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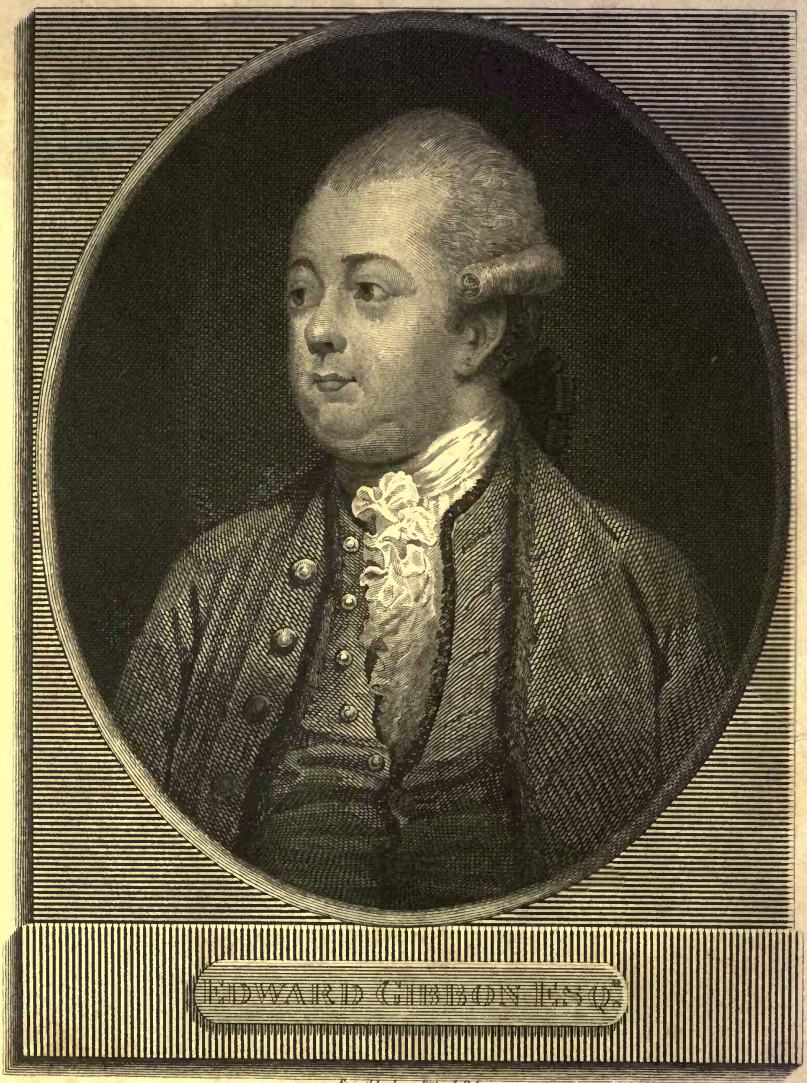

Engrav'd by James Heath A.R.A.

From the original Portrait, in the possession of the Right. Hon.ble Lord Sheffield.
Painted by Mr. Warton, in the year 1774.

Published by John Murray Albemarle Street Jan.y 1.st 1815.

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THE MISCELLANEOUS WORKS OF EDWARD GIBBON, ESQ.

WITH

MEMOIRS OF HIS LIFE AND WRITINGS,

COMPOSED BY HIMSELF:

ILLUSTRATED FROM HIS LETTERS,

WITH OCCASIONAL NOTES AND NARRATIVE,

BY THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

JOHN, LORD SHEFFIELD.

A NEW EDITION, WITH CONSIDERABLE ADDITIONS,
IN FIVE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.
MEMOIRS AND LETTERS.

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TO THE

SECOND EDITION.

THE great satisfaction evinced on the publication of the former Edition of Mr. Gibbon's Miscellaneous Works, and the strong wish repeatedly expressed that I should give to the public several of the pieces in my possession, mentioned in the Advertisement to that Edition, have much lessened my apprehension of indulging too far my partiality for the compositions of my friend, and have induced me to include in a new Edition such Articles as seemed likely to reflect credit on his memory.

It will be remembered that the Memoirs were composed and formed from six different Sketches, and from Notes and Memoranda on loose unconnected Papers and Cards, all in Mr. Gibbon's handwriting. This new Edition of his posthumous Works has furnished me with the opportunity of interweaving several additional

Mr. Gibbon's Papers, have been connected, and, where the manuscript ceases, have been continued to the Accession of George the First to the British Throne, from Mr. Butler's very able publication, entitled "A Succinct History of the Geographical and Political Revolutions of the Empire of Charlemagne from 814 to 1806."

Under the second Division will be found—

1. An interesting "Essay on the Character of Brutus," in Mr. Gibbon's best manner.

2. A Classical Geography of Ancient Italy, entitled Nomina Gentesque Antiquæ Italiæ.—A work composed by Mr. Gibbon preparatory to his tour in that part of Europe: this work is often mentioned in his Memoirs and Journal. The manuscript was found in a disordered state; but it is correctly printed from Mr. Gibbon's manuscript, and the inaccuracies are noticed in an Errata at the end of the volume.

The following articles are also added under the same Division, viz.

3. Remarques sur les Ouvrages et sur le Caractère de Salluste.

4. ———————— de Jules César.

5. ———————— de Cornelius Népos.

6. ———————— de Tite Live.

7. Remarques Critiques sur un Passage de Plaute.

8. Re-

8. Remarques sur quelques Passages de Virgile.

In the third, or Miscellaneous, Division, are contained,

1. Remarques sur les Mémoires Posthumes de M. de Chéseaux:—on Jewish, Assyrian, Persian, &c. Chronology.

2. Remarques sur quelques Prodiges.

3. Remarques sur les Dignités Sacerdotales de Jules César.

4. Principes des Poids, des Monnoies, et des Mesures des Anciens, avec des Tables construites sur ces Principes.

5. Dissertation sur les Anciennes Mesures, &c. du Bas Empire jusqu'à la Prise de Constantinople par les Turcs; la France et les Pays Bas; l'Allemagne, la Suisse, et les Pays du Nord; l'Italie et l'Espagne; l'Orient, les Indes, et l'Afrique; also, Remarques sur "An Inquiry into the State of Ancient Measures, the Attic, the Roman, and particularly Jewish, by Dr. Hooper, Bishop of Bath and Wells."—These difficult subjects are admirably discussed by Mr. Gibbon at an early age. It is to be regretted that he did not complete them as he seems to have intended; they are, however, too valuable to be withheld from the public.

6. On the Position of the Meridional Line, and

an Inquiry into the supposed Circumnavigation of Africa by the Ancients.—This curious Dissertation has the advantage of having been read by a gentleman well known to the learned world, Dr. Vincent, Dean of Westminster, who has most liberally favoured me with Notes and Illustrations, which have greatly enhanced the value of the article. It is highly satisfactory to observe the coincidence of opinion relative to the circumnavigation of Africa in *two* of our most learned writers; both so ably deducing the same conclusions from the same premises, and so exactly, that it might be supposed one had borrowed from the other, which, however, was impossible. This article was written by Mr. Gibbon at Lausanne, between the years 1789 and the beginning of the year 1793; and after his death was sent to me from Switzerland in loose sheets, mixed with many other papers. They have never since been out of my possession until they very lately went to the press, and were never seen, except by Mr. Frederick North, Lord Glenbervie, and Mr. Butler; and not by them till some years after Dr. Vincent had published (viz. in 1800) his Periplûs of the Erythrêan Sea; and it was the last week in October, 1814, that I first communicated, at the suggestion of a friend, Mr. Gibbon's manuscript to Dr. Vincent, with whom I had not the honour of being acquainted.

The

The Miscellaneous Division concludes with an Index Expurgatorius, and very copious Selections from the Author's "Extraits Raisonnés de mes Lectures," "Recueil de mes Observations et Pièces détachées," and from his Journal, Common-place Books, Memoranda, &c.; some of which, however unimportant they may appear to the fastidious critic, are introduced with a view of exciting in young students the same diligence and application by which Mr. Gibbon acquired the knowledge and learning that have raised him so high in the estimation of men of letters.

