — "Come, bright love of fame, &c. fill my ravished fancy with the hopes of "charming ages yet to come. Foretel me that ſome tender maid, whoſe "grand-mother is yet unborn, hereafter, when, under the fictitious "name of Sophia, ſhe reads the real worth which once exiſted in my "Charlotte, ſhall from her ſympathetic breaſt ſend forth the heaving ſigh. "Do thou teach me not only to foreſee but to enjoy, nay even to feed on "future praiſe. Comfort me by the ſolemn aſſurance, that, when the "little parlour in which I ſit at this moment ſhall be reduced to a worſe "furniſhed box, I ſhall be read with honor by thoſe who never knew nor "ſaw me, and whom I ſhall neither know nor ſee." Book xiii ch. 1.

[87] Mr. Buffon, from our diſregard of the poſſibility of death within the four-and-twenty-hours, concludes that a chance, which falls below or riſes above ten thouſand to one, will never affect the hopes or fears of a

reasonable man. The fact is true, but our courage is the effect of thoughtlessness, rather than of reflection. If a public lottery were drawn for the choice of an immediate victim, and if our name were inscribed on one of the ten thousand tickets, should we be perfectly easy?

88 See Buffon.

89 Alluding to Sheffield-Place.

90 His portrait.

91 Observations on the Project for abolishing the Slave-Trade, by Lord Sheffield.

92 Maréchal de Castries and several branches of his family, Duc de Guignes and daughters, Duc and Ducheſſe de Guiche, Madame de Grammont, Princeſſe d'Henin, Princeſſe de Bouillon, Ducheſſe de Biron, Prince de Salms, Comte de Schomberg, M. Lally Tolendal, M. de Mounier, Madame d'Agueſſeau and family, M. de Malzherbes, &c. &c.

93 The remainder of the letter was dictated by Mr. Gibbon, and written by M. Wilh. de Severy. S.

94 A commiſſion, at the head of which was Monſieur Fiſcher, one of the principal members of the government of Berne, a very active and intelligent man, who would have diſtinguished himſelf in the adminiſtration of any country. This commiſſion, which was accompanied by two or three thouſand of the beſt of the German militia of the Canton of Berne, was ſent for the purpoſe of examining into ſome attempts to introduce the French revolutionary principles into the Pays de Vaud. Several perſons were ſeized; the greater part were releaſed; the examination was ſecret, but Roſſet and La Motte were confined in the caſtle of Chillon; and being afterwards condemned, for correſpondence with the French, to a long impriſonment, were transferred to the caſtle of Arbourg. S.

95 Madame de Silva

96 The apartment principally inhabited during the reſidence of my family at Lauſanne. S.

97 It would be more correct if he had ſaid, my preference of land. S.

98 Berne.

99 His letters to me for a certain period, which he deſired me to ſend, to aſſiſt him in writing his Memoirs. S.

102 Miſs Holroyd.

103 Meaning Sheffield-Place.

104 Mr. Gibbon alludes to letters written to him by Miſs Holroyd, when ſhe was returning from Switzerland, along the Rhine, to England. S.

105 The Anſwer to Mr. Gibbon's Letter which follows, gives the beſt account I have ſeen of the barbarous tranſaction alluded to. S.

SHEFFIELD-PLACE, November 1791.

"YOUR three letters received yeſterday cauſed the moſt ſincere pleaſure to each individual of this family; to none more than myſelf. Praiſe, (I fear, beyond my deſerts,) from one whoſe opinion I ſo highly value, and whoſe eſteem I ſo much wish to preſerve, is more pleaſing than I can

deſcribe. I had not neglected to make the collection of facts which you recommend, and which the great variety of unfortunate perſons whom we ſee, or with whom we correſpond, enables me to make.

" As to that part of your letter which reſpects *my ſtudies*, I can only ſay, the ſlighteſt hint on that ſubject is always received with the greateſt gratitude, and attended to with the utmoſt punctuality; but I muſt decline that topic for the preſent, to obey your commands, which require from me the horrid account of the *maſſacre aux Carmes*. — Eight reſpectable eccleſiaſtics landed, about the beginning of October, from an open boat at Seaford, wet as the waves. The natives of the coaſt were endeavouring to get from them what they had not, (viz.) money, when a gentleman of the neighbourhood came to their protection; and, finding they had nothing, showed his good ſenſe, by diſpatching them to Milord Sheffield: they had been pillaged, and with great difficulty had eſcaped from Paris. The reception they met with at this houſe, ſeemed to make the greateſt impreſſion on them; they were in extacy on finding M. de Lally living: they gradually became cheerful, and enjoyed their dinner: they were greatly affected as they recollected themſelves, and found us attending on them. Having dined, and drank a glaſs of wine, they began to diſcover the beauties of the dining-room, and of the chateau: as they walked about, they were overheard to expreſs their admiration at the treatment they met, and *from Proteſtants*. We then aſſembled in the library, formed half a circle round the fire, M. de Lally and Milord occupying the hearth *à l'Angloiſe*, and queſtioning the prieſts concerning their eſcape. Thus we diſcovered, that two of theſe unfortunate men were in the Carmelite Convent at the time of the maſſacre of the one hundred and twenty prieſts, and had moſt miraculously eſcaped, by climbing trees in the garden, and from thence over the tops of the buildings. One of them, a man of ſuperior appearance, deſcribed, in the moſt pathetic manner, the death of the Archbiſhop of Arles, (and with ſuch ſimplicity and feeling, as to leave no doubt of the truth of all that he ſaid,) to the following purport. — On the ſecond of September, about five o'clock in the evening, at the time they were permitted to walk in the garden, expecting every hour to be releaſed, they expreſſed their ſurpriſe at ſeeing ſeveral large pits, which had been digging for two days paſt: they ſaid, the day is almoſt ſpent; and yet Manuel told a perſon who interceded for us laſt Thurſday, that on the Sunday following not one ſhould remain in captivity: we are ſtill priſoners: ſoon after, they heard ſhouts, and ſome muſquet-ſhots. An enſign of the national guard, ſome commiſſaries of the ſections, and ſome Marſeillois ruſhed in: the miſerable victims, who were diſperſed in the garden, aſſembled under the walls of the church, not daring to go in, leſt it ſhould be polluted with blood. One man, who was behind the reſt, was ſhot. '*Point de coup de fuſil*,' cried one of the chiefs of the aſſaſſins, thinking that kind of death too eaſy. Theſe well-trained fuſileers went to the rear; les piques, les haches, les poignards came forward. They demanded the Archbiſhop of Arles; he was immediately ſurrounded by

all the priests. The worthy prelate said to his friends, 'Let me pass; if my blood will appease them, what signifies it, if I die? Is it not my duty to preserve your lives at the expense of my own?' He asked the eldest of the priests to give him absolution: he knelt to receive it; and when he arose, forced himself from them, advanced slowly, and with his arms crossed upon his breast, and his eyes raised to heaven, said to the assassins, '*Je suis celui que vous cherchez.*' His appearance was so dignified and noble, that, during ten minutes, not one of these wretches had courage to lift his hand against him: they upbraided each other with cowardice, and advanced; one look from this venerable man struck them with awe, and they retired. At last, one of the miscreants struck off the cap of the Archbishop with a pike; respect once violated, their fury returned, and another from behind cut him through the skull with a sabre. He raised his right hand to his eyes; with another stroke they cut off his hand. The Archbishop said, *O! mon Dieu!* and raised the other: a third stroke across the face left him sitting; the fourth extended him lifeless on the ground; and then all pressed forward, and buried their pikes and poniards in the body. The priests all agreed, that he had been one of the most amiable men in France; and that his only *crime* was, having, since the revolution, expended his private fortune, to support the necessitous clergy of his diocese. The second victim was the General des Benedictins. Then the national guards obliged the priests to go into the church, telling them, they should appear, one after another, before the Commissaires de section. They had hardly entered, before the people impatiently called for them; upon which, all kneeling before the altar, the Bishop of Beauvais gave them absolution: they were then obliged to go out, two by two; they passed before a commissaire, who did not question, but only counted, his victims; they had in their sight the heaps of dead, to which they were going to add. Among the one hundred and twenty priests thus sacrificed, were the Bishops of Saintes and Beauvais (both of the Rochefoucauld family). I should not omit to remark, that one of the priests observed they were assassinated, because they would not swear to a constitution which their murderers had destroyed. We had (to comfort us for this melancholy story) the most grateful expressions of gratitude towards the English nation, from whom they did not do us the justice to expect such a reception.

"There can be no doubt that the whole business of the massacres was concerted at a meeting at the Duke of Orleans's house. I shall make you as dismal as myself by this narration. I must change the style." * * *

[108] A considerable town between Lausanne and Geneva.

[107] Quòd tamen usque potest, vires sibi demere tentat.
Nec, quo centimanum dejecerat igne Typhœa,
Nunc armatur eo: nimiùm feritatis in illo.
Est aliud levius fulmen; cui dextra Cyclopum
Sævitiæ, flammæque minus, minus addidit iræ:
Tela secunda vocant Superi.

108 Lord Loughborough.

109 The death of Lady Sheffield.

110 She was then in her eightieth year. S.

111 Three quarts of the ſame fluid as before were diſcharged.

112 Eden-Farm.

113 The body was not opened till the fifth day after his death. It was then found, except that a degree of mortification, not very conſiderable, had taken place on a part of the *colon*; which, with the whole of the *omentum*, of a very enlarged ſize, had deſcended into the *ſcrotum*, forming a bag that hung down nearly as low as the knee. Since that part had been inflamed and ulcerated, Mr. Gibbon could not bear a truſs; and when the laſt ſix quarts of fluid were diſcharged, the *colon* and *omentum* deſcending lower, they, by their weight, drew the lower mouth of the ſtomach downwards to the *os pubis*, and this probably was the immediate cauſe of his death.

The following is the account of the appearance of the body, given by an eminent ſurgeon who opened it:

" Aperto tumore, qui ab inguine uſque ad genu ſe extenderat, obſerva-
" tum eſt partem ejus inferiorem conſtare ex tunicâ vaginali teſtis con-
" tinenti duas quaſi libras liquoris ſeroſi tincti ſanguine. Ea autem fuit
" facci illius amplitudo ut portioni liquoris longè majori capiendæ
" ſufficeret. In poſteriori parte hujus facci teſtis ſitus fuit. Hunc omninò
" ſanum invenimus.

" Partem tumoris ſuperiorem occupaverant integrum ferè omentum
" et major pars inteſtini coli. Hæ partes, ſacco ſibi proprio incluſæ, ſibi
" invicem et ſacco ſuo adeò arctè adhæſerunt ut coaliſſe viderentur in
" maſſam unam ſolidam et irregularem; cujus a tergo chorda ſpermatica
" ſedem ſuam obtinuerat.

" In omento et in inteſtino colo haud dubia recentis inflammationis
" ſigna vidimus, necnon maculas nonnullas lividi coloris hinc inde
" ſparſas.

" Aperto abdomine, ventriculum invenimus a naturali ſuo ſitu
" detractum uſque ad annulum muſculi obliqui externi. Pylorum
" retrorſùm et quaſi ſurſùm a duodeno retractum. In hepate ingentem
" numerum parvorum tuberculorum. Veſicam felleam bile admodùm
" diſtentam. In cæteris viſceribus, examini anatomico ſubjectis, nulla
" morbi veſtigia extiterunt."

## *Notes to the second Volume.*

1 Tacit. Annal. vi. c. 10. Flor. Hist. Rom. L. iv. c. 12. T. Liv. Epitom. L. c.
2 Horat. Art. Poet. v. 55.
3 Ibid. v. 366.
4 Tacit. ubi supra.
5 Sueton. L. i. c. 79.
6 Vell. Paterculus, L. ii. c. 89.
7 Sueton. L. ii, c. 29.
8 Ibid. c. 52. Vell. Patercul. L. ii. c. 89.
9 Justin. L. xxx. c. 1.
10 Tit. Liv. Epitom. L. iv. Eutrop. L. ii. Valer. Maxim. L. iv. c. 3.
11 Tit. Liv. L. xxxiii. c. 34. 39, 40.
12 Bayle Dictionnaire Critique, art. Catulle.
13 Vid. Catul. Carm. xi. &c.
14 Tacit. in Vit. Agricol. C. 13.
15 Cæsar. Comm. L. iv. Dion. Hist. L. xxxix. p. 113.
16 Catull. Carm. cxi.
17 Idem, lii.
18 Idem, xxvii. ver. 29.
19 Cependant si l'on avoit la curiosité de rechercher l'époque précise de la composition de cette épigramme, un passage de Cicéron nous conduiroit à la fixer vers l'an 708. Car quoiqu'en dise Bayle, on ne peut guères entendre ce passage que d'une pièce satyrique faite contre Mamurra; aussi bien le savant Dr. Middleton a-t'il embrassé cette opinion. Il est inutile de dire que Catulle n'auroit jamais osé composer cette épigramme contre César alors tout puissant. La clémence de César envers ses ennemis étoit assez connue; la façon même, dont les anciens parlent de la modération dont César usa envers le satyrique, semble supposer qu'il avoit alors la puissance en main, puisqu'auparavant sa clémence auroit eu peu de mérite. Tacite (*) qui en parle, la fait considérer sur le même pied que celle de Bibaculus. Or on ne peut pas douter qu'Auguste ne fut souverain alors.
20 Ovid. Eleg. L. iii. 9.
21 V. Tibull. Carm. L. iv. c. 15.
22 Donat. in Vit. Virgil.
23 Sueton. L. i. c. 55. Voss. de Hist. Latin. L. i. c. 24.
24 Catull. Carm. i.
25 Cornel. Nepos, in Vit. Attici, c. 12.
26 Idem, c. 18.
27 Idem, c. 21.
28 Sueton. L. ii. c. 37.
29 Bentl. in Præfat. Edit. Horatian.
30 Catull Carm. xxxiv. ver. 1.

(*) Annal. L. iv. c. 34.

31 Horat. Carm. Secular. ver. 34.
32 V. Differtat. Cl. Turretin de Ludis Secular. p. 36.
33 Lucret. de Rer. Natur. L. iii ver. 5. *et seq.*
34 Horat. de Art. Poet. ver 59.
35 Cette explication eſt d'autant plus vraiſemblable, que dans ſes ouvrages, Virgile s'eſt plutôt piqué de faire revivre de vieux mots, que d'en emprunter de nouveaux du Grec. Je doute même qu'on puiſſe trouver un ſeul endroit où il ait ſuivi le conſeil d'Horace.
36 Suet. L. ii. c. 34.
37 Tacit. Annal. ii. c. 37.
38 Dion Hiſt. Rom. L. lvi. p. 570.
39 Horat. Carm. Secular. v. 17, &c. Torrent. de Lege Juliâ ad Calc. Horat. p. 75, &c.
40 Herodot. L. ii. Newton Chronol. Emendat. p. 41.
41 Vid. Vitam Horat ſine nomine Autoris.
42 Suet. L. ii. c. 70.
43 Bentley in Præfat ad Horat.
44 Horat. Serm. L. i. Serm. iii. ver. 124.
45 Cicero pro Murena, c. 29. De la Mothe le Vayer, tom. i. p. 606, &c. de la Vertu des Payens.
46 Plin. L. vi. Epiſt. 20.
47 Vell. Paterc. L. ii. c. 125.
48 V. Burman ad Vell. Paterc. L. ii. c. 97. Perizon. ad Sanct. Minerv. L. i. c. 15. n. 4.
49 Vell. Paterc. L. ii. c. 97.
50 Tacit. Annal. i. c. 24, &c.
51 This Letter is a curious ſpecimen of the degree in which Mr. Gibbon had loſt the English language in a short time.
52 This attitude continued to be characteriſtic to Mr. Gibbon
53 Tutor to Mr. Gibbon when he firſt went to Magdalen-College, Oxford.
54 The ſociety of young ladies mentioned in the Memoirs.
55 The name was ſo ſpelt in the newſpapers.
56 The motto of the regiment called Royal Foreſters, in which Mr. Holroyd had been Captain.
57 The name by which the child called himſelf.
58 Where Mr Holroyd's family paſſed a winter.
59 The Roman Club.
60 Miſs Cambridges.
61 His houſekeeper.
62 Mr. and Mrs. Holroyd made a tour to Ireland and Scotland this ſummer.
63 Dr. Downes.
64 Mrs. Gibbon's reſidence at Bath.
65 Mr. Hume.
66 Mr. Hume died at Edinburgh, Auguſt 25, 1776.
67 The Honorable General Simon Fraſer.
68 Mr. Gibbon at this time attended Dr. Hunter's Anatomical Lectures.