To the Address, the last article in the first Edition of Mr. Gibbon's Miscellaneous Works, and the last he wrote, recommending that our Latin Memorials of the middle Ages, the Scriptores Rerum Anglicarum, may be published in a style worthy of the country, an explanatory Supplement by Mr. Pinkerton (whom Mr. Gibbon mentions as the fit person for such a work) is added. This Supplement undoubtedly will be very gratifying to all those who wish to know Mr. Gibbon's plan respecting that desirable undertaking.

Most of the above articles, although distinguished by great erudition and discernment, must be considered as juvenile performances, as appears from the dates of some, and from the handwriting of others, which handwriting, contrary

to what usually happens, improved considerably as he increased in years; so much so, that it is not difficult, by means of that criterion, to find the dates of his several works. He does not seem to have prepared them for publication; and it is very possible that several of them were never read by him a second time.

In the Table of Contents, I have marked the dates of the several Articles which have no date in the Work itself; and the reader, recollecting that Mr. Gibbon was born in May, 1737, will decide what indulgence they are entitled to as juvenile compositions. The Articles in these volumes were written, some of them before Mr. Gibbon had attained his 19th, many of them before he had attained his 21st, and the rest before he had attained his 27th year, excepting the Memoirs and great part of the Letters;—the Mémoire Justificatif—the Vindication of some Passages in the 15th and 16th Chapters of the History—Critical Observations on the Sixth Book of the Æneid—Dissertation on L'Homme au Masque de Fer—the Essay on the Character of Brutus—on the Position of the Meridional Line and supposed Circumnavigation of Africa by the Ancients—and the Antiquities of the House of Brunswick. Among the earliest may be found some of the most learned disquisitions.

I do not know that Mr. Gibbon ever wrote a line

line of verse, at least he never mentioned to me that he had done so; yet he by no means neglected the Poets, but would read them aloud even in his chaise when travelling, particularly Homer.

An Engraving from a portrait of Mr. Gibbon, painted by Mr. Warton forty years ago, viz. 1774, before he became very corpulent, is prefixed to this Edition. It is by far the best likeness of him that exists.

SHEFFIELD.

SHEFFIELD-PLACE,
26th Nov. 1814.

N. B. Many of the French Articles having been before printed with an English Translation, it was deemed unnecessary to publish both, and the English Translation of several of them has been preferred.

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TO THE

FIRST EDITION.

THE melancholy duty of examining the Papers of my deceased Friend devolved upon me at a time when I was depressed by severe afflictions.

In that state of mind, I hesitated to undertake the task of selecting and preparing his Manuscripts for the press. The warmth of my early and long attachment to Mr. Gibbon made me conscious of a partiality, which it was not proper to indulge, especially in revising many of his juvenile and unfinished compositions. I had to guard, not only against a sentiment like my own, which I found extensively diffused, but also against the eagerness occasioned by a very general curiosity to see in print every literary relic, however imperfect, of so distinguished a writer.

Being aware how disgracefully Authors of Eminence have been often treated, by an indiscreet posthumous publication of fragments and careless effusions; when I had selected those Papers which to myself appeared the fittest for the public eye, I consulted some of our common friends, whom I knew to be equally anxious with myself for Mr. Gibbon's fame, and fully competent, from their judgment, to protect it.

Under such a sanction it is, that, no longer suspecting myself to view through too favourable a medium the compositions of my Friend, I now venture to publish them: and it may here be proper to give some information to the Reader respecting the Contents of these Volumes.

The most important part consists of Memoirs of Mr. Gibbon's Life and Writings, a work which he seems to have projected with peculiar solicitude and attention, and of which he left Six different sketches, all in his own hand-writing. One of these sketches, the most diffuse and circumstantial, so far as it proceeds, ends at the time when he quitted Oxford. Another at the year 1764, when he travelled to Italy. A third, at his father's death, in 1770. A fourth, which he continued to March, 1791, appears in the form of Annals, much less detailed than the others. The two remaining sketches are still more imperfect. But it is difficult to discover

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the order in which these several Pieces were written. From all of them the following Memoirs have been carefully selected, and put together.

My hesitation in giving these Memoirs to the world arose, principally, from the circumstance of Mr. Gibbon's seeming, in some respect, not to have been quite satisfied with them, as he had so frequently varied their form: yet, notwithstanding this diffidence, the compositions, though unfinished, are so excellent, that I think myself justified in permitting my Friend to appear as his own biographer, rather than to have that office undertaken by any other person less qualified for it.

This opinion has rendered me anxious to publish the present Memoirs, without any unnecessary delay; for I am persuaded, that the Author of them cannot be made to appear in a truer light than he does in the following pages. In them, and in his different Letters, which I have added, will be found a complete picture of his talents, his disposition, his studies, and his attainments.

Those slight variations of character, which naturally arose in the progress of his Life, will be unfolded in a series of Letters, selected from a Correspondence between him and myself,

which continued full thirty years, and ended with his death.

It is to be lamented, that all the sketches of the Memoirs, except that composed in the form of Annals, cease about twenty years before Mr. Gibbon's death; and consequently, that we have the least detailed account of the most interesting part of his Life. His Correspondence during that period will, in great measure, supply the deficiency. It will be separated from the Memoirs and placed in an Appendix, that those who are not disposed to be pleased with the repetitions, familiarities, and trivial circumstances of epistolary writing, may not be embarrassed by it. By many, the Letters will be found a very interesting part of the present Publication. They will prove, how pleasant, friendly, and amiable Mr. Gibbon was in private life; and if, in publishing Letters so flattering to myself, I incur the imputation of vanity, I shall meet the charge with a frank confession, that I am indeed highly vain of having enjoyed, for so many years, the esteem, the confidence, and the affection of a man, whose social qualities endeared him to the most accomplished society, and whose talents, great as they were, must be acknowledged to have been fully equalled by the sincerity of his friendship.

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Whatever censure may be pointed against the Editor, the Public will set a due value on the Letters for their intrinsic merit. I must, indeed, be blinded, either by vanity or affection, if they do not display the heart and mind of their Author, in such a manner as justly to increase the number of his admirers.

I have not been solicitous to garble or expunge passages which, to some, may appear trifling. Such passages will often, in the opinion of the observing Reader, mark the character of the Writer, and the omission of them would materially take from the ease and familiarity of authentic letters.

Few men, I believe, have ever so fully unveiled their own character, by a minute narrative of their sentiments and pursuits, as Mr. Gibbon will here be found to have done; not with study and labour—not with an affected frankness—but with a genuine confession of his little foibles and peculiarities, and a good-humoured and natural display of his own conduct and opinions.

Mr. Gibbon began a Journal, a work distinct from the sketches already mentioned, in the early part of his Life, with the following declaration:

"I propose from this day, August 24th, 1761, to keep an exact Journal of my actions and

studies, both to assist my memory, and to accustom me to set a due value on my time. I shall begin by setting down some few events of my past life, the dates of which I can remember."

This industrious project he pursued occasionally in French, with the minuteness, fidelity, and liberality of a mind resolved to watch over and improve itself.

The Journal is continued under different titles, and is sometimes very concise, and sometimes singularly detailed. One part of it is entitled "My Journal," another "Ephemerides, or Journal of my Actions, Studies, and Opinions." The other parts are entitled, "Ephémérides, ou Journal de ma Vie, de mes Etudes, et de mes Sentimens." In this Journal, among the most trivial circumstances, are mixed very interesting observations and dissertations on a Satire of Juvenal, a Passage of Homer, or of Longinus, or of any other author whose works he happened to read in the course of the day; and he often passes from a Remark on the most common event, to a critical Disquisition of considerable learning, or an Inquiry into some abstruse point of Philosophy.

It certainly was not his intention that this private and motley Diary should be presented to the Public; nor have I thought myself at liberty to

to present it, in the shape in which he left it. But when reduced to an account of *his literary occupations*, it forms so singular and so interesting a portrait of an indefatigable Student, that I persuade myself it will be regarded as a valuable acquisition by the Literary World, and as an accession of fame to the memory of my Friend. With the Extracts from Mr. Gibbon's Journal will be printed, his Dissertations entitled "Extraits Raisonnés de mes Lectures:" and "Recueil de mes Observations, et Pièces détachées sur différens Sujets." A few other passages from other parts of the Journals, introduced in Notes, will make a curious addition to the Memoirs.

His first Publication, "Essai sur l'Etude de la Littérature," with corrections and additions from an interleaved copy which my Friend gave to me several years ago, is reprinted as part of these volumes.