[69] Mr. Holroyd was then in quarters at Brighthelmſtone.

[70] The Title of the Pamphlet — *Anticipation.*

[71] The portrait, one of the beſt of Sir Joshua's, is in the library at Sheffield-Place.

[72] With the Suſſex-Militia, of which Mr. Holroyd was Major.

[73] His appointment as Lord of Trade.

[74] At Abergavenny.

[75] Colonel Holroyd at that time was raiſing a regiment of Light Dragoons.

[76] Lord Mansfield.

[77] Commanded by Colonel Holroyd.

[78] The Sheriffs of Coventry.

[79] Second and third volumes of the Decline and Fall.

[80] Lord John Cavendish.

[81] Chancellor of the Exchequer.

[82] Lord North.

[83] Lord North, while his houſe was repairing, inhabited Lord Sheffield's in Downing-ſtreet.

[84] American commerce.

[85] Lord Sheffield's Obſervations on the Commerce of the American States.

[86] His dog.

[87] The North-Eaſt wind.

[88] Obſervations on the Commerce with the American States.

[89] A ſelect Committee for inquiring into frauds committed in reſpect to the revenue.

[90] Eaſt India Company.

[91] This ſuppoſition was founded on Mr. Banks's declaration in the name of Mr. Pitt.

[92] At the St. Alban's Tavern.

[93] Of Obſervations on the Commerce with the American States.

[94] Alluding to his portrait.

[95] Obſervations on the Commerce with the American States.

[96] Now Madame de Staël.

[97] The Honorable Mrs. Fraſer.

[98] His portrait, painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds.

[99] His aunt, Mrs. Catherine Porten.

[100] A miſtake — Lord Sheffield did not PUBLISH any tract on French Commerce.

[101] M. Wilhel. de Severy.

[102] Lady Sheffield's lap-dog.

[103] Mr. Gibbon ſoon became tired of this plan, and expreſſed a wish it had not been mentioned. He ſaid his Hiſtory was a critical review of the authors he had uſed. S.

[104] A beautiful villa near the lake, about a mile from Lauſanne.

[105] A town between Lauſanne and Geneva, where M. Necker then reſided.

## *Note to the preface of the third Volume.*

* His attention to Geography had always been very great, and few were better informed in that science. His friend Major Rennell was of that opinion, and I cannot cite a higher authority.

## *Notes to the Extraits Raisonnés.*

1 Plinii Secundi Epist. lib. vii. epist. ix.

2 Je médite une histoire de l'expédition de Charles VIII. en Italie; événement qui changea la face de l'Europe. Si je l'écris jamais, ces recherches doivent y entrer, mais plus travaillées et moins longues. Pour à présent, les livres et le loisir me manquent également. C'est pourquoi, ne pouvant alléguer les historiens originaux, j'aime mieux m'en rapporter à la notoriété des faits que de renvoyer aux compilations.

3 V. la Grande Histoire du P. Daniel, tome v. p. 156 et p. 259.

4 Voici un exemple où il s'agit du même raisonnement. Le chevalier Raleigh fut condamné à mort pour crime de haute trahison. Après plusieurs années de prison, le roi Jacques I. lui donna le commandement d'une escadre destinée à exploiter une mine d'or dans l'Amérique Méridionale. L'entreprise manqua; et à son retour Jacques I. fit couper la tête au chevalier Raleigh sur l'ancienne sentence. La nation en murmura hautement, et disoit que cette commission d'admiral valoit bien des lettres d'abolition; puis qu'on ne pouvoit donner cette autorité et cette confiance à un traître qu'on destinoit à la mort †.

5 Cette question tient aux mêmes principes que celle de l'adoption que j'examinerai bientôt.

6 Elle a fait un grand bruit il y à un demi siècle, à l'occasion de la succession d'Espagne, à laquelle Louis XIV. renonça dans le traité des Pyrenées, et que sa famille revendiqua dans la suite.

7 On lit quelquefois dans les vieilles chartres, Ego —— bastardus; il devenoit un surnom. Du temps de Philippe de Comines, on faisoit très-peu de différence en Italie entre les enfans légitimes et ceux qui ne l'étoient pas. Mém. de Philippe de Com. l. vii. c. 2.

8 Guillaume le Conquérant, dans le XI. siècle; Henri de Trastamare, et Jean Grand Maître de l'ordre d'Avis, tous les deux dans le XIV. ces trois monarques étoient tous bâtards.

9 Voyez la conduite équivoque de Louis IX. Il blâmoit la sévérité du pape, il tâchoit de faire la paix: mais ce concile de Lyon étoit toujours pour lui un tribunal dont Fréderic ne pouvoit appeler.

10 Hainault, Abrégé Chronol. de l'Hist. de France, p. 617.

11 Dans mes compilations le consentement des états à cette adoption ne paroissoit point. C'étoit cependant une circonstance très-essentielle. Mais j'ai vu depuis, que l'exact Giannone n'en dit rien non plus.

† V. Rapin, Hist. d'Angleterre, tome vii. p. 122; et Hume, Hist. of the Stuarts, vol. i. p. 74. Howell's Letters, vol. i. s. 1. lett. iv.

[12] V. Plin. Secund. Epist. Lib. v. Ep. viii.

[13] When Marius, proscribed by the party of Sylla, was obliged, after a thousand dangers, to take refuge on the coast of Africa, the prætor of that province sent him an order to leave it immediately: the lictor found him plunged in thought, and sitting on some stones on the beach. When he asked him what answer he should carry back to the prætor, "Tell him, (replied Marius,) that thou hast seen Marius sitting upon the ruins of Carthage." This implied comparison between his fall, and that of a once powerful city, displayed on the same spot, is poetically bold. Yet passion and real misfortune, joined to the coincidency of place, could suggest it to Marius, a rough illiterate soldier. Is not this a striking illustration of Mr. Hurd's theory?

[14] In the Odyssey. As to the Iliad, properly speaking, he has followed neither. The events previous to the subject, the anger of Achilles, he neither relates himself, nor throws into an episode; but as they were few and simple, he leaves the reader to collect them from occasional hints dispersed through the poem.

[15] When Antenor, in the third Iliad, points out to Priam, Ulysses among the Grecian chiefs, he describes the nature of his eloquence:

Αλλ' ὁτε δὴ πολυμηλις αναΐξειεν Οδυσσευς
Στασκεν, υπαι δε ιδεσκε κάλα χθονος ομμαλα πηξας ᾗ
Σκηπτρον δ' ουΐ' οπισω, ουΐε προπρηνες, ενωμα,
Αλλ' ασεμφες εχεσκεν, αϊδρει Φωΐι εοικως·
Φαινς κεν ζακοΐον τινα εμμεναι, αφρονα θ' ἀυλως.
Αλλ' ὁτε δὴ ρ' οπα τε μεγαλην εκ στηθεος ἱει,
Και επεα, νιφαδεσσιν ἐοικοτα χειμερινσιν,
Οὐκ αν επειτ' Οδυσηΐ γ' ερισσειε βροτος αλλος.

Iliad iii. v. 216 — 223.

Out of the several testimonies to the eloquence of Ulysses, collected by Dr. Clarke, I shall only subjoin that of Quintillian: "Sed summam "adgressus, (*Homerus*) ut in Ulysse facundiam, magnitudinem illi "junxit; cui orationem nivibus hybernis, et copia verborum, atque "impetu parem tribuit. Cum hoc igitur nemo mortalium contendet."

Quintil. xii. C. 10.

[16] Lord Bacon, and Mr. Hurd himself, (vol. ii. p. 160 — 162.) agree that poetry is an imitation of history, deviating however from it, so as to answer the above-mentioned ends.

[17] V. Nouvelle Méthode, l. iii. c. 16. Reg. 52. p. 182.

[18] Ibid. Except. 3. p. 183.

[19] Οι πρωες εχεινον. LONGIN. περι υψους, p. 32. Edit. Toll.

[20] Longin. C. xxvi. p. 152.

[21] Id. C. xxiii. p. 144.

[22] Id. C. xxii. p. 142. notasq. Toll. in loc.

[23] V. Journal, August 25 and 26, 1761.

[24] At the end of the second volume of the Life of Mr. Dodwell. *London*, 1715.

25 It was the first after the *Bissextile*.
26 If he reckons by years before Christ, the reduction would be very easy.
27 Vit. Homer, p. 315 — 318.
28 Id. p. 360.
29 Id. p. 324.
30 Id. p. 352 — 354.
31 Id. p. 325 — 330.
32 Id. p. 342.
33 Id. p. 358 — 360.
34 Id. p. 303.
35 Id. p. 371 — 377.
36 Id. p. 359.
37 Constant. in Voc. Jul. Poll. Onomastic. l. v. c. 15. p. 92.

## *Notes to the Extracts from the Journal.*

1 V. Plin. Epist. L. ii. Ep. 6.
2 La traduction paroit l'emporter sur l'original.
3 V. M. de Tillemont Hist. des Empereurs, tom. ii. p. 39 — edit. fol.
4 Juvenal Satir. vi. v. 655.
5 J'entends de ses contemporains.
6 Sat. xv. v. 1 — 14.
7 Id. ibid. 129 — 158.
8 Bello fecunda fecundo.
9 Juvenal. Satir. iii. 197 — 202.
10 Il faut se souvenir combien les Seigneurs Romains avoient d'esclaves.
11 V. sur toute question, *Lipsi. ad Tacit. Annal. xv. Nardini Roma vetus, L. iii. C. iv. p.* 985, 986, 987: *et Græv. in Præfat. ad tom. iv. Thesaur. Antiq. Roman.* Je me sers de toutes leurs citations.
12 T. Liv. ix. 46.
13 *Post Capitolinam*, selon l'édition de Daléchamp. Je voudrois voir celle de Hardouin. Nardini lit *post capitolium*, leçon qui me paroit très-fautive. Plin. Hist. Natur. l. xxxiii. 1.
14 Plutarch. in Camill.
15 Il y renvoye lui-même, V. L. v. C. x. p. 1208.
16 Cic. ad Attic. xiii. 33.
17 Cicero pro lege Manilia, C. xxii, xxiii.
18 Bergier Hist. des Grands Chemins de l'Empire, L. i. C. xxi. p. 77—80.
19 Traité des Mesures Itinéraires, par M. d'Anville, p. 59.
20 Par rapport à la largeur du cirque, Pline lui-même confirme expressément cette explication.
21 Le pied Romain, le pied d'Angleterre, et le pied de Roi, sont dans la proportion de 1306, 1351 1/2, et 1440. Le premier contient à-peu-près 11 3/5 pouces mesure d'Angleterre, et 10 7/8 mesure de France. *Traité des Mesures, &c. p.* 164. Après y avoir mûrement réfléchi, j'aimerois mieux ne donner à chaque personne que 2 1/2 pieds Romains. J'aurois 120,000 personnes pour les places, et 30,000 pour l'excédent. J'aurois

encore quelque chose à dire sur la mesure locale de M. d'Anville, mais il vaut mieux attendre que je sois à Rome.

Florence, le 11 Juillet.

[22] Le Victor Moderne est l'édition la plus étendue du même auteur publiée par Panvinius. Il y a beaucoup d'additions que les critiques méprisent avec raison, comme l'ouvrage d'un imposteur. *Nardini Roma Vetus, L. ii. C. v. p. 965.*

[23] Juvenal Satir. xi. 195.

[24] Dio. Cass. apud Nardini, L. vii C. ii. p. 1355.

[25] Journal, 20th September, p. 67, 68.

[26] Plin. Hist. Natur. L. ii. 5.

[27] Idem. L. xvi. 40. L. xxxvi. 9.

[28] Strabon. Geograph. L. v. p. 60.

[29] T. Liv. V. 54.

[30] La navigation n'étoit que de seize milles Romains.

[31] Vossius, p. 1514 — 1515. Ses calculs sont un peu embrouillés comme à l'ordinaire, mais je prends son propre résultat.

[32] Nardini Roma Vetus, L. i. C. vi. p. 912 — 916.

[33] Nouvelles de la République des Lettres, par Bayle; mois de Janvier 1685.

[34] Vossius de Rom. Magnitud. C. iv. p. 906, 907.

[35] *Nympha in Aricino nemore, quam amicam suam Numa esse fingebat.* Serv ad Æneid. L. vii. V. 762.

[36] Horat. Carm. L. i. Ode xvii.

[37] Virgil. Æneid, vii. 761-781; et Serv. ad locum Ovid. Metamorph. L. xv.

[38] Nardini Roma Vetus, L. i. C. iv. p. 902, 903, 904.

[39] Cluver. Ital. Antiq. tom. ii. p. 920; et sequent. Strabon. Geograph. L. v. p. 165. Mesures Itinéraires de M. d'Anville, p. 15.

[40] Sext. Fronten. de Aquæduct. Rom. L. i. p. 1635. iv. vol. Grævii Thesaurus.

[41] Il ne décide point la fameuse question de l'origine des Goths.

[42] D'Anville Mesures Itinéraires, p. 7, 8.

[43] Cluvier Ital. Antiq. L. i. C. iii. p. 25.

[44] Constantine Porphyrogenitus. V. Cluver. Italia Antiqua, L. i. C. xviii. p. 138.

[45] V. Origine des Peuples d'Italie, dans le dix-huitième tome de l'Histoire de l'Académie des Belles Lettres.

[46] Polybe, L. ii. apud Cluver Ital. Antiq. L. i. C. xxii. p. 228, 229.

[47] Tit. Liv. xxi. 22.

[48] Id. ibid. 37.

[49] Polyb. Hist. L. iii. Cluver. Ital. Antiq. L. i. C. xxxiii. p. 363.

[50] Cluver. L. i. C. xxxiii. p. 370 — 375.

[51] Polyb. Hist. L. iii. Cluver, L. i. p. 365.

[52] Tit. Liv. xxi. 33.

[53] Id. xxii. 58.

[54] Tit. Liv. xxi. 39. Polyb. Hist. L. iii.

[55] Strabon. Geog. L. iv. p. 141. Bergier Histoire des grands Chemins, L. iii. C. 31. p. 471.

56 Le paſſage du Mont Pennin étoit cependant le plus court. Dans cet endroit les montagnes étoient fort reſſerrés.

57 Polyb. L. iii. Cluveri. C. 33. p. 382.

58 Je n'ai preſque rien tiré de Cluvier, que ſa concluſion générale tournée très différemment. J'ai peu cité La véritable citation, celle qui peut tenir lieu de toutes les autres, c'eſt le vingt-unième livre de Tite Live, le troiſième livre de Polybe, et le trente-troiſième chapitre du premier livre de Cluvier.

59 Tit. Liv. L. iv.

60 V. Tabul. Pentinger.

61 Dionyſ. Halicarn. L. ii.

62 Tit. Liv. L. v.

63 Vertot Revolut. Romaines, tom. iii. p. 26—30.

64 T. Liv. Epitom. L. lxxii.

65 T. Liv. viii. 60.

66 Tit. Live, Epitom. L. lxxii.

67 Ibid. L. lxxiii.

68 Appian de Bell. Civil L. i. p. 374. 376. 379.

69 Strab. Geograph. L. v. p. 166, 167.

70 Appian de Bell. Civil. L. i. p. 374.

71 Cluv. Ital. Antiq. L. iv. C. iii. p. 1154.

72 J'ai vu depuis que l'étymologie de *Pompeii* eſt incertaine, et que le ſiége que j'avois déviné a eu lieu. *V. Vell. Patercul. L.* ii. C. 16.

73 Appian de Bell. Civil. L. i. p. 374.

74 Vide Cluv. Ital. Antiq. L. iii. C. x. p. 1075; et L. iv. C. xvii. p. 1334.

75 Appian de Bell. Civil. L. i. p. 374.

76 Vell. Paterculus, L. ii. C. 16. Le *Minutius Magius* dont il y eſt parlé, étoit de la ville même qui commença la guerre, par le meurtre d'un préteur et d'un légat.

77 Voyez Réflexions ſur les Anciens Peuples, par M. Freret, dans le dix-huitième tome de l'Hiſtoire de l'Académie des Belles Lettres.

78 T. Live, L. xxii. C. 36. Il paroit par beaucoup de paſſages de cet auteur que c'étoit la proportion la plus ordinaire. Velleius Paterculus doit exagérer un peu, quand il parle du double des troupes. L. ii. C. 15.