Three more of his smaller Publications are also reprinted. 1. His masterly Criticism on the Sixth Book of Virgil, in answer to Bishop Warburton. 2. His own Vindication of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Chapters of his History, in answer to Mr. Davis and others. And 3. His "Réponse à l'Exposé de la Cour de France,"—an occasional composition, which obtained the highest applause in foreign Courts, and of which he spoke to me

with some pleasure, observing that it had been translated even into the Turkish language.*

Of these various writings the Author has spoken himself, in describing his own Life. I have yet to notice some articles not mentioned in his Memoirs, and which will be found in this Publication. 1. A juvenile sketch, entitled, "Outlines of the History of the World." 2. A Dissertation, which he had shewn to a few friends, on that curious subject "L'Homme au Masque de Fer." 3. A more considerable work, "The Antiquities of the House of Brunswick;" an historical discourse, composed about the year 1790. In this Work he intended to appropriate separate books: 1. To the Italian descent; 2. To the Germanic reign; and, 3. To the British Succession of the House of Brunswick. The Manuscript closes in completing the Italian branch of his subject.

Among the most splendid passages of that unfinished work may be enumerated, the characters of Leibnitz and Muratori: A sketch of Albert-Azo the Second, a prince who retained his faculties and reputation beyond the age of

* 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 and more than usual ability, but also in French, so correct, that they must have employed a Frenchman.

one

one hundred years: An account of Padua and its university, and remarks on the epic glory of Ferrara.

The last Paper of these Volumes has the mournful attraction of being a sketch interrupted by death, and affords an honourable proof that my Friend's ardour for the promotion of historical knowledge attended him to the last. It is entitled merely, "An Address:" and expresses a wish that our Latin memorials of the middle ages, the "Scriptores Rerum Anglicarum," may be published in England, in a manner worthy of the subject, and of the country. He mentions Mr. John Pinkerton as a person well qualified for the conduct of such a national undertaking.

In the collection of writings which I am now sending to the press, there is no article that will so much engage the public attention as the Memoirs. I will therefore close all I mean to say as their Editor, by assuring the Reader, that, although I have in some measure newly arranged those interesting Papers, by forming one regular narrative from the Six different sketches, I have nevertheless adhered with scrupulous fidelity to the very words of their Author; and I use the letter S. to mark such Notes as it seemed to me necessary to add.

It remains only to express a wish, that in discharging

charging this latest office of affection, my regard to the memory of my Friend may appear, as I trust it will do, proportioned to the high satisfaction which I enjoyed for many years in possessing his entire confidence, and very partial attachment.

SHEFFIELD.

Sheffield-Place,
6th Aug. 1795.

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On

A lively desire of knowing and of recording our ancestors so generally prevails, that it must depend on the influence of some common principle in the minds of men. We seem to have lived in the persons of our forefathers; it is the labour and reward of vanity to extend the term of this ideal longevity. Our imagination is always active to enlarge the narrow circle in which Nature has confined us. Fifty or an hundred years may be allotted to an individual; but we step forward beyond death with such hopes as religion and philosophy will suggest; and we fill up the silent vacancy that precedes our birth, by associating ourselves to the authors of our existence. Our calmer judgment will rather tend to moderate, than to suppress, the pride of an ancient and worthy race. The satyrist may laugh, the philosopher may preach; but Reason herself will respect the prejudices and habits, which have been consecrated by the experience of mankind. Few there are who can sincerely despise in others, an advantage of which they are secretly ambitious to partake. The knowledge of our own family from a remote period, will be al-

he had not mentioned to any other person, expressed a determination of publishing them in his lifetime; 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, I suggested to him, that, if he should make them a full image of his mind, he would not have nerves to publish them, and therefore that they should be posthumous;—He answered, rather eagerly, that he was determined to publish them *in his life-time.* S.

ways

ways esteemed as an abstract pre-eminence, since it can never be promiscuously enjoyed; but the longest series of peasants and mechanics would not afford much gratification to the pride of their descendant. We wish to discover our ancestors, but we wish to discover them, possessed of ample fortunes, adorned with honorable titles, and holding an eminent rank in the class of hereditary nobles, which has been maintained for the wisest and most beneficial purposes, in almost every climate of the globe, and in almost every modification of political society.

Wherever the distinction of birth is allowed to form a superior order in the state, education and example should always, and will often, produce among them a dignity of sentiment and propriety of conduct, which is guarded from dishonour by their own and the public esteem. If we read of some illustrious line so ancient that it has no beginning, so worthy that it ought to have no end, we sympathize in its various fortunes; nor can we blame the generous enthusiasm, or even the harmless vanity, of those who are allied to the honours of its name. For my own part, could I draw my pedigree from a general, a statesman, or a celebrated author, I should study their lives with the diligence of filial love. In the investigation of past events, our curiosity is stimulated by the immediate or indirect reference to ourselves; but in the estimate of honour we should learn to value the gifts of Nature above those of Fortune; to esteem in our ancestors the qualities that best pro-

mote the interests of society; and to pronounce the descendant of a king less truly noble than the offspring of a man of genius, whose writings will instruct or delight the latest posterity. The family of Confucius is, in my opinion, the most illustrious in the world. After a painful ascent of eight or ten centuries, our barons and princes of Europe are lost in the darkness of the middle ages; but, in the vast equality of the empire of China, the posterity of Confucius have maintained, above two thousand two hundred years, their peaceful honours and perpetual succession. The chief of the family is still revered, by the sovereign and the people, as the lively image of the wisest of mankind. The nobility of the Spencers has been illustrated and enriched by the trophies of Marlborough; but I exhort them to consider the **Fairy Queen* as the most precious jewel of their coronet. Our immortal Fielding was of the younger branch of the Earls of Denbigh, who draw their origin from the Counts of Habsburg, the lineal descendants of Eltrico, in the seventh century, Duke of Alsace. Far different have been the fortunes of the English and German divisions of the family of Habsburg: the former, the knights and sheriffs of Leicestershire, have slowly risen to the dignity of a peerage; the latter, the Emperors of Germany, and Kings of Spain, have threatened the liberty of the

* Nor less praiseworthy are the ladies three,
The honour of that noble familie,
Of which I meanest boast myself to be.
SPENCER, *Colin Clout, &c.* v. 538.

old,

old, and invaded the treasures of the new world. The successors of Charles the Fifth may disdain their brethren of England; but the romance of Tom Jones, that exquisite picture of human manners, will outlive the palace of the Escurial, and the imperial eagle of the house of Austria.

That these sentiments are just, or at least natural, I am the more inclined to believe, as I am not myself interested in the cause; for I can derive from my ancestors neither glory nor shame. Yet a sincere and simple narrative of my own life may amuse some of my leisure hours; but it will subject me, and perhaps with justice, to the imputation of vanity. I may judge, however, from the experience both of past and of the present times, that the public are always curious to know the men, who have left behind them any image of their minds: the most scanty accounts of such men are compiled with diligence, and perused with eagerness; and the student of every class may derive a lesson, or an example, from the lives most similar to his own. My name may hereafter be placed among the thousand articles of a Biographia Britannica; and I must be conscious, that no one is so well qualified, as myself, to describe the series of my thoughts and actions. The authority of my masters, of the grave Thuanus, and the philosophic Hume, might be sufficient to justify my design; but it would not be difficult to produce a long list of ancients and moderns, who, in various forms, have exhibited their own portraits. Such portraits are often the most interest-

ing, and sometimes the only interesting parts of their writings; and, if they be sincere, we seldom complain of the minuteness or prolixity of these personal memorials. The lives of the younger Pliny, of Petrarch, and of Erasmus, are expressed in the epistles, which they themselves have given to the world. The essays of Montagne and Sir William Temple bring us home to the houses and bosoms of the authors: we smile without contempt at the headstrong passions of Benvenuto Cellini, and the gay follies of Colley Cibber. The confessions of St. Austin and Rousseau disclose the secrets of the human heart; the commentaries of the learned Huet have survived his evangelical demonstration; and the memoirs of Goldoni are more truly dramatic than his Italian comedies. The heretic and the churchman are strongly marked in the characters and fortunes of Whiston and Bishop Newton; and even the dulness of Michael de Marolles and Anthony Wood acquires some value from the faithful representation of men and manners. That I am equal or superior to some of these, the effects of modesty or affectation cannot force me to dissemble.