79 Tacit. Annal. xi. 24.

80 Vell. Patercul. L. ii. C. 15.

81 Ibid. C. 16.

82 Pièces Detachées. N° 7.

83 Cl. Rutilii, Iter. L. i. 183. 205.

84 J'en excepte l'invective contre Stilicon, L. ii. 41.

85 Rutil. Iter. L. i. 450.

86 Idem, L. i. 18.

87 Idem, L. i. 39. 107, &c.

88 Upon the ſublime and beautiful.

89 V. Dialog. iii. p. 154—156.

90 Traité ſur la Tolérance, C. ix. N. c. p. 71—75.

91 Le même, C. xii. p. 127—129.

92 Le même, C. viii. p. 69—73.

## *Notes to the Remarks and detached Pieces.*

1 Virgil, Æneid viii. 190.
2 Ibid. 478.
3 Silius, Ital. viii. 606.
4 Tit. Liv. xxxix. 55. Vell. Patercul. L. i. C. 15.
5 Itineraria. Antiq. Edit. Weſſeling, p. 309.
6 Idem, p. 302.
7 Sueton. in Auguſt. lxxviii.
8 Plin. Epiſt. iii. 5. Juvenal. Satir. iii. 239.
9 Plin. Hiſt. Nat. vii. 20.
10 Sueton. in Cæſar. lvii.
11 Vetera Itiner. p. 107, 108. 122.
12 Stat. Sylvar. 14. Carm. iii.
13 Iſac. Bulliad. Epiſt. ad Calcem. Tom. iii. Tit. Liv. ex Edit. Gronov.
14 Tit. Liv. xliv. 37. xlv. 1.
15 Roſin. Antiq. L. iv. C. 13.
16 Itineraria, p. 317. et Not. Weſſeling. Plin. Hiſt. Nat. iii. 2.
17 Ptolemæi Geog. C. ix.
18 Itineraria, p. 319.
19 Itineraria Ant. p. 307. iii. 117.
20 Strabon. Geog. v. 162.
21 Horat. L. i. Sat. 5. v. 134. Edit. ad uſum Delphini.
22 Pour tout le voyage, la cinquième Satire du premier livre d'Horace.
23 Cluvier. Ital. Antiq. L. iv. C. v. p. 1077. Itiner. Hieroſolytanum. Edit. Weſſel. p. 611.
24 Horace de Sanadon, tom. v. p. 138.
25 Berg. Grands Chemins, L. ii. C. xxvi. p. 226.
26 Horace de Sanadon, tom. v. p. 119. Paris, 1756.
27 Horat. Serm. ii. 6. v. 20—60.
28 Pour le détail de ce voyage il faut conſulter les épîtres à Atticus, L. v. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, et 10. L'Hiſtoire de Ciceron, et par Fabricius, et par M. Middleton, à l'an de Rome 792.
29 Toutes les diſtances dont il n'eſt par fait mention dans les Itinéraires, je les ai meſurées ſur la carte de M. Deliſle.
30 Itinerar. p. 119. Pliny ſays 35 miles. Nat. Hiſt. iii. 25.
31 Itinerar. p. 325—326.
32 Bergier Hiſt. des Grands Chemins de l'Empire, L. i. C. ix. p. 27.
33 V. l'Antiquité expliquée du P. Monfaucon.
34 Tit. Liv. xxvii. 43—51.
35 Itineraria Auton, p. 312, 313, 314, 315. J'ai meſuré ſur la carte de Deliſle la diſtance de Canuſium à Larinum.
36 Tit. Liv. xxvii. 50. xxviii. 9.
37 Id. xxvii. 46.
38 Ovid. Faſt. L. iv. p. 583.
39 Dialogues upon Medals, Dial. ii. p. 47.
40 Tacit. Annal. ii. 1.

41 Lettera Crit. p. 37.
42 Id. p. 39.
43 Id. 54.
44 V. Sur-tout Lettera Crit. p. 41—58.
45 Lettera Crit. p. 77—87.
46 Id. p. 59— 66.
47 Montesquieu on the Greatness and Decline of the Romans.
48 Onuphr. Panvin. on Triumphs. Il a pris ce nombre dans Oroſe.
49 Tit. Liv. L. ii. Dionyſ. Halicarn. L. v.
50 Tit. Liv. L. iii. Dionyſ. Harlicarn. L. xi.
51 Cicer. in Piſon. C. xxiii.
52 See the Abbé Bleterie's Diſſertation on the title Imperator. Mém. de l'Academ. des Belles Lettres, tome xxi.
53 Je ne puis renvoyer qu'à Tite Live et aux Faſtes du ſixième et ſeptième ſiècles de Rome.
54 Appian. de Bell. Civil. L. i. Cicer. pro. leg. Manil.
55 Tit. Liv. xxviii.
56 V. Onuphr. Panvin. de Triumphis, et Appian in Lybicis.
57 V. Flori Epitom. Oroſium, T. Liv. lv. Auctor de Vir. illuſtriſſ.
58 V. Joſeph. Antiq. Judaic. et de Bell. Judaico.
59 Tit. Liv. xxvii.
60 Juvenal Satyr. viii. 249, et ſeq.
61 See the Oration of M. Servilius. Tit. Liv. xlv.
62 T. Liv. x.
63 Id. xxviii.
64 Id x.
65 Appian de Bell. Civil. L. ii.
66 Cicer. Philippic. xiv paſſ. 5.
67 Tacit. Hiſt. iv. 4.
68 Cicer. in Piſon. C. xxiii.
69 Plutarch et Stephanus, Tit. Liv. Dionyſ Halicarn. et Feſtus.
70 Tacit. Annal. i. 8. Sueton. in Aug. C. 100.
71 Donat. Roma Vetus, L. i. C. 22. p. 79—88.
72 Donat. loc. citat. L. i. C. 21. p. 72. Nardini Roma Antica, L. i. C. 9. p. 38; et C. 10. p. 47—50.
73 Martial Epig. x. 6.
74 Tit. L. i. Sueton. in Auguſt. xxii. et in Neron, xiii. Horat. Carm. iv. 15. Plin Hiſt. Nat. xxxiv. 7.
75 Virgil. Æneid, L. vii. 608
76 Tit. L. i. Serv. ad Æneid VII. Nardini Roma Antiqua, L. vii. C. 4. p. 439.
77 Donati Roma Vetus, L. ii. C. 26. p. 212.
78 J'ai l'ai meſuré ſur le grand plan de Rome de Molli.
79 Procopius de Bell. Gothic, L. i.
80 Nardini Roma Antica, L. i. C. iii. p. 13. et L. v. C. vii. p. 256—257.
81 Plutarch in Romul.
82 Sueton. in Aug. C. 100. Tacit. Annal. I. 8.

## *Notes to the Eſſay ſur l'Etude de la Littérature.*

[1] —— Cynthius aurem
Vellit et admonuit.

[2] Auteur d'un ouvrage nommé Polymetis. La mythologie des poëtes y eſt combinée avec celle des ſculpteurs. Cet ouvrage plein de goût et de ſavoir mériteroit d'être plus connu en France.

[3] N° 155.

[4] Cicero Orator. 29.

[5] Plutarch. in Cat. Major.

[6] Juſtin. xx. 5.

[7] De Finib. l. iii.

[8] Ce ſiècle fut celui des ſectes philoſophiques, qui combattoient pour les ſyſtèmes de leurs maîtres reſpectifs, avec tout l'acharnement des théologiens.

L'amour des ſyſtèmes produit néceſſairement celui des principes généraux; et celui-ci conduit d'ordinaire au mépris des connoiſſances de détail.

" L'amour des ſyſtèmes, (dit M. Freret) qui s'empara des eſprits après " Ariſtote, fit abandonner aux Grecs l'étude de la nature, et arrêta le " progrès de leurs découvertes philoſophiques: les raiſonnemens ſubtils " prirent la place des expériences: les ſciences exactes, la géométrie, " l'aſtronomie, la vraie philoſophie diſparurent preſqu'entièrement. On ne " s'occupa plus du ſoin d'acquérir des connoiſſances nouvelles, mais de " celui de ranger, et de lier les unes aux autres, celles que l'on croyoit " avoir, pour en former des ſyſtèmes. C'eſt là ce qui forma toutes les " différentes ſectes: les meilleurs eſprits s'évaporèrent dans les abſtractions " d'une métaphyſique obſcure, où les mots tenoient le plus ſouvent la " place des choſes, et la dialectique, nommé par Ariſtote l'inſtrument " de notre eſprit, devint chez ſes diſciples l'objet principal et preſque " unique de leur application. La vie entière ſe paſſoit à étudier l'art du " raiſonnement, et à ne raiſonner jamais, ou du moins à ne raiſonner que " ſur des objets fantaſtiques. "

Mém. de l'Acad. des B. L. tom. vi. p. 159.

[9] Feuilletez la Bibliothéque Latine de Fabricius, le meilleur de tous ceux qui n'ont été que compilateurs: vous y verrez que dans l'eſpace de quarante ans, après la découverte de l'imprimerie, preſque tous les auteurs Latins étoient imprimés, quelques uns même plus d'une fois. Le goût des éditeurs n'égala pas, il eſt vrai, leur zèle. Les écrivains de l'hiſtoire Auguſte parurent avant Tite Live; et l'on donna Aulu-Gelle avant de ſonger à Virgile.

[10] Eſchyle a fait une tragédie (les Perſes), où il a peint avec les couleurs les plus vives, la gloire des Grecs et la conſternation des Perſes après la journée de Salamine.

V. le Théat. des Grecs du P. Brumoy, tom. ii. p. 171, &c.

[11] Ecoutons

11 Ecoutons le Préſident Hénault. " Cette princeſſe étoit ſavante. Un " jour qu'elle entretenoit Calignon, qui fut depuis Chancelier de Navare, " elle lui fit voir une traduction en Latin, qu'elle avoit faite, de quelques " tragédies de Sophocle et de deux harangues de Démoſthène. Elle lui " permit de prendre une copie d'une épigramme Grecque de ſa façon; et " elle lui demanda ſon avis ſur des paſſages de Lycophron, qu'elle avoit " alors entre les mains, et dont elle vouloit traduire quelques endroits. "

Abrég. Chronolog. in Quart. Paris 1752. p. 397.

12 M. Le Clerc, dans ſon excellent *Ars critica*, et dans pluſieurs autres de ſes ouvrages.

13 On a ôté à cette étude le nom de Belles-Lettres, qu'une longue préſcription ſembloit lui avoir conſacré, pour y ſubſtituer celui d'érudition. (1) Nos littérateurs ſont devenus des érudits.

L'Abbé Maſſieu traitoit cette dernière expreſſion de Néologiſme en 1721. (2) Changeroit-il de ton à préſent? Il ſiéroit mal à un étranger de vouloir le décider. Je connois tous les droits des grands écrivains ſur la langue; mais je voudrois, qu'après avoir reconnu qu'un érudit peut avoir du goût, des vues, de la fineſſe dans l'eſprit, (3) ils ne ſe ſerviſſent pas de ce terme pour déſigner un ſervile admirateur des anciens, d'autant plus aveugle qu'il y a tout vu, hors leurs graces et leurs beautés. (4)

14 Fontenelle dans ſa digreſſion ſur les anciens et les modernes, et ailleurs.

Oeuv. de Greſſet. tom. ii. p. 45.

15 Fontenelle dans ſon Eloge. VOLTAIRE, tom. xvii. p. 79.

16 Newton réformoit la chronologie ordinaire, et y trouvoit des erreurs de cinq à ſix cent ans. Voyez mes remarques critiques ſur cette Chronologie.

17 La vie de Leibnitz par de Neufville, à la tête de ſa Théodicée.

18 Je n'ai point cherché à faire un compliment à ſon A. R. Mgr. le Duc de Cumberland, dont je reſpecte infiniment la naiſſance et le rang, ſans oſer apprécier ſes talents militaires. Si l'on ſe rappelle que les vers ſuivans ſont tirés du poëme ſur la bataille de Fontenoy, on ſentira que c'eſt plutôt M. de Voltaire qui parle que moi. Je ne crois pas cette remarque inutile. Des gens d'eſprit s'y ſont trompés.

19 Oeuvres de Volt. tom. ii. p. 300.

20 Voy. le iii. L. de Thucydide.

Diodore de Sicile, depuis le L. xi. juſqu'au L. xx. preſque par tout.

La Préface de l'Abbé Terraſſon au iii. tom. de ſa Traduction de Diodore de Sicile, et Hume's Political Eſſays, p. 191.

21 V. les pièces de Huet et de Deſpreaux, dans le iii. tom. des Oeuvres de celui-ci.

(1) V. La Motte et d'Alembert.

(2) Maſſieu dans ſa préface aux œuvres de Toureil.

(3) M. Dalemb. dans l'art. Erudition de l'Encycl. Françoiſe.

(4) M. Dalemb. dans le diſcours préliminaire de l'Encyclopédie, et ailleurs.

22 Le compas d'or dont le Créateur mesure l'univers étonne chez Milton. Peut-être chez lui est-il puérile: chez Homère il eut été sublime. Nos idées philosophiques de la Divinité nuisent au poëte. Les mêmes ornemens qui auroient relevé le Jupiter des Grecs, la défigurent. Le beau génie de Milton lutte contre le système de sa religion, et ne paroit jamais si grand que lorsqu'il en est un peu affranchi: pendant qu'un Properce déclamateur froid et foible, ne doit sa renommée qu'au spectacle riant de sa mythologie.

23 V. les Remarques de M. Despreaux sur Longin.

24 Vie de Bacon par Mallet, p. 27.

25 V. Terent. Eunuch. Act ii. Sc. Heauton. Act i. Sc. i.

Les *Cupedinarii* dont parle Térence ne détruisent point cette réflexion. Ce mot (quand-même on n'adopteroit pas la conjecture de Saumaise) étoit devenu d'un nom propre, un nom appellatif. V. Térence Eunuch. Act. ii. Sc. ii.

25 Amphytr. Act. i. Sc. i. Quid faciam nunc, si Trevviri me in carcerem compegerint, &c.

27 V. les Dissertations de M. de la Bleterie sur le pouvoir des Empereurs. Mém. de l'Acad. des Belles-Lettres, tom. xix. p. 357—457. tom. xxi. p. 299. &c. tom. xxiv. p. 261. &c. p. 279. &c.

28 Varron de Ling. Latina, L. iv. Dionys. Halycarn. L. xi. p. 76. Plutarch. in Romul.

29 Voyez ses paroles: "Sora (quis credat?) et Algidum terrori fuerunt. "Satricum et Corniculum provinciæ. De Verulis et Bovillis pudet; sed "triumphavimus. Tibur nunc suburbanum, et æstivæ Prænestæ deliciæ, "nuncupatis in capitolio votis petebantur. Idem tunc Fæsulæ, quod Carræ "nuper. Idem nemus Aricinum, quod Hercynius saltus: Fregellæ, quod "Gesforiacum: Tiberis quod Euphrates. Coriolos, quoque, proh pudor! "victos, adeo gloriæ fuisse, ut captum opidum C. Marcius Coriolanus, quasi "Numantiam aut Africam, nomini induerit. Extant et parta de Antio "spolia, quos Mœnius in suggestu fori, captâ hostium classi, suffixit; si "tamen illa classis: nam sex fuere rostratæ. Sed hic numerus illis initiis "navale bellum fuit (1)." Properce a entrevu cette idée, mais confusément.

"Cossus, at insequitur Veientes cæde Tolumni
"Vincere dum Veios posse, laboris eras.
"Nec dum ultra Tiberim, belli sonus, ultima prædæ
"Nomentum, et captæ jugera terna Coræ (2)."

Mais dans toute la tirade il mêle deux idées, qui par elles mêmes et par leurs effets, sont très différentes. La comparaison de Rome florissante avec Rome naissante, pénètre l'ame d'un sentiment de grandeur et de plaisir. Au lieu que ces campagnes incultes où paroissoient à peine les débris de l'ancienne Veïes, inspirent la mélancolie et l'attendrissement.

30 Virg. Æneid. L. viii. V. 185—370.

(1) L. Annæi Flori, L. i. C. xi.
(2) Propertii Eleg, L. iv. Eleg. xi. V. 23.

Hinc ad Tarpeïam ſedem et Capitolia ducit,
Aurea nunc, olim ſylveſtribus horrida dumis.
——————armenta videbant
Romanoque foro et lautis mugire Carinis.

31 Rien de plus difficile pour un écrivain élevé dans le luxe, que de peindre ſans baſſeſſe des mœurs ſimples. Liſez l'Epitre de Penelope dans Ovide, vous vous y ſentirez révolté de cette même ruſticité qui vous enchante chez Homère. Liſez Mademoiſelle de Scudéry, vous ſerez déſagréablement ſurpris de retrouver à la cour de Tomyris la pompe de celle de Louis XIV. Il faut être fait à ces mœurs pour en ſaiſir le ton. La réflexion a tenu lieu d'expérience à Virgile, et peut-être à Fenelon. Ils ont connu qu'il les falloit orner un peu, pour ménager la délicateſſe de leurs concitoyens; mais qu'on choqueroit cette même délicateſſe, ſi on les fardoit beaucoup.

32 J'aurois dû dire Aleſia. Alexia eſt une leçon fautive de quelques éditions des commentaires; mais les plus anciens manuſcrits, d'accord avec les autres écrivains, portent conſtamment Aleſia (1).

33 Liv. L. iv. c. 59, 60.

34 Id. L. xxx. c. 45, &c. Arbuthnot's Tables, p. 181, &c.

35 Saluſt in Bell. Catilin. p. 22. Edit. Thyſii.

36 Ce taux étoit de trois mille drachmes, ou douze mille ſeſterces pour le ſimple légionaire (2), du double pour le cavalier et le centenier, et du quadruple pour le tribun (3). La légion Romaine, depuis l'augmentation de Marius (4), étoit de ſix mille fantaſſins, et de trois cens chevaux. Ce grand corps n'avoit que ſoixante-ſix officiers, ſavoir ſoixante centeniers et ſix tribuns. Voilà le calcul:

| | *Liv. Sterl.* |
|---|---|
| 282,000 légionnaires à 3000 drachmes ou 12,000 ſeſterces, ou 105 l. ſterling chacun, | 28,905,000 |
| 2,820 centeniers et 14,100 cavaliers à 6000 drachmes ou 210 livres ſterling chacun, | 3,468,600 |
| 282 tribuns à 12,000 drachmes ou l. 410 chacun, | 115,620 |
| En tout l. | 32,489,220 |

Suivant les calculs de M. Arbuthnot cette ſomme ne ſeroit que de l. 30,705,220, la drachme valant 73/4 ſous d'Angleterre (5). Mais quelques recherches que j'aie faites, la drachme Attique des derniers temps, égale au denier Romain en poids comme en valeur, valoit 81/5 de cette monnoye (6).

(1) Notice de l'ancienne Gaule, par M. d'Anville, p. 49.
(2) Dion. Caſſ. L. liv. Lipſ. Ex. ad l. i. Annal. Tacit. C.
(3) Wotton's Hiſtory of Rome, p. 154.
(4) Roſin. Antiq. p. 964.
(5) Arbuth. Tables, p. 15.
(6) V. mes Rem. MSS. ſur les poids, &c. des anciens. Hooper, p. 108. et Eiſenſchmidt, p. 23, &c.

37 Liv. L. lxxxix. Epitom. Freinsheim. Suppl. L. lxxxix. c. 34.
Sur l'article des colonies militaires on peut consulter les Cenotaphia Pisana du Cardinal Norris. Le second chapitre de sa première dissertation contient des détails très instructifs sur cette matière.

38 Tacit. Annal. xiv. p. 249. Edit. Lipsii.

39 Tacit. de Mor. Germa. p. 441.

40 Salust. in Bell. Catilin. p. 40. Cicero in Catilin. Orat. ii. c. 9.

41 Racine, Mithrid. Act. iii. Sc. 1.

42 V. Donat. in Vit. Virgil. Virgil, Eclog. ix. v. 2, &c.

43 Virg. Georg. L. i. v. 40.

44 Varro de Re Rustic. L. i. c. 1.

45 Hic petit excidiis urbem, miserosque penates,
Ut gemmâ bibat, et Sarrano dormiat ostro.
Virg. Georg. L. ii. v. 505, &c.

46 Virg. Geor. L. iv. v. 125. et seq.

47 Il étoit du nombre des pirates auxquels Pompée avoit donné des terres. V. Serv. in Loc. et Vell. Pater. L. ii. p. 56.

48 Virg Georg. L. i. v. 512.

49 Sylvestres homines sacer interpresque Deorum
Cædibus et victu fœdo deterruit Orpheus;
Dictus ob hoc lenire tigres rabidosque leones.
Horat. Ars Poet. v. 391.

50 Tillemont. Hist. des Emper. Tacit. Annal. L. i. p. 39. Dionys. L. iv. p 565. Sueton. in August. c. 49.

51 Clerici Ars Crit. L. i. c. 1.

52 Il faut borner ce vrai au vrai historique, à la vérité de leurs témoignages et non de leurs opinions. Cette dernière espèce de vérité est plutôt du ressort de la logique que de celui de la critique.

53 C'est-à-dire, l'autorité combinée avec l'expérience.

54 Il s'agit principalement des élémens de la géométrie et de ceux de la critique.

55 Une définition claire de cette certitude sur laquelle on se disputoit, auroit pu abréger la controverse, "C'est la certitude historique." Mais cette certitude varie de siècle en siècle. Je crois en gros à l'existence et aux actions de Charlemagne: mais la certitude que j'en ai, n'est point égale à celle des exploits d'Henri quatre.

56 V. Mém. de l'Acad. des Belles-Lettres, tom. vi. p. 14. 190.

57 Dissert. sur l'Incertit. de l'Hist. Rom. p. 33—46.

58 Polyb. Hist. L. iii. c. 22.

59 Spoponderunt consules, legati, quæstores, tribuni militum, nominaque eorum qui spoponderunt adhuc exstant, ubi si ex fœdere acta res esset præterquam duorum fecialium non extarent.
Tit. iv. L. ix. c. 5.

60 Tit. Liv. L. viii. c. 4.
Le préteur Annius appelle le gouvernement des Romains, *Regnum impotens.*

61 V. Cleric. Ars Critic. L. ii. c. 2. § 1, 2, 3.

62 Polyb. L. i. c. 20.

63 Je ne dis rien de la flotte qui parut devant Tarente. Je crois que les vaiſſeaux appartenoient aux habitans de Thuricum. Voyez Frensheim Supplem. Livian. L. xii. c. 8.

64 Arbuthnot's Tables, p. 225. Hiſt. du commerce des anciens, par Huet. c 221.

65 On peut voir une autre hypothèſe du célèbre M. Freret. Elle plait par ſa ſimplicité, mais elle me paroit inſoutenable. Voy Mémoires de l'Académ. des Belles-Lettres, tom. xviii. p. 102, &c.

66 V. Bentley et Sanadon au v. 120. de l'Art Poétique d'Horace.

67 Horat. Ars Poet. v 119 et ſeq.

68 En matière de géographie et de chronologie on doit peu compter ſur l'autorité d'Ovide. Ce poëte étoit d'une ignorance groſſière dans ces deux ſciences. Liſez la deſcription des voyages de Médée; Metamorph. L. vii. v. 350. à 402. et le xiv. L. des mêmes Metamorph. Celle-là eſt remplie d'erreurs géographiques, qui donnent la torture aux commentateurs mêmes: et celui-ci fourmille de bévues chronologiques.

69 Serv. ad Virg. Æneid. L. iv. v. 620. Dion. Halicarn. Antiq. Rom. L. i.

70 Racine, Iphig. Act. v. Sc. dern.

71 Tit. Liv. L. i. c. 1.

72 Virg. Æneid. L. vii. v. 148 juſqu'à 285.

73 On peut douter cependant ſi cet épiſode bleſſe la véritable chronologie. Dans le ſyſtème plauſible du Chevalier Newton, Enée et Didon ſe trouvent contemporains (1). Les Romains devoient mieux connoître l'hiſtoire de Carthage que les Grecs. Les archives de Carthage étoient paſſées à Rome (2). La langue Punique y étoit aſſez connue (3). Les Romains conſultoient volontiers les Africains ſur leurs origines (4). D'ailleurs (et c'eſt aſſez pour diſculper notre poëte) Virgile adopte une chronologie plus conforme aux ſupputations de Newton qu'à celles d'Eratoſthène. Peut-être on ne ſera pas fâché de voir les preuves de ce ſentiment.

Sept ans ſuffirent à peine au courroux de Junon et aux voyages d'Enée. C'eſt Didon qui me l'apprend;

" — Nam te jam ſeptima portat
" Omnibus errantem terris et fluctibus ætas (5)."

Quelques mois après il arriva au bord du Tibre. Ce fut là que le Dieu du fleuve lui apparut, lui prédit de nouveaux combats, mais lui fit eſpérer une fin glorieuſe à ſes maux. Un prodige confirma l'oracle. Une truye couchée ſur le rivage montroit, par ſes trente petits qui l'environnoient,

(1) V. Newton's Chronology of ancient Kingdoms reformed, p 32.
(2) Univerſal Hiſtory, tom. xviii. p. 111, 112.
(3) Plaut. Penul. Act v. Sc. 1.
(4) Saluſt. in Bell. Jugurth. c. 17. Ammian Marcel. L. xxii. Mém. de l'Acad. des Belles Lettres, tom. iv. p. 464.
(5) Virgile, Eneid. L. i. v. 755.

le nombre d'années qui devoient s'écouler avant que le jeune Aſcagne jettât les fondemens l'Albe:

" Jamque tibi, ne vana putes hæc fingere ſomnum,
" Littoreis ingens inventa ſub ilicibus ſus,
" Triginta capitum fœtus enixa, jacebit;
" Alba, ſolo recubans, albi circum ubera nati.
" Hic locus urbis erit, requies ea certa laborum:
" Ex quo ter denis urbem redeuntibus annis
" Aſcanius clari condet cognominis Albam (1)."

Cette ville demeura pendant trois cents ans le ſiège de l'empire et le berceau des Romains;

" Hic jam ter centos totos regnabitur annos
" Gente ſub Hectorea (2)."

Ce ſont-là les expreſſions que Virgile met à la bouche de Jupiter. Nos chronologiſtes s'embaraſſent peu de faire tenir ſa parole au Maître du tonnerre. Ils font détruire la ville d'Albe par Tullus Hoſtilius près de cinq cents ans après ſa fondation, et environ cent ans après celle de Rome (3). Mais tout s'applanit dans le ſyſtême de Newton. La priſe de Troyes placée à l'an 904, et ſuivie d'un intervalle de 337 ans, nous conduit à 567, 60 ans après les Palilia, époque qui quadre au mieux avec le regne du troiſième ſucceſſeur de Romulus (4). Une ancienne tradition conſervée par Plutarque (5) y coïncide avec préciſion. On déterra les livres de Numa, An. ant. Chr. 181, quatre cents ans après la mort de ce roi et le commencement du regne d'Hoſtilius. Numa mourut donc 581 ans avant l'ère Chrétienne. Quel art dans le poëte de ſaiſir le moment où Enée arrive à Carthage, pour répondre à ſes critiques, de la ſeule manière que la rapidité de ſa marche et la grandeur de ſon ſujet pouvoient le lui permettre! Il leur fait ſentir que dans ſes hypothèſes la rencontre de Didon et d'Enée n'eſt point une licence poétique. Virgile n'eſt point le ſeul qui ait revoqué en doute la chronologie vulgaire des rois Latins. Je le ſoupçonne même d'avoir puiſé ſes idées dans les ouvrages de ſon contemporain Trogue-Pompée. Cet hiſtorien, le rival de Tite-Live et de Salluſte (6), donnoit au royaume d'Albe la même durée de trois cents ans. Si ſon hiſtoire univerſelle ne s'étoit pas perdue, nous y verrions apparemment le détail et les preuves de cette opinion. A préſent il faut nous contenter d'en lire la ſimple expoſition chez ſon abréviateur. " Albam longam condidit quæ " trecentis annis caput regni fuit (7)." Tite-Live lui-même, ce père de l'hiſtoire Romaine, qui fait paroître quelquefois tant d'attachement à la chronologie reçue (8), mais qui gliſſe d'ordinaire ſur les endroits ſcabreux,

(1) Virgile, Eneid. L. viii. v. 42.
(2) Idem. L. i. v. 272
(3) V. les Tables Chronolog. d'Helvicus. à l. ann. A. C. 656, &c.
(4) Newton's Chronoly, p. 52, &c.
(5) V. Plutarch. in Numa.
(6) Flav. Vopiſc. in Proem. Aurelian.
(7) Juſtin. L. xliii. c. 1.
(8) Tit. Liv. l. i. c. 18. et alibi paſſim.

d'une façon qui montre sa bonne foi et son ignorance, semble se défier de ses guides dans ces siècles reculés. Rien de plus naturel que de marquer la durée du regne de chaque roi Latin dont il rapporte le nom (1)! Or il se tait sur cet article. Rien de plus nécessaire que de fixer au-moins l'intervale entre Enée et Romulus; il ne le fait point. Ce n'est pas tout. "La des-"truction d'Albe, dit-il, suivit de 400 ans sa fondation (2)." En retranchant cent ans pour les regnes de Romulus et de Numa, et pour la moitié de celui d'Hostilius, il nous en restera 300 au-lieu de 400 que nous donneroit la chronologie d'Eratosthène. Tite Live est donc d'accord avec Virgile à peu de chose près; et cette petite différence affermit leur union plutôt qu'elle ne l'affoiblit. Je prévois une objection, mais des plus minces. Y répondre ce seroit créer des monstres pour les combattre; ainsi, je finis cette digression déjà trop longue.

74 Thucydid. l. i.

75 Lucret. de Rer. Natur. L. vii. v. 1136, &c.

76 M. Freret croyoit les observations philosophiques des anciens plus exactes qu'on ne le pense. Quiconque connoit le génie et les lumières de M. Freret, sent le poids de son autorité. V. Mém. de l'Académ. des Belles-Lettres, tom. xviii. p. 97.

77 Cicéron envie le sort de son ami Marius qui passa à la campagne les jours des jeux magnifiques de Pompée. Il parle avec assez de mépris du reste des spectacles: mais il s'attache sur-tout aux combats des bêtes sauvages. "Reliquæ sunt venationes, (dit-il) binæ per dies quinque; magni-"fice, nemo negat, sed quæ potest homini esse polito delectatio, cum "aut homo imbecillus à valentissimâ bestia laniatur aut præclara bestia "venabulo transverberatur."

78 Cicero ad Famil. L. vii. Epist. 1.

79 Horat. L. iii. Ep. 1. v. 187.

80 V. Essais de Mont. vol. iii. p. 140.

Mon exemple étoit très-bon, ma citation fort mauvaise. J'aurois du recourir à l'original, (3) Vopiscus. Cet auteur rapporte à l'occasion du triomphe de Probus, qu'on amena dans l'amphithéâtre cent lions, autant de lionnes, cent léopards Libyens, le même nombre de Syriens, et trois cents ours. Je ne connois point de spectacle plus nombreux, mais les animaux que Gordien avoit assemblés, et dont se servit Philippe dans ses jeux séculaires étoient plus curieux par leur variété et par leur rareté. Il y avoit trente-deux éléphans, dix élans, dix tigres, soixante lions apprivoisés, trente léopards apprivoisés, dix hyenes, un hippopotame, un rhinoceros, dix *agrioleontes* (4), dix *camelopardali*, vingt ânes sauvages,

(1) Tit. Liv. L. i. c. 29.

(2) Idem. l. i. c. 29.

(3) V. Vopisc. in vit. Prob. p. 240. edit. Salmas. Paris 1620.

(4) On ignore ce qu'ils sont, Saumaise lit *argoleontes*, des lions blancs (*a*); Casaubon et Scaliger (*b*) *agrioleontes* des lions sauvages.

(*a*) Comment. Salmas, in Hist. Aug. 268.

(*b*) Comment. Casaub. in eand. Hist. p. 169.

et quarante chevaux sauvages (1). C'est principalement dans la décadence de l'empire et du goût, qu'il faut chercher cette magnificence.

[81] Strab. L. vxii. p. 816. Edit Casaub.

[82] Tacit. in Vit. Agricol. c. 10.

[83] Herodian. Hist. l. iii. c. 47.

[84] Voici les paroles d'Hérodien, "Τὰ γὰρ πλεῖστα τῆς βρεταννῶν χώρας ἐπικλύζομενα ταῖς τῶ ὠκεανῶ συνεχῶς ἀμπώτεσιν ἑλώδη γίνεται.

Tacite s'exprime d'une manière encore plus forte. "Unum addiderim "(dit-il) nusquam latius dominari mare; multum fluminum huc atque "illuc ferri, nec littore tenus accrescere aut resorberi, sed insluere "penitus atque ambire; etiam jugis atque montibus influere velut "in suo."

[85] Le consul Céthégus dessécha ce marais. A. U. C. 952. Du temps de Jules-César il étoit derechef inondé. Ce dictateur avoit dessein d'y faire travailler. Il paroit qu'Auguste le fit; mais je doute que ses travaux ayent mieux réussi que les premiers. Du moins Pline l'appelle encore marais. Horace l'avoit en quelque sorte prédit.