My family is originally derived from the county of Kent. The southern district, which borders on Sussex and the sea, was formerly overspread with the great forest Anderida, and even now retains

retains the denomination of the *Weald*, or Woodland. In this district, and in the hundred and parish of Rolvenden, the Gibbons were possessed of lands in the year one thousand three hundred and twenty-six; and the elder branch of the family, without much increase or diminution of property, still adheres to its native soil. Fourteen years after the first appearance of his name, John Gibbon is recorded as the Marmorarius or architect of King Edward the Third: the strong and stately castle of Queensborough, which guarded the entrance of the Medway, was a monument of his skill; and the grant of an hereditary toll on the passage from Sandwich to Stonar, in the Isle of Thanet, is the reward of no vulgar artist. In the visitations of the heralds, the Gibbons are frequently mentioned: they held the rank of Esquire in an age, when that title was less promiscuously assumed: one of them, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, was captain of the militia of Kent; and a free school, in the neighbouring town of Benenden, proclaims the charity and opulence of its founder. But time, or their own obscurity, has cast a veil of oblivion over the virtues and vices of my Kentish ancestors; their character or station confined them to the labours and pleasures of a rural life: nor is it in my power to follow the advice of the poet, in an inquiry after a name—

> "Go! search it there, where to be born, and die,
> Of rich and poor makes all the history,"

so recent is the institution of our parish registers.

In the beginning of the seventeenth century, a younger branch of the Gibbons of Rolvenden migrated from the country to the city; and from this branch I do not blush to descend. The law requires some abilities; the church imposes some restraints; and before our army and navy, our civil establishments, and India empire, had opened so many paths of fortune, the mercantile profession was more frequently chosen by youths of a liberal race and education, who aspired to create their own independence. Our most respectable families have not disdained the counting-house, or even the shop; their names are inrolled in the Livery and Companies of London; and in England, as well as in the Italian commonwealths, heralds have been compelled to declare, that gentility is not degraded by the exercise of trade.

The armorial ensigns which, in the times of chivalry, adorned the crest and shield of the soldier, are now become an empty decoration, which every man, who has money to build a carriage, may paint according to his fancy on the pannels. My family arms are the same, which were borne by the Gibbons of Kent in an age, when the College of Heralds religiously guarded the distinctions of blood and name: a lion rampant gardant, between three schallop-shells Argent, on a field Azure.* I should not however have been tempted to blazon my coat

* 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.

of

of arms, were it not connected with a whimsical anecdote.—About the reign of James the First, the three harmless schallop-shells were changed by Edmund Gibbon, Esq. into three *Ogresses*, or female cannibals, with a design of stigmatizing three ladies, his kinswomen, who had provoked him by an unjust lawsuit. But this singular mode of revenge, for which he obtained the sanction of Sir William Seagar, king at arms, soon expired with its author; and, on his own monument in the Temple church, the monsters vanish, and the three schallop-shells resume their proper and hereditary place.

Our alliances by marriage it is not disgraceful to mention. The chief honour of my ancestry is James Fiens, Baron Say and Seale, and Lord High Treasurer of England, in the reign of Henry the Sixth; from whom by the Phelips, the Whetnalls, and the Cromers, I am lineally descended in the eleventh degree. His dismission and imprisonment in the Tower were insufficient to appease the popular clamour; and the Treasurer, with his son-in-law Cromer, was beheaded (1450), after a mock trial by the Kentish insurgents. The black list of his offences, as it is exhibited in Shakespeare, displays the ignorance and envy of a plebeian tyrant. Besides the vague reproaches of selling Maine and Normandy to the Dauphin, the Treasurer is specially accused of luxury, for riding on a foot-cloth and of treason, for speaking French, the language of our enemies: "Thou hast most traiterously corrupted the youth of the realm," says Jack Cade to

to the unfortunate Lord, "in erecting a grammar-school; and whereas before, our forefathers, had no other books than the score and the tally, thou hast caused printing to be used; and, contrary to the king, his crown, and dignity, thou hast built a paper-mill. It will be proved to thy face, that thou hast men about thee, who usually talk of a noun and a verb, and such abominable words, as no christian ear can endure to hear." Our dramatic poet is generally more attentive to character than to history; and I much fear that the art of printing was not introduced into England till several years after Lord Say's death: but of some of these meritorious crimes I should hope to find my ancestor guilty; and a man of letters may be proud of his descent from a patron and martyr of learning.

In the beginning of the last century, Robert Gibbon, Esq. of Rolvenden in Kent,* (who died in 1618,) had a son of the same name of Robert, who settled in London, and became a member of the Clothworkers' Company. His wife was a daughter of the Edgars, who flourished about four hun-

* Robert Gibbon, my lineal ancestor, in the fifth degree, was captain of the Kentish militia, and as he died in the year 1618, it may be presumed that he had appeared in arms at the time of the Spanish invasion. His wife was Margaret Phillips, daughter of Edward Phillips de la Weld in Tenterden, and of Rose his wife, daughter of George Whitnell, of East Peckham, Esquire. Peckham, the seat of the Whitnells of Kent, is mentioned, not indeed much to its honour, in the Mémoires du Comte de Grammont, a classic work, the delight of every man and woman of taste to whom the French language is familiar.

dred

dred years in the county of Suffolk, and produced an eminent and wealthy serjeant-at-law, Sir Gregory Edgar, in the reign of Henry the Seventh. Of the sons of Robert Gibbon, (who died in 1643,) Matthew did not aspire above the station of a linen-draper in Leadenhall-street; but John has given to the public some curious memorials of his existence, his character, and his family. He was born on the 3d of November, in the year 1629; his education was liberal, at a grammar-school, and afterwards in Jesus College at Cambridge; and he celebrates the retired content which he enjoyed at Allesborough in Worcestershire, in the house of Thomas Lord Coventry, where he was employed as a domestic tutor. But the spirit of my kinsman soon immerged into more active life; he visited foreign countries as a soldier and a traveller, acquired the knowledge of the French and Spanish languages; passed some time in the Isle of Jersey, crossed the Atlantic, and resided upwards of a twelvemonth (1659) in the rising colony of Virginia. In this remote province, his taste, or rather passion, for heraldry found a singular gratification at a war-dance of the native Indians. As they moved in measured steps, brandishing their tomahawks, his curious eye contemplated their little shields of bark, and their naked bodies, which were painted with the colours and symbols of his favourite science. "At which (says he) I exceedingly wondered; and concluded that heraldry was ingrafted *naturally* into the sense of human race.

race. If so, it deserves a greater esteem than now-a-days is put upon it." His return to England after the restoration was soon followed by his marriage—his settlement in a house in St. Catherine's Cloyster, near the Tower, which devolved to my grandfather—and his introduction into the Heralds' College (in 1671) by the style and title of Blue-mantle Pursuivant at Arms. In this office he enjoyed near fifty years the rare felicity of uniting, in the same pursuit, his duty and inclination: his name is remembered in the College, and many of his letters are still preserved. Several of the most respectable characters of the age, Sir William Dugdale, Mr. Ashmole, Dr. John Betts, and Dr. Nehemiah Grew, were his friends; and in the society of such men, John Gibbon may be recorded without disgrace as the member of an astrological club. The study of hereditary honours is favourable to the Royal prerogative; and my kinsman, like most of his family, was a high Tory both in church and state. In the latter end of the reign of Charles the Second, his pen was exercised in the cause of the Duke of York: the Republican faction he most cordially detested; and as each animal is conscious of its proper arms, the herald's revenge was emblazoned on a most diabolical escutcheon. But the triumph of the Whig government checked the preferment of Blue-mantle; and he was even suspended from his office till his tongue could learn to pronounce the oath of abjuration. His life was prolonged to the age of ninety; and, in the expectation

pectation of the inevitable though uncertain hour, he wishes to preserve the blessings of health, competence, and virtue. In the year 1682 he published at London his *Introductio ad Latinam Blasoniam*, an original attempt, which Camden had desiderated, to define, in a Roman idiom, the terms and attributes of a Gothic institution. It is not two years since I acquired, in a foreign land, some domestic intelligence of my own family; and this intelligence was conveyed to Switzerland from the heart of Germany. I had formed an acquaintance with Mr. *Langer*, a lively and ingenious scholar, while he resided at Lausanne as preceptor to the Hereditary Prince of *Brunswick*. On his return to his proper station of Librarian to the Ducal Library of Wolfenbuttel, he accidentally found among some literary rubbish a small old English volume of heraldry, inscribed with the name of *John Gibbon*. From the title only Mr. *Langer* judged that it might be an acceptable present to his friend; and he judged rightly. His manner is quaint and affected; his order is confused: but he displays some wit, more reading, and still more enthusiasm; and if an enthusiast be often absurd, he is never languid. An English text is perpetually interspersed with Latin sentences in prose and verse; but in his own poetry he claims an exemption from the laws of prosody. Amidst a profusion of genealogical knowledge, my kinsman could not be forgetful of his own name; and to him I am indebted for almost the whole information concerning

cerning the Gibbon family.* From this small work (a duodecimo of one hundred and sixty-five pages) the author expected immortal fame: and at the conclusion of his labour he sings, in a strain of self-exultation;

> "Usque huc corrigitur Romana Blasonia per me;
> Verborumque dehinc barbara forma cadat.
> Hic liber, in meritum si forsitan incidet usum,
> Testis ritè meæ sedulitatis erit.
> Quicquid agat Zoilus, ventura fatebitur ætas
> Artis quòd fueram non Clypearis inops."