"Debemur morti nos nostraque
"Sterilis ut palus dudum aptaque remis
"Vicinas urbes alit et grave sensit aratrum.

Frensheim. Supp. L. xlvi. c. 44. Sueton. L. i. c. 34. Plin. Hist. Nat. L. iii. c. 5.

[86] Depuis qu'Epicure eut répandu sa doctrine, on commença à se déclarer assez publiquement sur la religion dominante, et à ne la regarder que comme une institution. V. Lucret. de Rer. Natur. L. i. v. 62, &c. Salust. in Bell. Catilin. c. 51. Cicero pro Cluent. c. 61.

[87] Athée en niant sinon l'existence, du moins la providence de la divinité; car César étoit épicurien. Ceux qui ont envie de voir comment un homme d'esprit peut rendre obscure une vérité claire, liront avec plaisir les doutes que M. Bayle a su répandre sur les sentimens de César. V. Dict. de Bayle à l'article César.

[88] V. Mémoires de l'Acad. des Bell. Lett. tom. i. p. 369, &c.

[89] Cicero ad Attic, L. xii. epist. 46, &c. L. xiii. epist. 28.

[90] César étoit souverain pontife, et ce sacerdoce n'étoit point pour les empereurs un vain titre. Les belles dissertations de M. de la Bastie sur le pontificat des empereurs convaincront les incrédules, s'il en est, sur cet article. Consultez surtout la troisième de ces pièces insérée dans les Mém. de l'Acad. des Belles-Lettres, tom. xv. p. 39.

[91] Lucrèce né avec cet enthousiasme d'imagination, qui fait les grands poëtes et les missionnaires, voulut être l'un et l'autre. Je plaindrois le théologien qui ne feroit pas grace au dernier en faveur du premier. Lucrèce, après avoir prouvé la Divinité malgré lui-même, en rapportant les phénomènes de la nature à des causes générales, cherche comment l'erreur qu'il combat a pu s'emparer de tous les esprits. Il en trouve trois raisons: I. Nos songes; nous y voyons des êtres et des effets que nous ne rencontrons

(1) Jul. Capitolin. in Gordian. p. 164.

point dans ce monde; nous leur accordons auſſitôt une exiſtence réelle et une puiſſance immenſe. II. Notre ignorance de la nature, qui nous fait recourir par tout à l'action de la Divinité. III. Notre crainte, l'effet de cette ignorance; elle nous engage à fléchir devant les calamités qui ravagent la terre, et nous fait eſſayer d'appaiſer par nos prières quelque être inviſible qui nous afflige. Lucrèce exprime cette dernière raiſon avec une énergie et une rapidité qui nous enlève. Il ne nous accorde point le temps de l'examiner.

" Præterea cui non animus formidine Divûm,
" Contrahitur? cui non conrepunt membra pavore,
" Fulminis horribili cum plaga tortida tellus
" Contremit, et magnum percurrunt murmura cœlum?
" Non populi, gentesque tremunt? Regesque superbi
" Conripiunt Divûm perculsi membra timore,
" Ne quod ob admissum fœde dictumve superbe
" Pœnarum grave sit solvendi tempus adactum."

Lucret. de Rer. Natura, L. v. ver. 1216, &c.

92 Fonten. dans l'Eloge du Marq. de Dangeau.

93 Liv. L. xxxix. c. 40. Plutarch. in Caton.

94 Liv. L. xxix. c. 37.

95 Quint. Curt. de Reb. Geſt. Alexandri, L. iii. c. 32.

96 Les Romains confioient le ſoin de la vertu des femmes à leur famille. Celle-ci s'aſſembloit, la jugeoit, ſi elle étoit accuſée, la condamnoit à mort et exécutoit la ſentence, ſi elle ſe trouvoit coupable. La loi pardonnoit auſſi au courroux du mari ou du père qui tuoit le galant, ſurtout s'il étoit de condition ſervile. V. Plutarch. in Romul. Dionyſ. Halicarn. L. vii. Tacit. Annal. L. xiii. Valer. Maxim. L. vi. c. 3—7. Roſin. Antiq. Rom. L. viii. p. 859, &c.

97 Le diſcours de Micio dans Térence, la manière dont Cicéron excuſe les débauches de ſon client, et l'exhortation de Caton, peuvent nous faire connoître la morale des Romains à cet égard. Ils ne blâmoient la débauche que lorſqu'elle détournoit le citoyen de ſes devoirs eſſentiels.

Leurs oreilles n'étoient pas plus chaſtes que leur conduite: peu de gens connoiſſent la Caſina de Plaute, mais ceux qui ont lu cette miſérable pièce, ne peuvent comprendre qu'il n'y ait eu que quarante à cinquante ans de cette farce à l'Andrienne. Une intrigue ſale d'eſclaves, n'y eſt relevée que par des pointes et des obſcénités dignes d'eux. C'étoit cependant la comédie de Plaute qu'on voyoit avec le plus de plaiſir, et qu'on redémandoit le plus ſouvent. Voilà les mœurs de la ſeconde guerre Punique, de cette vertu que la poſtérité des anciens Romains regrettoit et admiroit. V. Terent. Adelph. Act. i. Sc. 2. v. 38. Cicero pro Cœlio, c. 17. Horat. Satyr. L. i. Sat. 2. v. 29. II. Prolog. ad Caſin. Plaut.

98 Sueton. L. iii. c. 36. Tacit. Annal. L. ii. c. 85.

99 Liv. L. iii. c. 44—60.

100 Tacit. Annal. L. iii. p. 84. edit. Lipſ.

101 D'Alemb. Mélanges de philoſophie et de littérature, vol. ii. p. 1.

102 Il faut cependant distinguer Homère, Hésiode, Pindare, et les poëtes tragiques, qui vécurent pendant que la tradition etoit plus pure.

103 Voyez sur cette article la Recherche Libre du Docteur Middleton, et l'Histoire du Manichéisme de M. de Beausobre, deux beaux monumens d'un siècle éclairé.

104 Tacit. Hist. L. v. Fleury. Hist. Eccles. tom. i. p. 369. et tom. ii. p. 5. et les Apologies de Justin Martyr et de Tertullien, qui y sont citées.

105 D'Herbelot, Biblioth. Orient. Artic. Allah. p. 100, et Sale's Alcoran. Prelim. Disc. p. 71.

106 Reland. de Rel. Mahomm. Part ii. c. 6 et 7.

107 V. Warburton's Divine Legation, tom. i. p. 270 — 276.

108 Herodot. L. i.

109 Diodor. Sic. L. xvii. Quint. Curt. L. iv. c. 7. Arrian. L. iii.

110 Herodot. L. ii.

111 Dans sa mythologie expliquée par l'histoire.

112 Herodot. L. ii.

113 Je dois beaucoup, dans ces recherches, au savant Freret de l'Académie des Belles-Lettres. Il a donné des ouvertures dans une route, qui paroissoit vue de tous côtés. Je crois cependant que ses raisonnemens valent mieux, lorsqu'il est question de faits que quand il s'agit de dogmes. Prévenu d'estime pour ce littérateur, je dévorai avidement sa réponse à la chronologie Newtonienne; mais oserai-je le dire? il ne répondit point à mon attente. Que lui reste-t-il de nouveau, si vous lui ôtez les principes d'une théologie et d'une chronologie nouvelles, que nous possédions déjà (1), des généalogies défectueuses et très-peu conluantes, quelques recherches minutieuses, sur la chronologie de Sparte, une astronomie ancienne, que je n'entends pas trop bien, et la belle préface de M. Bougainville, que je relis toujours avec un goût nouveau?

114 Hist. de l'Acad. des Belles-Lettres, tom. xvi. p. 28, &c.

115 V. Mém. de Litter. tom. xii. p. 5. &c. et Ezech. Spanheim in Callim.

116 Homer. Odyss. L. xi.

117 Id. Iliad, L. iv. v. 193.

118 Id. L. v. v. 241.

119 Lactant. Instit. L. i. c. xi. p. 62.

"Antiquus auctor Ephemerus, qui fuit é civitate Messanâ, res gestas "Jovis et cæterorum qui Dii putantur collegit, historiamque contexit ex "titulis et inscriptionibus sacris, quæ in antiquissimis templis habebantur, "maximeque in fano Jovis Triphyllii, ubi auream columnam positam "esse ab ipso Jove, titulus indicabat, in quâ columnâ gesta sua prescripsit "ut monimentum esset posteris rerum suarum." Ce récit de Lactance diffère un peu de celui de Diodore.

120 Diodore de Sicile, L. v. c. 29, 30. et L. vi.

Il y a sur Ephémère une dissertation de M. Fourmont l'aîné, qui contient des conjectures très-hardies, et des emportemens fort plaisans (2). Il

(1) Dans le Mém. de l'Acad. tom. v. xviii. xx. xxiii.
(2) Mém. de Littér. tom. xv. p. 265, &c.

ſied mal à un jeune homme de mépriſer quoi que ce ſoit, mais je ne ſaurois réfuter cette pièce ſérieuſement. Celui qui ne voit pas que la Panchaïe décrite dans Diodore de Sicile étoit ſituée au midi de la Gédroſie, et à l'occident peu éloignée de la péninſule des Indes, peut croire avec M. Fourmont que le Golfe Arabique eſt au midi de l'Arabie heureuſe, que le païs de Phank ſur le continent eſt l'iſle de Panchaïe, que le déſert de Pharan eſt le plus beau lieu du monde, et que la ville de Pierie en Syrie eſt la capitale d'un petit canton aux environs de Medine.

121 Callim. ap. Plut. tom. ii. p. 880. Eratoſth. et Polyb. ap. Strab. Georg. L. ii. p. 102, 103. et L. vii. p. 299. edit. Caſaub.

122 Gerard Voſſius de Hiſtor. Græcis, L. i. c. xi. fait voir que non ſeulement les Payens lui donnoient ce nom, mais encore Theophile d'Antioche parmi les Chrétiens et Joſeph parmi les Juifs; ce qui fait voir qu'Ephémère en attaquant les dieux des Grecs, n'en reconnoiſſoit point d'autres.

123 Lactant. Inſtit. L. i. c. p. 65. Lucian Timon, p. 34. et Jupit. Frag. p. 701. Cicer. de Nat. Deor. L. iii. c. 21.

124 Callimach. Hym. in Jovem, v. 8. et Scholiaſt. Vet. in loc. edit. Græc.

125 Tel eſt le récit du ſcholiaſte adopté par le Chevalier Newton. Mais Lactance rapporte l'inſcription ΖΑΝ ΧΡΟΝΟΥ, ce qui m'a l'air bien plus antique. Lucien, car les fables vont toujours en augmentant, nous apprend, que l'inſcription portoit que Jupiter ne tonnoit plus, qu'il avoit fubi le ſort des mortels, δηλωσαν ὡς ηκετι βροντησειεν αν ο Ζευς, τεθνεως πολαι.

126 Diodore de Sicile dans les cinq premiers livres, paſſim.

127 Cicer. de Nat. Deor. L. iii. c. 21.

128 Plin. Hiſt. Natur. L. vii. c. 51. et. paſſ.

129 Plut. de Placit. Philoſoph. de Iſid. et Oſirid.

130 Hiſt. de l'Acad. des Belles-Lettres, tom. xii. p. 36. Plin. Epiſt. L. viii. Epiſt. 8.

131 Hor Carm. L. iii. Od. 3.

" ——— Neque Auſter
" Dux inquieti turbidus Adriæ."

132 Remarquez que cet Oſiris et ſa ſœur étoient les plus jeunes des dieux. Il avoit fallu aux Egyptiens, un grand nombre de ſiècles, pour parvenir à cette ſimplicité (1).

133 Le culte du ſoleil a été connu de tous les peuples. Je dirai ce qui m'en paroit la raiſon. C'eſt peut être le ſeul objet de l'univers à la fois ſenſible et unique. Senſible à tous les peuples, de la manière la plus brillante et la plus bienfaiſante, il enlevoit leurs hommages. Unique et indiviſible, les raiſonneurs qui n'étoient pas trop difficiles trouvoient en lui tous les grands traits de la divinité.

134 Je ne ſuis pas trop content de cet endroit. Je donne la meilleure raiſon que j'ai pu trouver; mais il me ſemble que dans ces premiers ſiècles, on

(1) Diodore de Sicile, L. i. c. 8.

eût dû être guidé par le ſentiment, et le ſentiment eſt tout entier du côté de la liberté

[135] Homer. Iliad. L. iv. v. 93, &c.

[136]
Αλλ' ητι ταυτη τον δ' ερωτα χρη πεσειν.
Δειξω δε Θησει πραγμα, κἀκφανησεται.
Και τον μεν ημιν πολεμιον πεφυκοτα
Κτενει πατηρ αρχισι, . . . . .
Η δ' ευκλεης μεν, αλλ' ομως απολλυται
Φαιδρα ——— (1).

[137] J'entens chez les Grecs; ſon culte ſe conſerva long-temps en Italie.

[138] Fontenelle dans l'Eloge de M. de Leibnitz.

[139] Herodot. L. v. c. 4, 5. Meziriac. Comm. ſur les Epitr. d'Ovide, tom. i. p. 162.

[140] Herodot. L. iv. c. 64, 65.

[141] M. de Vaugelas m'apprend que lorſqu'il s'agit de l'antiquité il faut toujours dire Cypre, quoique le nom moderne ſoit Chypre (2). Je vois que MM. de Fenelon (3) et de Vertot (4) on fait cette diſtinction.

[142] Herod. L. v. c. 4, 5. Minuc. Fœl. Octav. c. 25. p. 258. Luc. Pharſ. L. i. Lactant. L. i. c. 20.

[143] Strab. Geog. L. viii. p. 378.

[144] Herod. L. i. c. 199.

Elles étoient tenues de ſe proſtituer une fois de leur vie au premier venu, dans le temple de Venus. M. de Voltaire, qui leur impoſe cette obligation une fois tous les ans, la traite de fable inſenſée (5). Cependant Hérodote avoit voyagé ſur les lieux, et M. de Voltaire a trop lu l'hiſtoire, pour ignorer combien de triomphes pareils la ſuperſtition a remportés ſur l'humanité et ſur la vertu. Que penſe-t-il d'un acte de foi? Je préviens ſa reponſe. Au reſte j'ignorois que Babylone fut la ville de l'univers la mieux policée. Quinte Curce la dépeint comme la plus licencieuſe; Béroſe le Babylonien ſe plaint lui-même que ſes concitoyens, franchiſſant toutes les barrières de la pudeur, vivoient à la manière des bêtes, et le ſcholiaſte de Juvenal nous fait ſentir que de ſon temps ils n'avoient point dégénérés (6).

[145] Mythol. de Banier, tom. ii. p. 487. Ovid. Metam. L. xv.

[146] Eurip. Hippolit. Act v. ver. 1327. et Ovid. Metam. paſſim.

[147] Cic. de Nat. Deor, I. i. c. 27, 28.

(1) Euripid. Hippol. Act I. v. 40.
(2) Rem. de M. de Vaugelas ſur la langue Françoiſe, tom. i. p. 102, 103.
(3) Dans le Telemaque.
(4) Dans ſon Hiſt. de Malthe.
(5) Oeuvres de Voltaire, tom. vi. p. 24.
(6) Quint. Curt. Geſt. Alex. L. v. c. 1. et Comment. Freinsheim. in Loc.

148 V. les Céſars de Julien par M. Spanheim, p. 257, 258. Rem. 876. les Oiſeaux d'Ariſtophane et Lucien preſque partout.

149 Hom. Iliad. L. i. v. 609.

150 Id. L. v. ver 336.

151 Après la priſe de Peruſe il ſacrifia trois cents des principaux citoyens ſur un autel érigé à la divinité de ſon père. V. Suet. L. ii. c. 15.

152 Sueton. L. ii. c. 16.

153 Saluſt. Fragm. p. 404. Edit. Thyſ.

154 Freinsheim. Supplem. L. lxxxix. c. 26—33.

155 Tacit. Annal. L. iv. p. 109. Sueton. ubi infra.

156 J'attens avec impatience la ſuite des diſſertations ſur ce ſujet, que M. de la Bleterie nous a promiſes. Le ſyſtème d'Auguſte ſi ſouvent méconnu y paroitra deſſiné juſqu'à ſes moindres rameaux. Cet auteur penſe avec fineſſe et une aimable liberté, il diſcute ſans ſéchereſſe, et s'exprime avec toutes les graces d'un ſtyle clair et élégant. Peut-être que, Deſcartes de l'hiſtoire, il raiſonne un peu trop *à priori*, et qu'il établit ſes concluſions moins ſur des autorités particulières que ſur des inductions générales: mais ce défaut eſt celui d'un homme de beaucoup d'eſprit.