Such are the hopes of authors! In the failure of those hopes John Gibbon has not been the first of his profession, and very possibly may not be the last of his name. His brother Matthew Gibbon, the draper, had one daughter and two sons—my grandfather Edward, who was born in the year 1666, and Thomas, afterwards Dean of Carlisle. According to the mercantile creed, that the best book is a profitable ledger, the writings of John the herald would be much less precious than those of his nephew Edward: but an author professes at least to write for the public benefit; and the slow balance of trade can be pleasing to those persons only, to whom it is advantageous. The successful industry of my grandfather raised him above the level of his immediate ancestors; he appears to have

* Mr. Gibbon seems, after this was written, to have collected much additional information respecting his family; as appears from a number of manuscripts in my possession. S.

launched

launched into various and extensive dealings: even his opinions were subordinate to his interest; and I find him in Flanders clothing King William's troops, while he would have contracted with more pleasure, though not perhaps at a cheaper rate, for the service of King James. During his residence abroad, his concerns at home were managed by his mother Hester, an active and notable woman. Her second husband was a widower, of the name of Acton: they united the children of their first nuptials. After his marriage with the daughter of Richard Acton, goldsmith in Leadenhall-street, he gave his own sister to Sir Whitmore Acton, of Aldenham; and I am thus connected, by a triple alliance, with that ancient and loyal family of Shropshire baronets. It consisted about that time of seven brothers, all of gigantic stature; one of whom, a pigmy of six feet two inches, confessed himself the last and the least of the seven; adding, in the true spirit of party, that such men were not born since the Revolution. Under the Tory administration of the four last years of Queen Anne, (1710—1714) Mr. Edward Gibbon was appointed one of the Commissioners of the Customs; he sat at that Board with Prior: but the merchant was better qualified for his station than the poet; since Lord Bolingbroke has been heard to declare, that he had never conversed with a man, who more clearly understood the commerce and finances of England. In the year 1716 he was elected one of the Directors of the South Sea Company; and his books exhibited the proof that, before his acceptance of this

this fatal office, he had acquired an independent fortune of sixty thousand pounds.

But his fortune was overwhelmed in the shipwreck of the year twenty, and the labours of thirty years were blasted in a single day. Of the use or abuse of the South Sea scheme, of the guilt or innocence of my grandfather and his brother Directors, I am neither a competent nor a disinterested judge. Yet the equity of modern times must condemn the violent and arbitrary proceedings, which would have disgraced the cause of justice, and would render injustice still more odious. No sooner had the nation awakened from its golden dream, than a popular and even a parliamentary clamour demanded their victims: but it was acknowledged on all sides that the South Sea Directors, however guilty, could not be touched by any known laws of the land. The speech of Lord Molesworth, the author of The State of Denmark, may shew the temper, or rather the intemperance, of the House of Commons. "Extraordinary crimes (exclaimed that ardent Whig) call aloud for extraordinary remedies. The Roman lawgivers had not foreseen the possible existence of a parricide: but as soon as the first monster appeared, he was sown in a sack, and cast headlong into the river; and I shall be content to inflict the same treatment on the authors of our present ruin." His motion was not literally adopted; but a bill of pains and penalties was introduced, a retroactive statute, to punish the offences, which did not exist at the time they were committed. Such a

pernicious

pernicious violation of liberty and law can be excused only by the most imperious necessity; nor could it be defended on this occasion by the plea of impending danger or useful example. The legislature restrained the persons of the Directors, imposed an exorbitant security for their appearance, and marked their characters with a previous note of ignominy: they were compelled to deliver, upon oath, the strict value of their estates; and were disabled from making any transfer or alienation of any part of their property. Against a bill of pains and penalties it is the common right of every subject to be heard by his counsel at the bar: they prayed to be heard; their prayer was refused; and their oppressors, who required no evidence, would listen to no defence. It had been at first proposed that one-eighth of their respective estates should be allowed for the future support of the Directors; but it was speciously urged, that in the various shades of opulence and guilt such an unequal proportion would be too light for many, and for some might possibly be too heavy. The character and conduct of each man were separately weighed; but, instead of the calm solemnity of a judicial inquiry, the fortune and honour of three and thirty Englishmen were made the topic of hasty conversation, the sport of a lawless majority; and the basest member of the committee, by a malicious word or a silent vote, might indulge his general spleen or personal animosity. Injury was aggravated by insult, and insult was embittered by pleasantry. Allowances of twenty pounds, or one

shilling, were facetiously moved. A vague report that a Director had formerly been concerned in *another* project, by which some unknown persons had lost their money, was admitted as a proof of his actual guilt. One man was ruined because he had dropt a foolish speech, that his horses should feed upon gold; another because he was grown so proud, that, one day at the Treasury, he had refused a civil answer to persons much above him. All were condemned, absent and unheard, in arbitrary fines and forfeitures, which swept away the greatest part of their substance. Such bold oppression can scarcely be shielded by the omnipotence of parliament: and yet it may be seriously questioned, whether the Judges of the South Sea Directors were the true and legal representatives of their country. The first parliament of George the First had been chosen (1715) for three years: the term had elapsed, their trust was expired; and the four additional years (1718—1722,) during which they continued to sit, were derived not from the people, but from themselves; from the strong measure of the septennial bill, which can only be paralleled by *il serar dì consiglio* of the Venetian history. Yet candour will own that to the same parliament every Englishman is deeply indebted: the septennial act, so vicious in its origin, has been sanctioned by time, experience, and the national consent. Its first operation secured the House of Hanover on the throne, and its permanent influence maintains the peace and stability of government. As often as a repeal has been moved in the House

of

of Commons, I have given in its defence a clear and conscientious vote.

My grandfather could not expect to be treated with more lenity than his companions. His Tory principles and connections rendered him obnoxious to the ruling powers: his name is reported in a suspicious secret; and his well-known abilities could not plead the excuse of ignorance or error. In the first proceedings against the South Sea Directors, Mr. Gibbon is one of the few who were taken into custody; and, in the final sentence, the measure of his fine proclaims him eminently guilty. The total estimate which he delivered on oath to the House of Commons amounted to one hundred and six thousand five hundred and forty-three pounds, five shillings, and sixpence, exclusive of antecedent settlements. Two different allowances of fifteen and of ten thousand pounds were moved for Mr. Gibbon; but, on the question being put, it was carried without a division for the smaller sum. On these ruins, with the skill and credit, of which parliament had not been able to despoil him, my grandfather at a mature age erected the edifice of a new fortune: the labours of sixteen years were amply rewarded; and I have reason to believe that the second structure was not much inferior to the first. He had realized a very considerable property in Sussex, Hampshire, Buckinghamshire, and the New River Company; and had acquired a spacious house,* with gardens and lands, at Putney,

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

in Surry, where he resided in decent hospitality. He died in December 1736, at the age of seventy; and by his last will, at the expense of Edward, his only son, (with whose marriage he was not perfectly reconciled,) enriched his two daughters, Catherine and Hester. The former became the wife of Mr. Edward Elliston: their daughter and heiress Catherine was married in the year 1756 to Edward Eliot, Esq. (now Lord Eliot,) of Port Eliot, in the county of Cornwall; and their three sons are my nearest male relations on the father's side. A life of devotion and celibacy was the choice of my aunt, Mrs. Hester Gibbon, who, at the age of eighty-five, still resides in a hermitage at Cliffe, in Northamptonshire; having long survived her spiritual guide and faithful companion Mr. William Law, who, at an advanced age, about the year 1761, died in her house. In our family he had left the reputation of a worthy and pious man, who believed all that he professed, and practised all that he enjoined. The character of a nonjuror, which he maintained to the last, is a sufficient evidence of his principles in church and state; and the sacrifice of interest to conscience will be always respectable. His theological writings, which our domestic connection has tempted me to peruse, preserve an imperfect sort of life, and I can pronounce with more confidence and knowledge on the merits of the author. His last compositions are darkly tinctured by the incomprehensible visions of Jacob Behmen; and his discourse on the absolute unlawfulness of stage-entertainments is sometimes quoted for a ridiculous intemperance of

sentiment

sentiment and language.—"The actors and spectators must all be damned: the playhouse is the porch of Hell, the place of the Devil's abode, where he holds his filthy court of evil spirits: a play is the Devil's triumph, a sacrifice performed to his glory, as much as in the heathen temples of Bacchus or Venus, &c. &c." But these sallies of religious phrensy must not extinguish the praise, which is due to Mr. William Law as a wit and a scholar. His argument on topics of less absurdity is specious and acute, his manner is lively, his style forcible and clear; and, had not his vigorous mind been clouded by enthusiasm, he might be ranked with the most agreeable and ingenious writers of the times. While the Bangorian controversy was a fashionable theme, he entered the lists on the subject of Christ's kingdom, and the authority of the priesthood: against the plain account of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper he resumed the combat with Bishop Hoadley, the object of Whig idolatry, and Tory abhorrence; and at every weapon of attack and defence the nonjuror, on the ground which is common to both, approves himself at least equal to the prelate. On the appearance of the Fable of the Bees, he drew his pen against the licentious doctrine that private vices are public benefits, and morality as well as religion must join in his applause. Mr. Law's master-work, the *Serious Call*, is still read as a popular and powerful book of devotion. His precepts are rigid, but they are founded on the gospel; his satire is sharp, but it is drawn from the knowledge of human life; and

many of his portraits are not unworthy of the pen of La Bruyere. If he finds a spark of piety in his reader's mind, he will soon kindle it to a flame; and a philosopher must allow that he exposes, with equal severity and truth, the strange contradiction between the faith and practice of the Christian world. Under the names of Flavia and Miranda he has admirably described my two aunts—the heathen and the christian sister.

My father, Edward Gibbon, was born in October 1707: at the age of thirteen he could scarcely feel that he was disinherited by act of parliament; and, as he advanced towards manhood, new prospects of fortune opened to his view. A parent is most attentive to supply in his children the deficiencies, of which he is conscious in himself: my grandfather's knowledge was derived from a strong understanding, and the experience of the ways of men; but my father enjoyed the benefits of a liberal education as a scholar and a gentleman. At Westminster School, and afterwards at Emanuel College in Cambridge, he passed through a regular course of academical discipline; and the care of his learning and morals was entrusted to his private tutor, the same Mr. William Law. But the mind of a saint is above or below the present world; and while the pupil proceeded on his travels, the tutor remained at Putney, the much-honoured friend and spiritual director of the whole family. My father resided some time at Paris to acquire the fashionable exercises; and as his temper was warm and social, he indulged in those pleasures, for

for which the strictness of his former education had given him a keener relish. He afterwards visited several provinces of France; but his excursions were neither long nor remote; and the slender knowledge, which he had gained of the French language, was gradually obliterated. His passage through Besançon is marked by a singular consequence in the chain of human events. In a dangerous illness Mr. Gibbon was attended, at his own request, by one of his kinsmen of the name of Acton, the younger brother of a younger brother, who had applied himself to the study of physic. During the slow recovery of his patient, the physician himself was attacked by the malady of love: he married his mistress, renounced his country and religion, settled at Besançon, and became the father of three sons; the eldest of whom, General Acton, is conspicuous in Europe as the principal Minister of the King of the Two Sicilies. By an uncle whom another stroke of fortune had transplanted to Leghorn, he was educated in the naval service of the Emperor; and his valour and conduct in the command of the Tuscan frigates protected the retreat of the Spaniards from Algiers. On my father's return to England he was chosen, in the general election of 1734, to serve in parliament for the borough of Petersfield; a burgage tenure, of which my grandfather possessed a weighty share, till he alienated (I know not why) such important property. In the opposition to Sir Robert Walpole and the Pelhams, prejudice and society connected his son with the Tories,—shall I say Jacobites?

or, as they were pleased to style themselves, the country gentlemen? with them he gave many a vote; with them he drank many a bottle. Without acquiring the fame of an orator or a statesman, he eagerly joined in the great opposition, which, after a seven years chase, hunted down Sir Robert Walpole; and in the pursuit of an unpopular minister, he gratified a private revenge against the oppressor of his family in the South Sea persecution.

I was born at Putney, in the county of Surry, the 27th of April, O. S. in the year one thousand seven hundred and thirty-seven; the first child of the marriage of Edward Gibbon, Esq. and of Judith Porten.* My lot might have been that of a slave, a savage, or a peasant; nor can I reflect without pleasure on the bounty of Nature, which cast my birth in a free and civilized country, in an age of science and philosophy, in a family of honourable rank, and decently endowed with the gifts of fortune. From my birth I have enjoyed the right of primogeniture; but I was succeeded by five brothers and one sister, all of whom were snatched away in their infancy. My five brothers, whose names may be found in the parish register of Put-

* 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.

ney,

ney, I shall not pretend to lament: but from my childhood to the present hour I have deeply and sincerely regretted my sister, whose life was somewhat prolonged, and whom I remember to have seen an amiable infant. The relation of a brother and a sister, especially if they do not marry, appears to me of a very singular nature. It is a familiar and tender friendship with a female, much about our own age; an affection perhaps softened by the secret influence of sex, but pure from any mixture of sensual desire, the sole species of Platonic love that can be indulged with truth, and without danger.

At the general election of 1741, Mr. Gibbon and Mr. Delmé stood an expensive and successful contest at Southampton, against Mr. Dummer and Mr. Henly, afterwards Lord Chancellor and Earl of Northington. The Whig candidates had a majority of the resident voters; but the corporation was firm in the Tory interest: a sudden creation of one hundred and seventy new freemen turned the scale; and a supply was readily obtained of respectable volunteers, who flocked from all parts of England to support the cause of their political friends. The new parliament opened with the victory of an opposition, which was fortified by strong clamour and strange coalitions. From the event of the first divisions, Sir Robert Walpole perceived that he could no longer lead a majority in the House of Commons, and prudently resigned (after a dominion of one and twenty years) the guidance of the state (1742). But the fall of an unpopular minister

nister was not succeeded, according to general expectation, by a millennium of happiness and virtue: some courtiers lost their places, some patriots lost their characters, Lord Orford's offences vanished with his power; and after a short vibration, the Pelham government was fixed on the old basis of the Whig aristocracy. In the year 1745, the throne and the constitution were attacked by a rebellion, which does not reflect much honour on the national spirit: since the English friends of the Pretender wanted courage to join his standard, and his enemies (the bulk of the people) allowed him to advance into the heart of the kingdom. Without daring, perhaps without desiring, to aid the rebels, my father invariably adhered to the Tory opposition. In the most critical season he accepted, for the service of the party, the office of alderman in the city of London: but the duties were so repugnant to his inclination and habits, that he resigned his gown at the end of a few months. The second parliament in which he sat was prematurely dissolved (1747:) and as he was unable or unwilling to maintain a second contest for Southampton, the life of the senator expired in that dissolution.

The death of a new-born child before that of its parents may seem an unnatural, but it is strictly a probable event: since of any given number the greater part are extinguished before their ninth year, before they possess the faculties of the mind or body. Without accusing the profuse waste or imperfect workmanship of Nature, I shall only observe, that this unfavourable chance was multiplied

plied against my infant existence. So feeble was my constitution, so precarious my life, that, in the baptism of my brothers, my father's prudence successively repeated my christian name of Edward, that, in case of the departure of the eldest son, this patronymic appellation might be still perpetuated in the family.