157 Toutes déductions faites de ſes legs au peuple et aux ſoldats, Auguſte ne laiſſa à Tibere et à Livie que millies quingenties, trente millions de livres. L'augure Lentulus mort ſous ſon regne, poſſédoit quater millies, quatre-vingt millions. V. Sueton. L. ii. c. 101. Senec. de Benefic. L. ii.

158 Quater decies millies, deux cens quatre vingt millions. V. Suet. Lo. citat. et marmor. Ancyran.

159 V. Monteſq. Conſid. ſur la Grandeur des Romains.

Je diſtingue la grandeur de l'empire Romain d'avec celle de la république: l'une conſiſtoit dans le nombre des provinces, l'autre dans celui des citoyens.

160 Vitellius envoya des galères juſqu'aux colonnes d'Hercule, pour chercher les poiſſons les plus rares, dont il remplit ce plat monſtrueux. Si nous en croyons M. Arbuthnot, il conta 765, 62 sl. ſterling. V. Sueton. in Vitellio. c. 13. Dr. Arbuthnot's Tables, p. 138.

161 Μετοπισθ' ατης αλεγυσι κιωσαι.
Homer. Iliad. L. ix. v. 500.

## *Notes on the Critical Obſervations on the Deſign of the Sixth Book of the Æneid.*

1 See Warburton's Diſſertations, &c. in the third volume of Mr. Warton's Virgil. I ſhall quote indifferently that Diſſertation or the Divine Legation itſelf.

2 At leaſt of the vulgar polytheiſm, by revealing that the *dii majorum gentium* had been mere mortals.

[3] From their institution, 1399 years before the Christian æra, (Marm. Arundel. Ep. 14.) till their suppression, towards the end of the fourth century.

[4] Though I hate to be positive, yet I would almost venture to affirm, that Zoroaster's connexion with Egypt is no where to be found, except in the *D. L.*

[5] See a list of four hundred authors, quoted, &c. in the *D. L.* from St. Austin and Aristotle, down to Scarron and Rabelais. Amongst these authors we may observe Sanchoniatho, Orpheus, Zaleucus, Charondas, the Oracles of Porphyry, and the History of Jeffrey of Monmouth.

The bishop has entered the lists with the tremendous Bentley, who treated the laws of Zaleucus and Charondas as the forgeries of a sophist. A whole section of mistakes or misrepresentations is devoted to this controversy: but Bentley is no more, and W——n may sleep in peace.

I shall, however, disturb his repose, by asking him on what authority he supposes that the old language of the Twelve Tables was altered for the convenience of succeeding ages. The fragments of those laws, collected by Lipsius, Sylburgius, &c. bear the stamp of the most remote antiquity. Lipsius himself (tom. i. p. 206) was highly delighted with those *antiquissima verba:* but what is much more decisive, Horace (L. ii. Ep. i. ver. 23), Seneca (Epistol. 114), and Aulus Gellius (XX. 1), rank those laws amongst the oldest remains of the Latin tongue. Their obsolete language was amired by the lawyers, ridiculed by the wits, and pleaded by the friends of antiquity as an excuse for the frequent obscurities of that code.

Had an adversary to the *Divine Legation* been guilty of this mistake, I am afraid it would have been styled an *egregious blunder.*

[6] See Vandale de Oraculis, p. 559. That valuable book contains whatever can now be known of oracles. I have borrowed his facts; and could with great ease have borrowed his quotations.

[7] The prophet Alexander, whose arts are so admirably laid open by Lucian, instituted his oracle and his mysteries as regular parts of the same plan. It is here we may say, with the learned catholic, "Les nouveaux "Saints me font douter des anciens."

[8] See Diogen. Laert. vi. 39. and Menag. ad loc.

[9] I shall sum them up in a curious passage of the celebrated Freret. "Les "sectes philosophiques cherchoient à deviner le dogme caché sous le voile "des ceremonies; et tâchoient de le ramener chacune à leur doctrine. "Dans l'hypothèse des Epicuriens, adoptée de nos jours par MM. Leclerc "et Warburton," (Leclerc *adopted* it in the year 1687; M. Warburton *invented* it in the year 1738,) "tout ce qu'on révéloit aux adeptes après "tant de préparatifs et d'épreuves, c'est que les dieux adorés du vulgaire, "avoient été des hommes, &c. Les Stoiciens et les Hylozoistes supposoient "qu'on enseignoit aux Initiés, qu'il n'y avoit d'autres dieux que les "élémens et les parties du l'univers matériel. Enfin suivant les nouveaux "Platoniciens, ces symboles servoient à couvrir les dogmes d'une "théologie et d'une philosophie sublimes, enseignées autrefois par les

" Egyptiens et les Chaldéens. " M. Freret inclines, though with great diffidence, to the laſt opinion. *Mém. de l'Académie des Inſcriptions, &c. tom.* xxi. *p.* 12. *Hiſt.*

10 Je ne ſuis pas ſi convaincu de notre ignorance par les choſes qui ſont, et dont la raiſon nous eſt inconnue; que par celles qui ne ſont point et dont nous trouvons la raiſon. *Oeuvres de Fontenelle, tom.* xi. *p.* 229.

11 *The Fragment of Sanchoniatho's Phœnician Hiſtory.* Euſebius and Biſhop Cumberland have already obſerved, that the formation of the world is there attributed to the blind powers of matter, without the leaſt mention of an intelligent cauſe.

12 *Orpheus's Hymn to Muſæus*, quoted by Juſtin Martyr, and ſeveral other fathers, but rejected as ſpurious by Cudworth (Intellectual Syſtem, p. 309,) by Leclerc (Hiſt. Eccl. p. 692), and by Dr. Jortin (Remarks on Eccleſiaſtical Hiſt. vol. i. p. 199). The firſt of theſe, the *immortal Cudworth*, is often celebrated by the Biſhop of Glouceſter; Leclerc's literary character is eſtabliſhed; and with reſpect to Dr. Jortin, I will venture to call him a learned and moderate critic. The few who may not chuſe to confeſs, that their objections are unanſwerable, will allow that they deſerve to be anſwered.

13 Æneid, i. 548.

14 M. de Voltaire condemns the latter part of the Æneid, as far inferior in fire and ſpirit to the former. As quoted in the *Legation*, he thinks that Virgil

*—— s'épuiſe avec Didon et rate à la fin Lavinie;*

a pretty odd quotation for a Biſhop; but I moſt ſincerely hope, that neither his lordſhip nor Mrs. W——n are acquainted with the true meaning of the word *rater*.

15 Æneid, viii. 495.

16 Ibidem, i. 96.

17 Ibidem, ii. 363.

18 Ibidem, ii. 431.

19 Ibidem, xii. 464.

20 Ibidem, xii. 497.

21 Others are furniſhed by criticiſm with a *teleſcope*. They ſee with great clearneſs whatever is too remote to be diſcovered by the reſt of mankind; but are totally blind to all that lies immediately before them. They diſcover in every paſſage ſome ſecret meaning, ſome remote alluſion, ſome artful allegory, or ſome occult imitation, which no other reader ever ſuſpected: but they have no perception of the cogency of arguments, the contexture of narration, the various colors of diction, or the flowery embellishments of fancy. Of all that engages the attention of others they are totally inſenſible; while they pry into the world of conjectures, and amuſe themſelves with phantoms in the clouds. *Rambler.*

22 D. L. vol. i. p. 212.

23 Æneid, iii. 137.

24 Ibidem, v. 755.

25 Æneid, xii. 189.

26 Oeuvres de Monteſquieu, tom. iii. p. 555.

27 D. L. vol. i. p. 228.

28 Plutarch, in Vit. M. Anton. tom. i. 950. edit. Wechel.

29 Plutarch, in Vit. Theſei, tom. i. p. 16. Herodot. viii. 65. Cicero de Nat. Deor. i. 42. The gradation of Athenians, Greeks, and mankind at large, may be traced in theſe paſſages.

30 D. L. vol. i. p. 233.

31 Chilius te rogat, et ego ejus rogatû; ευμολπιδων πατριαν. *Cicero ad Attic.* i. 9.

32 As the B. of G. alledges the authority of Victorius, I ſhall ſhelter myſelf under the names and reaſons of Grœvius and the Abbé Mongault, and even tranſcribe the words of the former. "Non eſt ut hic intelligantur ritus illi "ſecretiores, qui tantùm myſtis noti erant, et ſine capitis periculo vulgari "non poterant, ſed illa ſacra et ceremoniæ, quibus in Eleuſiniis celebrandis "utebantur in omnium oculis Eumolpidæ; quaſque poetæ et priſci "ſcriptores alii commemorant paſſim: aut fortè per Eumolpidas intelligit "tectè ipſos Athenienſes: ut petierit Chilius, Athenienſium leges et "diſciplinam ſibi deſcribi et mitti."

33 D. L. vol. i. p. 154.

34 Ibidem, p. 277.

35 Æneid, vi. 724.

36 Quomodo porro Deus iſte, ſi nihil eſſet niſi animus, aut infixus aut *infuſus* eſſet in mundo. *Cicero de Naturâ Deor.* L. i. c. 11.

37 Pope's Eſſay on Man, epiſtle i. ver. 267.

38 D. L. vol. i. p. 278.

39 Ibidem, p. 279.

40 Ibidem, p. 142.

41 See our modern relations of Japan, China, India, &c. and for Egypt, Herodotus, L. ii.

42 Ovid. Metamorph. xv. 66, &c. 158, &c.

43 Plato in Phædro and in Republic. L. x.

44 I ſhall mention here, once for all, that I do not always confine myſelf to the ORDER of his lordſhip's PROOFS.

45 Meurſii Eleuſinia, ſive de Cereris Eleuſinæ ſacro.

46 See D. L. vol. i. particularly. p. 280.

47 Strabo, L. v. p. 168.

48 Silius Italicus, L. xii.

49 Diod. Sicul. L. iv. p. 267. edit. Weſſeling.

50 Æneid, vi. 126.

51 Ibidem, vi. 129.

52 Ibidem, vi. 396.

53 Homer, Odyſſ. L. xi. ver. 623. Apoll. Biblioth. L. ii. c. 5.

54 Diodor. Sicul. L. v. p. 386. Edit. Weſſeling.

55 Leclerc, Biblioth. Univerſelle, tom. vi. p. 55.

56 By the Abbé Teraſſon, in his philoſophical romance of Sethos, printed at

at Amsterdam in the year 1732. See the third book, from beginning to end. The author was a scholar and a philosopher. His book has far more variety and originality than Telemachus. Yet Sethos is forgotten, and Telemachus will be immortal. That harmony of style, and the great talent of speaking to the heart and passions, which Fenelon possessed, was unknown to Terasson. I am not surprised that Homer was admired by the one, and criticized by the other.

57 See D. L. vol. I. p. 228, &c. The first edition was printed in London, in the year 1738.

58 Cowper's Life of Socrates, p. 102.

59 Letter from a late professor of Oxford, &c. p. 133.

60 D. L. vol. III. p. 277.

61 Idem, vol. I. p. 229.

62 Idem, vol. I. p. 283.

63 Horace seems to have used as unguarded an expression:

Et adscribi *quietis*
Ordinibus patiar deorum. *Od. L. iii.* 3.

The word and idea of *Quietus* are perfectly Epicurean; but rather clash with the active passions displayed in the rest of Juno's speech.

His lordship (D. L. vol. II. p. 140.) accuses Virgil himself of a like inattention; which, with his usual gentleness, he calls an *absurdity*.

64 See the Life of Virgil by Donatus, the Sixth Eclogue, and the Second Georgic, v. 490.

65 Lucian in Alexandro, p. 489.

66 Cornel. Nepos, in Vit. Attici, c. 2, 3, 4.

67 The life of Virgil, attributed to Donatus, contains many characteristic particulars; but which are lost in confusion, and disgraced with a mixture of absurd stories, such as none but a monk of the darker ages could either invent or believe. I always considered them as the interpolations of some more recent writer; and am confirmed in that opinion by the life of Virgil, pure from those additions which Mr. Spence lately published, from a Florence MS. at the beginning of Mr. Holdsworth's valuable observations on Virgil.

68 Horat. L. II. Ep. ii. ver. 43.

69 Donat. in Virgil.

70 Horat. L. IV. Od. xii.

71 Donat. in Virgil.

72 Prope *Centies Sestertium*, about eighty thousand pounds.

73 Donat. in Virgil.

74 Id. ibid.

75 They always began the fifteenth of the Attic month Boedromion, and lasted nine days. Those who take the trouble of calculating the Athenian calendar, on the principles laid down by Mr. Dodwell (de Cyclis Antiquis) and by Dr. Halley, will find, that A. V. C. Varr. 735, the 15th of Boedromion coincided with the 24th of August of the Julian year. But if we may believe Dion Cassius, the celebration was this year anticipated,

on account of Auguſtus and the Indian philoſopher. L. LIV. p. 739. edit. Reimar.

[76] Strabo, L. xv. p. 720.

[77] Donat. in Virgil.

[78] D. L. vol. I. p. 118.

[79] Salmaſius ad Scriptores Hiſt. Auguſt. p. 55.

[80] Caſaubon ad Scriptor. Hiſt. Auguſt. p. 25.

[81] Sueton. in Claud. c. 25.

[82] D. L. vol. I. p. 147.

[83] Ibidem, p. 240.

[84] Ibidem, p. 277.

[85] Horat. L. III. Od. ii.

[86] Boileau, Art Poetique, L. ii. v. 72.

[87] *Curioſa Felicitas.* The ingenious Dr. Warton has a very ſtrong diſlike to this celebrated character of Horace. I ſuſpect that I am in the wrong, ſince, in a point of criticiſm, I differ from Dr. Warton. I cannot, however, forbear thinking, that the expreſſion *is itſelf* what Petronius wished to deſcribe; the happy union of ſuch eaſe as ſeems the gift of fortune, with ſuch juſtneſs as can only be the reſult of care and labor.

[88] Sueton. in Cæſar, c. 44.

[89] Plut. in Vit. Anton. Julian in Cæſar, p. 324. edit. Spanheim.

[90] Horat. L. I. Od. ii. L. III. Od. v. L. II. Serm. i. v. 15, &c.

[91] Horat. L. i. Epiſt. xii. Vell. Pater. L. ii. c. xciv. Tacit. Annal. L. ii. c. i. Sueton. in Octav. c. xxi. and in Tiber. c. xiv. Juſtin, L. xlii. c. v. Dion Caſſius, L. liv. p. 736. edit. Reimar. Joſeph. Ant. L. xv. c. v. Ovid. Faſt. v. ver. 551, &c.

[92] Donat. in Virgil.

[93] Marcellus died in the latter end of the year 731. *Uſſerii Annales*, p. 555.

[94] Donat. in Virgil.

[95] Proper. L. ii. El. xxv. v 66.

[96] Horat. L. i. Od. iii. L. i. Serm. v. ver. 39, &c.

[97] See the Dedication of Horace's Epiſtle to Auguſtus, with an English commentary and notes.

[98] Six Diſſertations on different Subjects, published in a volume in octavo, in the year 1755. It is the Sixth Diſſertation, p. 207—324.

## *Notes to the Vindication of the History of the Decline and Fall.*

1 Davis, Preface, p. ii.
2 Ibidem, p. iii.
3 Davis, p. 282, 283.
4 Ibidem, 284.
5 Davis, Preface, p. ii.
6 Ibidem. p. 230.
7 Gibbon's History, vol. xiii. p. 95. *n.* 36.
8 Davis, p. 144.
9 Gibbon, vol. xiii. p. 104. *n.* 137.
10 Davis, p. 230.
11 Ibidem, p. 73.
12 Ibidem, p. 132—136.
13 Ibidem, p. 151—155.
14 Gibbon, vol. ii. p. 221.
15 Davis, p. 5.
16 Ibidem, p. 2—22.
17 Ibidem, p. 3.
18 Ibidem p. 2.
19 Ibidem, p. 6.
20 Ibidem, p. 4.
21 Ibidem, p. 8.
22 Gibbon, vol. xiii. p. 97. Note 1, 2.
23 Davis, p. 10, 11. 20.
24 Remarks, p. 1.
25 Gibbon, vol. i. p. 32.
26 Davis, p. 25.
27 Gibbon, vol. xiii. p. 96. *n.* 40.
28 Gibbon, vol. xiii. p. 97. *n.* 58.
29 Davis, p. 19.
30 Gibbon, vol. ii. p. 252.
31 Davis, p. 29 — 31.
32 Id. p. 35, 36.
33 Gibbon, vol. xiii. p. 106. *n.* 172.
34 Id. p. 99. *n.* 72.
35 Davis, p. 145.
36 Gibbon, vol. xiii. p. 98. *n.* 67.
37 Davis, p. 40 — 44.
38 Id. p. 270.
39 By Mr. Davis, p. 41. and by Dr. Chelsum, Remarks, p. 57.
40 Davis, p. 44.
41 Gibbon, vol. xiii. p. 102. *n.* 110.