—— Uno avulso non deficit alter.

To preserve and to rear so frail a being, the most tender assiduity was scarcely sufficient; and my mother's attention was somewhat diverted by her frequent pregnancies, by an exclusive passion for her husband, and by the dissipation of the world, in which his taste and authority obliged her to mingle. But the maternal office was supplied by my aunt, Mrs. Catherine Porten; at whose name I feel a tear of gratitude trickling down my cheek. A life of celibacy transferred her vacant affection to her sister's first child: my weakness excited her pity; her attachment was fortified by labour and success: and if there be any, as I trust there are some, who rejoice that I live, to that dear and excellent woman they must hold themselves indebted. Many anxious and solitary days did she consume in the patient trial of every mode of relief and amusement. Many wakeful nights did she sit by my bedside in trembling expectation that each hour would be my last. Of the various and frequent disorders of my childhood my own recollection is dark; nor do I wish to expatiate on so disgusting a topic. Suffice it to say, that while every practitioner, from Sloane and Ward

Ward to the Chevalier Taylor, was successively summoned to torture or relieve me, the care of my mind was too frequently neglected for that of my health: compassion always suggested an excuse for the indulgence of the master, or the idleness of the pupil; and the chain of my education was broken, as often as I was recalled from the school of learning to the bed of sickness.

As soon as the use of speech had prepared my infant reason for the admission of knowledge, I was taught the arts of reading, writing, and arithmetic. So remote is the date, so vague is the memory of their origin in myself, that, were not the error corrected by analogy, I should be tempted to conceive them as innate. In my childhood I was praised for the readiness, with which I could multiply and divide, by memory alone, two sums of several figures: such praise encouraged my growing talent; and had I persevered in this line of application, I might have acquired some fame in mathematical studies.

After this previous institution at home, or at a day-school at Putney, I was delivered at the age of seven into the hands of Mr. John Kirkby, who exercised about eighteen months the office of my domestic tutor. His own words, which I shall here transcribe, inspire in his favour a sentiment of pity and esteem.—"During my abode in my native county of Cumberland, in quality of an indigent curate, I used now-and-then in a summer, when the pleasantness of the season invited, to take a solitary walk to the sea-shore, which lies about two miles

miles from the town where I lived. Here I would amuse myself, one while in viewing at large the agreeable prospect which surrounded me, and another while (confining my sight to nearer objects) in admiring the vast variety of beautiful shells, thrown upon the beach; some of the choicest of which I always picked up, to divert my little ones upon my return. One time among the rest, taking such a journey in my head, I sat down upon the declivity of the beach with my face to the sea, which was now come up within a few yards of my feet; when immediately the sad thought of the wretched condition of my family, and the unsuccessfulness of all endeavours to amend it, came crowding into my mind, which drove me into a deep melancholy, and ever and anon forced tears from my eyes." Distress at last forced him to leave the country. His learning and virtue introduced him to my father; and at Putney he might have found at least a temporary shelter, had not an act of indiscretion again driven him into the world. One day reading prayers in the parish church, he most unluckily forgot the name of King George: his patron, a loyal subject, dismissed him with some reluctance, and a decent reward; and *how* the poor man ended his days I have never been able to learn. Mr. John Kirkby is the author of two small volumes; the Life of Automathes (London, 1745,) and an English and Latin Grammar (London, 1746;) which, as a testimony of gratitude, he dedicated (November 5th, 1745) to my father. The books are before me: from them the pupil may judge the preceptor; and, upon the whole,

whole, his judgment will not be unfavourable. The grammar is executed with accuracy and skill, and I know not whether any better existed at the time in our language: but the life of Automathes aspires to the honours of a philosophical fiction. It is the story of a youth, the son of a shipwrecked exile, who lives alone on a desert island from infancy to the age of manhood. A hind is his nurse; he inherits a cottage, with many useful and curious instruments; some ideas remain of the education of his two first years; some arts are borrowed from the beavers of a neighbouring lake; some truths are revealed in supernatural visions. With these helps, and his own industry, Automathes becomes a self-taught though speechless philosopher, who has investigated with success his own mind, the natural world, the abstract sciences, and the great principles of morality and religion. The author is not entitled to the merit of invention, since he has blended the English story of Robinson Crusoe with the Arabian romance of Hai Ebn Yokhdan, which he might have read in the Latin version of Pococock. In the Automathes I cannot praise either the depth of thought or elegance of style; but the book is not devoid of entertainment or instruction; and among several interesting passages, I would select the discovery of fire, which produces by accidental mischief the discovery of conscience. A man who had thought so much on the subjects of language and education was surely no ordinary preceptor: my childish years, and his hasty departure, prevented me from enjoying the full

full benefit of his lessons; but they enlarged my knowledge of arithmetic, and left me a clear impression of the English and Latin rudiments.

In my ninth year (January 1746,) in a lucid interval of comparative health, my father adopted the convenient and customary mode of English education; and I was sent to Kingston-upon-Thames, to a school of about seventy boys, which was kept by Dr. Wooddeson and his assistants. Every time I have since passed over Putney Common, I have always noticed the spot where my mother, as we drove along in the coach, admonished me that I was now going into the world, and must learn to think and act for myself. The expression may appear ludicrous; yet there is not, in the course of life, a more remarkable change than the removal of a child from the luxury and freedom of a wealthy house, to the frugal diet and strict subordination of a school; from the tenderness of parents, and the obsequiousness of servants, to the rude familiarity of his equals, the insolent tyranny of his seniors, and the rod, perhaps, of a cruel and capricious pedagogue. Such hardships may steel the mind and body against the injuries of fortune; but my timid reserve was astonished by the crowd and tumult of the school; the want of strength and activity disqualified me for the sports of the playfield; nor have I forgotten how often in the year forty-six I was reviled and buffeted for the sins of my Tory ancestors. By the common methods of discipline, at the expense of many tears and some blood, I purchased the knowledge of the Latin syntax:

tax: and not long since I was possessed of the dirty volumes of Phædrus and Cornelius Nepos, which I painfully construed and darkly understood. The choice of these authors is not injudicious. The *lives* of Cornelius Nepos, the friend of Atticus and Cicero, are composed in the style of the purest age: his simplicity is elegant, his brevity copious: he exhibits a series of men and manners; and with such illustrations, as every pedant is not indeed qualified to give, this classic biographer may initiate a young student in the history of Greece and Rome. The use of fables or apologues has been approved in every age from ancient India to modern Europe. They convey in familiar images the truths of morality and prudence; and the most childish understanding (I advert to the scruples of Rousseau) will not suppose either that beasts *do* speak, or that men *may* lie. A fable represents the genuine characters of animals; and a skilful master might extract from Pliny and Buffon some pleasing lessons of natural history, a science well adapted to the taste and capacity of children. The Latinity of Phædrus is not exempt from an alloy of the silver age; but his manner is concise, terse, and sententious: the Thracian slave discreetly breathes the spirit of a freeman; and when the text is sound, the style is perspicuous. But his fables, after a long oblivion, were first published by Peter Pithou, from a corrupt manuscript. The labours of fifty editors confess the defects of the copy, as well as the value of the original; and the school-boy may have been whipt for misapprehending a passage, which

Bentley

Bentley could not restore, and which Burman could not explain.

My studies were too frequently interrupted by sickness; and after a real or nominal residence at Kingston school of near two years, I was finally recalled (December, 1747) by my mother's death, which was occasioned, in her thirty-eighth year, by the consequences of her last labour. I was too young to feel the importance of my loss; and the image of her person and conversation is faintly imprinted in my memory. The affectionate heart of my aunt, Catherine Porten, bewailed a sister and a friend; but my poor father was inconsolable, and the transport of grief seemed to threaten his life or his reason. I can never forget the scene of our first interview, some weeks after the fatal event; the awful silence, the room hung with black, the mid-day tapers, his sighs and tears; his praises of my mother, a saint in heaven; his solemn adjuration that I would cherish her memory and imitate her virtues; and the fervor with which he kissed and blessed me as the sole surviving pledge of their loves. The storm of passion insensibly subsided into calmer melancholy. At a convivial meeting of his friends, Mr. Gibbon might affect or enjoy a gleam of cheerfulness; but his plan of happiness was for ever destroyed: and after the loss of his companion he was left alone in a world, of which the business and pleasures were to him irksome or insipid. After some unsuccessful trials he renounced the tumult of London and the hospitality of Putney, and buried himself in the rural or rather rustic

solitude of Buriton; from which, during several years, he seldom emerged.