42 Davis, p. 44, 45.
43 Gibbon, vol. xiii. 116. *n.* 75.
44 Davis, p. 61, 62, 63. This ridiculous charge is repeated by another *sycophant*, (in the Greek ſenſe of the word,) and forms one of the *valuable* communications, which the learning of a Randolph ſuggeſted to the candor of a Chelſum. See Remarks, p. 209.
45 Davis, p. 64, 65.
46 Gibbon, vol. xiii. p. 125. *n.* 168.
47 Davis, p. 66.
48 Gibbon, vol. xiii. p. 121. *n.* 125.
49 Id. vol. ii. p. 362.
50 Davis, p. 71, 72.
51 Gibbon, vol. xiii. p. 121. *n.* 133, 134.
52 Davis, p. 75. 76.
53 Id. p. 83.
54 Id. p. 11.
55 Gibbon, vol. ii. p. 317.
56 Id. vol. xiii. p. 119. *n.* 107.
57 Davis, p. 83.
58 Gibbon, vol. xiii. p. 111. *n.* 24.
59 Id. p. 118. *n.* 102.
60 Davis, p. 87, 88.
61 Id. p. 88. 90. 137.
62 Id. p. 100, 101.
63 Gibbon, vol. xiii. p. 95. *n.* 35.
64 Davis, p. 95 — 97. 104 — 107. 114 — 132.
65 Id. p. 127.
66 Gibbon, vol. ii. p. 305.
67 Davis, p. 126, 127.
68 Id. p. 131.
69 Gibbon, vol. xiii. p. 121. *n.* 132.
70 Davis, p. 132.
71 Gibbon, vol. xiii. p. 105. *n.* 156.
72 Davis, p. 136, 137.
73 Dr. Randolph, in Chelſum's Remarks, p. 159, 160.
74 Gibbon, vol. xiii. p. 106. *n.* 157.
75 Davis, p. 140.
76 Id. p. 168 — 274.
77 Gibbon, vol. xiii. p. 105. *n.* 156. p. 106. *n.* 161. p. 125. *n.* 164. 126. *n.* 178.
78 Davis, p. 273.
79 Watſon's Apology for Chriſtianity, p. 200.
80 Id. p. 202 — 268.
81 Id. p. 5.
82 Gibbon, vol. ii. p. 320.
83 Watſon, p. 135.

84 Gibbon, vol. ii. 351. Chelsum, p. 132 — 139.
85 Gibbon, vol. ii p. 275. Randolph in Chelsum, p. 122.
86 Gibbon, vol. xiii. p. 95. *n.* 33. Chelsum, p. 39.
87 Gibbon, vol. xiii. p. p. 99. *n.* 70. Chelsum, p. 66.
88 Chelsum's Remarks, p. 13—19. 67—91. 180—185.
89 Chelsum, p. 15.
90 Id. p. 73.
91 Gibbon, vol. ii. p. 269.
92 Id. p. 379.
93 Chelsum, p. 118, 119.
94 Id. p. 188.
95 Gibbon, vol. ii. p. 341.
96 Chelsum, p. 118.
97 Id. p. 114—117.
98 Id. p 113.
99 Gibbon, vol. xiii. p. 116. *n.* 74.
100 Remarks, p. 65, 66, 67.
101 P. ii. iii.
102 Chelsum and Randolph, p. 220 — 238.
103 Gibbon, p. 653. Chelsum, p. 204—207.
104 Gibbon, vol. ii. p. 350.
105 Chelsum, p. 232.
106 Id. p. 228. 231.
107 Id. p. 229, 230, 231.
108 Gibbon, vol. ii. p. 401.
109 Chelsum, p. 234.
110 Id. p. 226, 227.
111 Gibbon, vol. xiii. p. 126. *n.* 178.
112 Chelsum and Randolph, p. 236, 237, 238.
113 Remarks, p. 100.
114 Id. p. 15.
115 Id. p. 111.
116 Id. p. 72—88.
117 Id. p. 90, 91.
118 Gibbon, vol. xiii. p. 118. *n.* 91.

## *Note to the Addreſs.*

* I allude to a paſſage in Cicero (de Naturâ Deorum, L. ii. C. 34.) Quod ſi in Britanniam, ſphæram aliquis tulerit hanc, quam nuper familiaris noſter effecit Poſidonius, cujus ſingulæ converſiones idem efficiunt in ſole et in luna, et in quinque ſtellis errantibus, quod efficitur in cœlo ſingulis diebus et noctibus: quis in illa barbarie dubitet, quin ea ſphæra ſit perfecta ratione?

# TRANSLATION

## OF THE

# NOTES.

*To page* 182. *Note* [19]. WERE we curious to ascertain exactly the date of this epigram, a passage of Cicero would lead us to fix it at the year 708. For, notwithstanding Bayle's reasonings, we cannot regard it in any other light than that of a satire written against Mamurra; an opinion embraced by the learned Dr. Middleton. There is no weight in the observation, that Catullus would not have ventured to write this epigram against Cæsar in the plenitude of his power. Cæsar's clemency towards his enemies is well known; and the terms in which historians speak of his lenity shown to this satirist implies that he was then possessed of power to punish him; otherwise his moderation would have been of little value. Tacitus speaks of this affair as a parallel to that of Bibalculus, who satirised Augustus when the latter was certainly invested with sovereign dominion.

*To page* 183. *Note* [31]. This explanation is the more probable, because Virgil appears in his works to value himself rather on reviving old words, than on borrowing new ones from the Greek. I doubt whether a single passage can be pointed out, in which he followed Horace's advice.

*To page* 185. *Note* [2]. I meditate a history of the expedition of Charles VIII. into Italy; an event which changed the face of Europe. Should I ever undertake such a work, these researches will find their place in it, but written with more care and precision. At present, both leisure and books are wanting; for which reason, being unable to cite the original historians, I think it better to trust to the notoriety of the transactions, than to refer the reader to compilations.

*Ibid. Note* [4]. The following is an example where the same reasoning occurred. Sir Walter Raleigh was condemned to death for treason. After a confinement of many years in prison, he received from James I. the command of a fleet to be employed in discovering a gold mine in South-America. The enterprise failed; and, at Sir Walter's return home, James ordered his head to be cut off, according to the sentence formerly passed against him. The nation murmured loudly, asserting that the commission of admiral was equivalent to a formal pardon, since it was impossible to bestow that authority and confidence on a traitor condemned to death.

*Ibid. Note* [5]. This question depends on the same principles with that of adoption, which I shall shortly examine.

*Ibid. Note* [6]. This question was much agitated half a century ago, in the business of the Spanish succession, which Lewis XIV. renounced by the treaty of the Pyrenees, but which his family afterwards claimed and vindicated.

*To page* 185. *Note* [7]. We sometimes read in old charters Ego——bastardus. The appellative became a surname. In the time of Philip Comines, there was little distinction made in Italy between natural and legitimate children.

*Ibid. Note* [8]. In the XIth century, William the Conqueror; and in the XIVth, Henry of Trastamare, and John Grand Master of the Order of Avis, were all bastards.

*Ibid. Note* [9]. Observe the equivocal conduct of Lewis IX. He blamed the pope's severity; he endeavoured to make peace; but the council of Lyons he always considered as a tribunal from which Frederick was not entitled to appeal.

*Ibid. Note* [11]. In my compilation the consent of the states to this adoption is not mentioned. This, however, was a very essential circumstance. But I have since found, that the accurate Giannone is also silent respecting it.

*To page* 187. *Note* [2] The translation appears to be superior to the original.

*Ibid. Note* [5]. I mean those of his own times.

*Ibid. Note* [10]. We must remember that the slaves were numerous in great families.

*Ibid Note* [11]. See concerning the whole question, *Lipsi. ad Tacit. Annal. xv. Nardini Roma vetus, L. iii. C. iv. p.* 985, 986, 987: *et Græv in Præfat. ad tom. iv. Thesaur. Antiq. Roman.* I have availed myself of all their quotations.

*Ibid. Note* [13]. *Post Capitolinam*, according to the edition of Delcampius. I should like to consult that of Hardouin. Nardini erroneously reads *post capitolium*. Plin. Hist. Natur. l. xxxiii. 1.

*Ibid. Note* [15]. He refers to it himself, V. L. v. C. x. p. 1028.

*Ibid. Note* [20]. As to the breadth of the circus, Pliny himself expressly confirms this explanation.

*Ibid Note* [21]. The Roman, English, and Paris foot, are in the proportion of 1306, 1351 1/2, and 1440. The first contains nearly 11 3/8 inches of English, and 10 7/8 of French measure. *Traité des Mesures*, &c. p. 164. After attentively reflecting on the subject, I prefer allowing to each person 2 1/4 feet. This will give 120,000 persons who were seated, and 30,000 who stood in the porticos. There is still something to be said concerning Mr. D'Anville's measurement of the circus; but this will be better deferred, until I have visited Rome.

Florence, 11th July, 1764.

*To page* 188. *Note* [22]. The most judicious edition of the modern Victor is that published by Panvinius. The numerous additions are justly despised as the work of an impostor. *Nardini Roma Vetus, L. ii. C. v. p.* 956.

*Ibid Note* [30]. The navigation was only sixteen Roman miles.

*Ibid. Note* [31]. Vossius, p. 1514——1515. His calculations are, as usual, somewhat confused; but I give the result as stated by himself.

*Ibid. Note* [41]. He decides not the famous question concerning the origin of the Goths.

*Ibid. Note* [45]. See the origin of the Nations of Italy, in the eighteenth volume of the History of the Academy of Belles-Lettres.

*To page* 189. *Note* [56]. The paſſage by the Pennine Alps was, however, the ſhorteſt; here the mountains are much narrowed.

*Ibid. Note* [58] I have copied nothing from Cluverius, except his general concluſion, very differently modified. I have cited but few authorities. The only important citations, which ſuperſede all others, are the twenty-firſt book of Livy, the third book of Polybius, and the thirty-third chapter of the firſt book of Cluverius.

*Ibid. Note* [72]. I have ſince diſcovered that the etymology of *Pompeii* is uncertain, and that I was right in my conjecture of its having been beſieged. *V. Vell. Paterc. L. ii. C.* 16.

*Ibid. Note* [76]. Vell. Paterculus, L. ii. C. 16. The *Minatius Magius* there ſpoken of, belonged to the very city which began the war, by the murder of a pretor and a legate.

*Ibid. Note* [77]. See Reflection on Ancient Nations, by Mr. Freret, in the eighteenth volume of the Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Letters.

*Ibid. Note* [78]. T. Livius, L. xxii. C. 36. It appears from ſeveral paſſages of this author, that this was the ordinary proportion. Velleius Paterculus exaggerates a little, when he ſpeaks of double the number of troops. L. ii. C. 15.

*Ibid. Note* [54]. I except his invective againſt Stilico, L. ii. v. 41.

*To page* 190. *Note* [22]. The whole journey is deſcribed in the fifth Satire of the firſt book of Horace.

*To page* 190. *Note* [28]. For the detail of this voyage it is proper to peruſe the epiſtles to Atticus, L. v. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10. The Hiſtory of Cicero, by Fabricius, and by Middleton, the year of Rome 702.

*Ibid. Note* [29]. All the diſtances not noticed in the Itineraries, I have meaſured on the chart of M. Delisle.

*Ibid. Note* [35]. Itineraria Anton. p. 312, 313, 314, 315. I have meaſured on the chart of Delisle the diſtance from Canuſium to Larinum.

*Ibid. Note* [48] Onuphr. Panvin. on Triumphs. The number is taken from Oroſius.

*Ibid. Note* [53]. I can only cite the authority of Livy and the Faſti of the ſixth and ſeventh centuries of Rome.

*Ibid. Note* [78]. I meaſured the diſtance on Nolli's great map of Rome.

*To page* 192. *Note* [8]. This age was that of thoſe philoſophical ſects, who battled for the ſyſtems of their reſpective maſters, with all the obſtinacy of polemical divines.

A fondneſs for ſyſtems neceſſarily produces an attachment to general principles, and this of courſe brings on a contempt for an attention to particulars.

"The fondneſs for ſyſtem (ſays Mr. Freret) which poſſeſſed the ſucceſ-"ſors of Ariſtotle, made the Greeks abandon the ſtudy of nature, and "ſtopped the progreſs of their philoſophical diſcoveries. Subtlety of "argument took place of experiment; the accurate ſciences, Geometry,

" Aſtronomy, and the true Philoſophy diſappeared almoſt entirely. None " gave themſelves the trouble to acquire new principles; but all were " employed in ranging, combining, and modelling thoſe, they imagined " they knew, into ſyſtems. Hence aroſe ſo many different ſects. The " greateſt geniuſes loſt themſelves in the abſtruſeneſs and obſcurity of " Metaphyſics, wherein words generally ſupplied the place of things; " and thus Logic, denominated by Ariſtotle an implement of the under- " ſtanding, became among his followers the principal, and almoſt the " ſole, object of their attention. Their whole lives were ſpent in ſtudying " the art of reaſoning, without ever reaſoning at all; or at leaſt without " reaſoning on any other than trivial and unimportant ſubjects."

Mém. de l'Acad. des B. L. tom. vi. p. 150.

*Ibid. Note* [9] By turning over the Latin Bibliotheque of Fabricius, the beſt of mere compilers, we ſhall ſee that in the ſpace of forty years after the invention of printing, almoſt all the Latin authors iſſued from the preſs, ſome of them more than once. It is true, the taſte of the editors was by no means equal to their zeal. The writers of the Auguſtan hiſtory appeared before Livy; and an edition of Aulus-Gellius was given before any body thought of Virgil.

*Ibid. Note* [10]. Æſchylus has written a tragedy, wherein he has painted, in the moſt lively colors, the triumph of the Greeks and the conſternation of the Perſians, after that fatal battle. See le Théâtre des Grecs du P. Brumoy, tom. ii. p. 171, &c.

*To page* 193. *Note* [11]. The preſident Henault, in ſpeaking of that Princeſs, ſays, "She was a great ſcholar: and that, being one day in " converſation with Calignon, afterwards Chancellor of Navarre, she " showed him a Latin translation she had made of ſome tragedies of " Sophocles, and of two orations of Demoſthenes. She permitted him " alſo to take a copy of a Greek epigram of her own compoſition; and " asked his opinion concerning ſome paſſages of Lycophron, which she " had then in her hands, and from which she intended to translate ſome " particular parts." Abrég. Chronolog. 4to. Paris, 1752. p. 397.

*Ibid. Note* [12]. Mr. Le Clerc, in his excellent treatiſe on the art of criticiſm, and in many other of his works.

*Ibid. Note* [14]. Fontenelle in his digreſſion concerning the ancients and moderns, and eſewhere. Oeuvres de Greſſet. tom. ii. p. 45.

*Ibid. Note* [16]. Newton diſcovered miſtakes of 5 or 6 hundred years in the common Chronology and reformed it accordingly. See my critical remarks on that Chronology.

*Ibid. Note* [17]. See the life of Leibnitz, by the Neufville, prefixed to his Theodocea.

*Ibid. Note* [18]. I did not here ſeek for an opportunity of paying a compliment to his Royal Highneſs, the Duke of Cumberland, whoſe birth and rank I reſpect, without preſuming to judge of his military talents. If it be conſidered that the following lines are taken from a poem on the battle of Fontenoy, the reader will ſee, it is rather Mr. Voltaire than myſelf that here ſpeaks.

*To page* 193. *Note* [20]. See Thucydides, book iii. alſo Diodorus Siculus, from the xith book to the xxth, almoſt throughout. Alſo the Preface of the Abbé Teraſſon to the 3d vol. of his translation of Diodorus Siculus.—Alſo Hume's Political Eſſays.

*Ibid. Note* [21]. See the pieces of Huet and Deſpreaux, in the 3d vol. of the works of the latter.

*To page* 194. *Note* [22]. The golden compaſſes, with which the Creator, in Milton, meaſures the univerſe, excite ſurpriſe. Perhaps, however, it is puerile in him; though ſuch an image had been truly ſublime in Homer. Our philoſophical ideas of the Deity are injurious to the Poet. The ſame attributes debaſe our Divinity which would have extolled the Jupiter of the Greek. The ſublime genius of Milton was cramped by the ſyſtem of our religion, and never appeared to ſo great an advantage as when he ſhook it a little off; while on the contrary, Propertius, a cold and inſipid declaimer, owes all his reputation to the agreeable pictures of his Mythology.

*Ibid. Note* [26]. The *Cupedinarii* Terence ſpeaks of, diſprove not the truth of this reflection. That word, though we ſhould not adopt the conjecture of Saumaiſe, was become from a proper name an appellative. See Terence Eunuch, act. ii. ſc. 2.

*Ibid. Note* [27]. See the Diſſertations of Mr. de la Bleterie on the authority of the Emperors, in the Memoirs of the academy of Belles-Lettres.

*To page* 195. *Note* [35]. Nothing is more difficult for a writer, educated in ſcenes of luxury, than to deſcribe ſimplicity without meanneſs. Read the epiſtle of Penelope, in Ovid, and you will be diſguſted with that ruſticity which gives ſo much delight, in Homer. In the writings of Madam Scudery, you will be as diſagreeably ſurpriſed to find, in the court of Tomyris, the ſplendor of that of Louis the XIVth. One muſt be formed for ſuch manners to hit off their genuine ſimplicity. Reflection has ſupplied the place of experience in Virgil, and perhaps in Fenelon. They knew it was neceſſary to elevate them a little, in conformity to the delicacy of their age and country; but they knew that delicacy would be ſhocked at too taudry embellishments.

*Ibid. Note* [36]. This rate allowed 3000 drachmas, or 12000 ſeſterces to every private foot-ſoldier, twice that ſum to each of the cavalry and to a centurion, and four times as much to a tribune. The Roman legion, after the augmentation made by Marius, conſiſted of 6000 infantry, and 300 horſe. This conſiderable corps, however, had but ſixty-ſix officers, that is ſixty centurions and ſix tribunes. So that the account ſtood thus.

| | *L. Sterling.* |
|---|---|
| 282,000 private men at 3000 drachma's or 12,000 ſeſterces, or 105 l. Sterling each | 28,905,000 |
| 2,820 centurions and 14,100 horſe at 6000 drachmas, or 210 l. Sterling each | 3,468 690 |
| 282 tribunes at 12,000 drachmas, or 410 l. each | 115,620 |
| Sum total L. | 32,489,220 |

According to Dr. Arbuthnot's calculations, it should be only 30,705,220l. the drachma being worth only 7d. 3/4 English money. But, from the researches I have made, I find that the Attic drachma of later years, was equal to a Roman denier both in weight and value, and worth 8d. 1/5 of our money.

*To page* 169. *Note* [47]. One of those pirates on whom Pompey bestowed lands.

*Ibidem. Note* [52]. Historically so; the truth of their evidence, not of their opinions; the latter is in the province of logic rather than of criticism.

*Ibidem. Note* [53]. That is to say, authority combined with experience.

*Ibidem. Note* [54]. It is the elements of geometry and criticism that are here principally intended.

*Ibidem. Note* [55]. A clear and precise definition of the certainty in dispute might have abridged this controversy. "It was a historical certainty." This certainty, however, varies in different ages. Thus, I believe in general in the existence and exploits of Charlemaine; but my assurance there of is not equal to that I have of the actions of Henry the Fourth.

*To page* 197. *Note* [63]. I shall say nothing of the fleet that appeared before Tarentum; as I imagine those vessels belonged to the inhabitants of Thuricum.

*Ibidem. Note* [65]. The celebrated Mr. Freret has offered a different hypothesis, agreeable enough for its simplicity; but it appears to me, not quite so reasonable.

*Ibidem. Note* [68]. In matters of geography and chronology no dependence is to be made on Ovid; that Poet being grossly ignorant in both these sciences. Read the description of the voyages of Medea; Metamorph. lib. vii. v. 350 to 402, and the xivth book of the same Metamorph. The one passage abounds with geographical errors, that offend even the commentators; and the other is full of chronological blunders.

*Ibidem. Note* [73]. It may, nevertheless, be doubted, whether this episode is so irreconcileable to chronological truth as has been imagined. According to the plausible system of Sir Isaac Newton, Æneas and Dido were cotemporaries. The Romans certainly ought to know the History of Carthage better than the Greeks. The archives of Carthage were removed to Rome. The Punic language was well enough understood there. The Romans readily consulted the Africans concerning their origin. Besides, Virgil adopts a chronology more agreeable to the computations of a Newton than to those of Eratosthenes, which is of itself a sufficient disculpation. My readers will not be displeased, perhaps, to see the proofs of what is here advanced. Seven years hardly pacified the anger of Juno, and finished the wanderings of Æneas. At least so Dido informs me. He arrived, some months after, in the Tiber; where the Deity of the stream appeared to him, foretold his future battles, and gave him hopes of a glorious end to his misfortunes. A prodigy confirmed the truth of the oracle. A sow, that had just littered, appeared on the banks of the river, with her thirty pigs; expressive of the number of years before the young Ascanius would lay the foundation of

Alba; This city continued three hundred years the ſeat of empire, and the nurſery of the Romans.

Theſe are the expreſſions Virgil has put in the mouth of Jupiter. But our chronologiſts give themſelves no concern to make the Thunderer keep his word They repreſent the city of Alba as deſtroyed by Tullus Hoſtilius almoſt 500 years after its foundation, and about 100 years after that of Rome. The ſyſtem of Sir Iſaac Newton, however, makes all eaſy. The deſtruction of Troy, placed in the year 904, and followed by an interval of 337 years, brings us down to 567, 60 years after the Palilia, an epoch that agrees much better with the reign of the third ſucceſſor of Romulus. There is an ancient tradition, preſerved by Plutarch, which exactly coincides. The books of Numa were found ante ann. Chr. 181. four hundred years after the death of that King, and the commencement of the reign of Hoſtilius. Numa died then 581 years before the Chriſtian æra. How artful was it in the Poet to lay hold of the time Æneas arrives at Carthage, to reply to his critics, in the only manner the rapidity of his courſe, and the greatneſs of his ſubject would permit him! He makes it appear, that, according to his theory, this rencounter of Dido and Æneas is not a poetic licence. Virgil is not the only one who hath called in queſtion the vulgar chronology of the Latin Kings. I imagine I can trace the ſame ideas in his contemporary Pompeius. That hiſtorian, the rival of Livy and Salluſt, attributes the ſame period of duration, 300 years, to the kingdom of Alba. Had not his univerſal hiſtory been loſt, we ſhould probably have there found particular and circumſtantial proofs of this opinion. As it is, we muſt be ſatisfied with the ſimple expoſition of his abbreviator. "Albam longam condidit "quæ trecentis annis caput regni fuit." Livy himſelf, that father of Roman hiſtory, who ſometimes ſhows ſo great an attachment to the vulgar chronology, but generally runs over the difficult paſſages in a manner that betrays his credulity and ignorance, ſeems to diſtruſt his guides in thoſe early ages. Nothing was more natural than for him to take notice how long thoſe Kings reigned, whom he mentions. Yet is he entirely ſilent on this head. Nothing was more neceſſary than to aſcertain, at leaſt, the interval between Æneas and Romulus; which he has notwithſtanding neglected. Nor is this all. "The deſtruction of Alba, he ſays, happened "400 years after it was founded." In retrenching a 100 years for the reigns of Romulus and of Numa, and for the half of that of Hoſtilius, there remain juſt 300, inſtead of 400, as is given by the chronology of Eratoſthenes. Livy therefore nearly agrees with Virgil, the little difference between them ſerving rather to confirm than diſſolve their agreement.—I foreſee an objection, but as it is one of the moſt trivial, to reply to it would be only to form monſters for the ſake of ſubduing them: I ſhall therefore finish this digreſſion, already too long.

*To page* 199. *Note* 76. M. Freret thinks the philoſophical obſervations of the ancients more exact than is commonly imagined. Thoſe, who are acquainted with this author's arguments and talents, will know the weight of his authority.

*Ibidem. Note* 77. Cicero envies the happineſs of his friend Marius, who ſpent his time in the country during the magnificent diverſions of Pompey. He ſpeaks with ſufficient contempt of the other repreſentations; but particularly of the combats of wild beaſts. "Reliquæ ſunt venationes, (ſays he) binæ per dies quinque; magnifice, nemo negat, ſed quæ poteſt homini eſſe polito delectatio, cum aut homo imbecillus à valentiſſimâ beſtiâ laniatur aut præclara beſtia venabulo tranſverberatur."

*To page* 200. *Note* 85. Cethegus, the conſul, drained this moraſs. A. U. C. 592. In the time of Julius Cæſar, however, it was again overflowed. This dictator had a deſign of ſetting people to work at it. It appears Auguſtus did ſo. But I doubt if his endeavours ſucceeded any better than the former. At leaſt Pliny calls it ſtill a moraſs. Horace had indeed in a manner foretold it.

*Ibidem. Note* 86. Epicurus had no ſooner publiſhed his doctrines, than ſome people expreſſed themſelves freely on the eſtabliſhed religion, and began to regard it only as a political inſtitution.

*Ibidem. Note* 87. If not in denying the exiſtence, at leaſt in disbelieving the providence, of the Deity; for Cæſar was a follower of Epicurus. Thoſe who have a mind to ſee how obſcure a man of abilities may render the cleareſt truths, will peruſe with pleaſure the doubts with which M. Bayle has perplexed the ſentiments of Cæſar.

*Ibidem. Note* 90. Cæſar was ſovereign Pontiff; nor was this ſacerdotal office merely titular. The elegant diſſertations of Mr. de la Baſtie on the pontificate of the Emperors, will convince thoſe who are incredulous on this head. Conſult particularly the third of thoſe pieces, inſerted in the Mémoires de l'Acad. des Bell. Lett.

*Ibid. Note* 91. Lucretius, born with that enthuſiaſm of imagination, which forms great Poets and enterpriſing miſſionaries, was deſirous of being both the one and the other. I muſt pity the theologue, however, who cannot grant ſome indulgence to the latter, for the ſake of the former. This philoſopher, after having proved a Divinity in ſpite of himſelf, by attributing the phenomena of nature to general cauſes, proceeds to inquire how the notions he controverts came to be ſo univerſally entertained. For this he diſcovers three reaſons: I. Our dreams; for in theſe we conceive beings and effects that we never meet with in the material world, and attribute to them a real exiſtence and immenſe power. II. Our ignorance of the works of nature, which makes us, on every occaſion, recur to the hand of a Divinity. III. Our fear, which is the effect of that ignorance: this induces us to ſubmit to the calamities which happen to the earth, and excites us to endeavour to appeaſe, by our payers, ſome inviſible being that is ſuppoſed to afflict us. Lucretius expreſſes this laſt motive with an energy and a rapidity of ſtyle which bears all before it, and will not give the reader time to examine its validity.

*To page* 201. *Note* 96. The Romans intruſted the fidelity of their wives to the care and determination of their family. The relations met, if any one was accuſed, they judged, condemned to death, and executed their own

sentence on the criminal. The laws also pardoned the husband or father, who, in the transport of his passion, killed the gallant, particularly if of a servile rank.

*Ibidem. Note* [97]. The discourse of Micio in Terence, the manner in which Cicero excuses the debaucheries of his client, and the exhortation of Cato sufficiently explain the morals of the Romans in this respect. They censured debauchery only so far as it prevented the discharge of the essential duties of the citizen.

Nor were their ears more chaste than their actions. The Casina of Plautus is little known; but those who have read that miserable piece, can hardly comprehend how it is possible that there should be but forty or fifty years between that farce and the Andria. It consists of a vile intrigue between a parcel of slaves, heightened only by smutty jests and obscenities, low as their condition. None of Plautus's comedies, however, were played so often, nor received with so much applause, as this wretched performance. Such were the Roman manners at the time of the second Punic war: such that virtue which the posterity of ancient Rome so much regretted and admired.

*To page* 202. *Note* [102]. We must, however, distinguish Homer, Hesiod, Pindar, and the tragic Poets, who lived in an age when their tradition was more pure.

*Ibidem. Note* [111]. In his Mythology explained by history.

*Ibidem. Note* [113]. I am much indebted, in these inquiries, to the learned Freret, of the Academy of Belles-Lettres. He has opened a route, which appears obvious from all sides. I conceive, however, that he reasons much better on facts than dogmas. Prejudiced greatly in his favor, I eagerly ran over his Reply to the Chronology of Sir Isaac Newton; but, may I venture to say, it by no means answered my expectations. I see nothing new in that piece, if we except the principles of a new theology and chronology, which, however, we already possessed; some defective and inconclusive genealogy; a few minute researches into the chronology of Sparta, an ancient system of astronomy, which I do not well understand, and the elegant preface of M. de Bougainville, which indeed I peruse every time with additional pleasure.

*Ibidem. Note* [119]. This relation of Lactantius differs a little from that of Diodorus.

*Ibidem. Note* [120]. Mr. Fourmont, the elder, hath written a dissertation on Ephemerus, wherein there are some very bold conjectures and pleasant extravagancies. It ill becomes a young writer to hold others in contempt; but I really cannot reply seriously to that piece. Those who cannot see that the Panchaia described in Diodorus Siculus, is situated to the south of Gidrosia, and at a little distance westward of the peninsula of India, may believe, with Mr. Fourmont, that the gulph is south of Arabia Felix, that Phank, on the continent, is the isle of Panchaia, that the desart of Pharan is the most delightful place in the world, and that the

city of Pieria in Syria is the capital of a little district in the neighbourhood of Medina.

*To page* 203. *Note* [125]. Such is the story of the scholiast, adopted by Sir Isaac Newton. But Lactantius writes the inscription ZAN XPONOY, which gives it, in my opinion, a more antique air. Lucian, for fables go on always gathering something, tells us, that the inscription intimated, that Jupiter no longer thundered, but had submitted to the fate of mortals.

*Ibidem. Note* [132]. It is worth observing, that this Osiris and his sister were said to be the youngest of the deities. It required a great many ages for the Ægyptians to arrive at this simplicity.

*Ibidem Note* [133]. The worship of the sun hath prevailed in all nations. I shall give what appear to me the reasons of it. It is perhaps the only object in the world that is at once sole and perceptible. Perceptible to all the nations upon earth, in the most brilliant and beneficent manner, it is no wonder it should attract their homage. Sole and indivisible, those who reasoned on the subject, and were not too difficult, discovered in it all the distinguishing marks of divinity.

*Ibidem. Note* [134]. I am not very well satisfied with this passage. I give the best reasons I can find; but it seems to me, that, in such early ages, sentiment must have been their guide; and sentiment speaks always in behalf of the system of liberty.

*To page* 204. *Note* [137]. I mean among the Greeks; his worship was long kept up in Italy.

*Ibidem. Note* [144]. They were obliged to prostitute themselves, once in their lives, to the first comer, in the temple of Venus. Voltaire, who imposes on them the obligation of doing it every year, treats it as an idle and ridiculous fable. Herodotus, however, had travelled into these parts; and Mr. Voltaire is too well versed in history to be ignorant, how many similar triumphs superstition has made over humanity and virtue. What does he think of an act of faith? But I anticipate his answer. I was, besides, ignorant that Babylon was then the best governed city in the world. Quintus Curtius describes it as the most licentious. Berosa, the Babylonian himself, complains that his fellow-citizens, breaking down all the barriers of modesty, lived like brute beasts; and the scholiast upon Juvenal may inform us, that in his time it was not degenerated.

*To page* 205. *Note* [151]. After the taking of Perusa, he sacrificed three hundred of the principal citizens upon an altar erected to the divinity of his father.

*Ibidem. Notes* [156]. It is with impatience I expect the continuation of those dissertations on this subject, which M. de la Bleterie hath promised us. The system of Augustus, so often misunderstood, will be laid down with the utmost minuteness. This author hath a peculiar delicacy, and an amiable freedom, of sentiment. He is argumentative without dryness, and expresses himself with all the graces of a clear and elegant style. Perhaps,

however, this Descartes of history reasons a little too much *a priori*, and founds his conclusions less upon authority of particular facts, than on general induction: but this is the fault only of men of great genius.

*Ibidem Note* [157]. Augustus bequeathed to Tiberius and Livia only millies quingenties, thirty millions of livres. The augur Lentulus died in his reign, worth quater millies, fourscore millions.

*Ibidem. Note* [159]. I distinguish the greatness of the Roman empire from that of the republic: the one consisted in the number of provinces, the other in that of its citizens.

*Ibidem. Note* [160]. Vitellius sent his gallies as far as the pillars of Hercules, in order to catch the uncommon and delicate fish, of which this luxurious dish was composed. If we may credit Dr. Arbuthnot, it cost 765,625 l. Sterling.

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