As far back as I can remember, the house near Putney-bridge and church-yard, of my maternal grandfather, appears in the light of my proper and native home. It was there that I was allowed to spend the greatest part of my time, in sickness or in health, during my school vacations and my parents' residence in London, and finally after my mother's death. Three months after that event, in the spring of 1748, the commercial ruin of her father, Mr. James Porten, was accomplished and declared. As his effects were not sold, nor the house evacuated, till the Christmas following, I enjoyed during the whole year the society of my aunt, without much consciousness of her impending fate. I feel a melancholy pleasure in repeating my obligations to that excellent woman, Mrs. Catherine Porten, the true mother of my mind as well as of my health. Her natural good sense was improved by the perusal of the best books in the English language; and if her reason was sometimes clouded by prejudice, her sentiments were never disguised by hypocrisy or affectation. Her indulgent tenderness, the frankness of her temper, and my innate rising curiosity, soon removed all distance between us: like friends of an equal age, we freely conversed on every topic, familiar or abstruse; and it was her delight and reward to observe the first shoots of my young ideas. Pain and languor were often soothed by the voice of instruction and amusement; and to her kind lessons I ascribe my early

early and invincible love of reading, which I would not exchange for the treasures of India. I should perhaps be astonished, were it possible to ascertain the date, at which a favourite tale was engraved, by frequent repetition, in my memory: the Cavern of the Winds; the Palace of Felicity; and the fatal moment, at the end of three months or centuries, when Prince Adolphus is overtaken by Time, who had worn out so many pair of wings in the pursuit. Before I left Kingston school I was well acquainted with Pope's Homer and the Arabian Nights Entertainments, two books which will always please by the moving picture of human manners and specious miracles: nor was I then capable of discerning that Pope's translation is a portrait endowed with every merit, excepting that of likeness to the original. The verses of Pope accustomed my ear to the sound of poetic harmony: in the death of Hector, and the shipwreck of Ulysses, I tasted the new emotions of terror and pity; and seriously disputed with my aunt on the vices and virtues of the heroes of the Trojan war. From Pope's Homer to Dryden's Virgil was an easy transition; but I know not how, from some fault in the author, the translator, or the reader, the pious Æneas did not so forcibly seize on my imagination; and I derived more pleasure from Ovid's Metamorphoses, especially in the fall of Phaeton, and the speeches of Ajax and Ulysses. My grandfather's flight unlocked the door of a tolerable library; and I turned over many English pages of poetry and romance, of history and travels. Where a title attracted my eye, with-

out fear or awe I snatched the volume from the shelf; and Mrs. Porten, who indulged herself in moral and religious speculations, was more prone to encourage than to check a curiosity above the strength of a boy. This year (1748,) the twelfth of my age, I shall note as the most propitious to the growth of my intellectual stature.

The relics of my grandfather's fortune afforded a bare annuity for his own maintenance; and his daughter, my worthy aunt, who had already passed her fortieth year, was left destitute. Her noble spirit scorned a life of obligation and dependance; and after revolving several schemes, she preferred the humble industry of keeping a boarding-house for Westminster-school,* where she laboriously earned a competence for her old age. This singular opportunity of blending the advantages of private and public education decided my father. After the Christmas holidays, in January 1749, I accompanied Mrs. Porten to her new house in College-street; and was immediately entered in the school, of which Dr. John Nicoll was at that time head-master. At first I was alone: but my aunt's resolution was praised; her character was esteemed; her friends were numerous and active: in the course of some years she became the mother of forty or fifty boys, for the most part of family and fortune; and as her primitive habitation was

* 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.

too

too narrow, she built and occupied a spacious mansion in Dean's Yard. I shall always be ready to join in the common opinion, that our public schools, which have produced so many eminent characters, are the best adapted to the genius and constitution of the English people. A boy of spirit may acquire a previous and practical experience of the world; and his playfellows may be the future friends of his heart or his interest. In a free intercourse with his equals, the habits of truth, fortitude, and prudence will insensibly be matured. Birth and riches are measured by the standard of personal merit; and the mimic scene of a rebellion has displayed, in their true colours, the ministers and patriots of the rising generation. Our seminaries of learning do not exactly correspond with the precept of a Spartan king, "that the child should be instructed in the arts, which will be useful to the man;" since a finished scholar may emerge from the head of Westminster or Eton, in total ignorance of the business and conversation of English gentlemen in the latter end of the eighteenth century. But these schools may assume the merit of teaching all that they pretend to teach, the Latin and Greek languages: they deposit in the hands of a disciple the keys of two valuable chests; nor can he complain, if they are afterwards lost or neglected by his own fault. The necessity of leading in equal ranks so many unequal powers of capacity and application, will prolong to eight or ten years the juvenile studies, which might be dispatched in half that time by the skilful master of a single pupil.

Yet even the repetition of exercise and discipline contributes to fix in a vacant mind the verbal science of grammar and prosody: and the private or voluntary student, who possesses the sense and spirit of the classics, may offend, by a false quantity, the scrupulous ear of a well-flogged critic. For myself, I must be content with a very small share of the civil and literary fruits of a public school. In the space of two years (1749, 1750,) interrupted by danger and debility, I painfully climbed into the third form; and my riper age was left to acquire the beauties of the Latin, and the rudiments of the Greek tongue. Instead of audaciously mingling in the sports, the quarrels, and the connections of our little world, I was still cherished at home under the maternal wing of my aunt; and my removal from Westminster long preceded the approach of manhood.

The violence and variety of my complaints, which had excused my frequent absence from Westminster-school, at length engaged Mrs. Porten, with the advice of physicians, to conduct me to Bath: at the end of the Michaelmas vacation (1750) she quitted me with reluctance, and I remained several months under the care of a trusty maid-servant. A strange nervous affection, which alternately contracted my legs, and produced, without any visible symptoms, the most excruciating pain, was ineffectually opposed by the various methods of bathing and pumping. From Bath I was transported to Winchester, to the house of a physician; and after the failure of his medical skill,

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we had again recourse to the virtues of the Bath waters. During the intervals of these fits, I moved with my father to Buriton and Putney; and a short unsuccessful trial was attempted to renew my attendance at Westminster-school. But my infirmities could not be reconciled with the hours and discipline of a public seminary; and instead of a domestic tutor, who might have watched the favourable moments, and gently advanced the progress of my learning, my father was too easily content with such occasional teachers, as the different places of my residence could supply. I was never forced, and seldom was I persuaded, to admit these lessons: yet I read with a clergyman at Bath some odes of Horace, and several episodes of Virgil, which gave me an imperfect and transient enjoyment of the Latin poets. It might now be apprehended that I should continue for life an illiterate cripple: but, as I approached my sixteenth year, Nature displayed in my favour her mysterious energies: my constitution was fortified and fixed; and my disorders, instead of growing with my growth and strengthening with my strength, most wonderfully vanished. I have never possessed or abused the insolence of health: but since that time few persons have been more exempt from real or imaginary ills; and, till I am admonished by the gout, the reader will no more be troubled with the history of my bodily complaints. My unexpected recovery again encouraged the hope of my education; and I was placed at Esher, in Surry, in the house of the Reverend Mr. Philip Francis, in a

pleasant spot, which promised to unite the various benefits of air, exercise, and study (January 1752.) The translator of Horace might have taught me to relish the Latin poets, had not my friends discovered in a few weeks, that he preferred the pleasures of London, to the instruction of his pupils. My father's perplexity at this time, rather than his prudence, was urged to embrace a singular and desperate measure. Without preparation or delay he carried me to Oxford; and I was matriculated in the university as a gentleman-commoner of Magdalen college, before I had accomplished the fifteenth year of my age (April 3, 1752.)

The curiosity, which had been implanted in my infant mind, was still alive and active; but my reason was not sufficiently informed to understand the value, or to lament the loss, of three precious years from my entrance at Westminster to my admission at Oxford. Instead of repining at my long and frequent confinement to the chamber or the couch, I secretly rejoiced in those infirmities, which delivered me from the exercises of the school, and the society of my equals. As often as I was tolerably exempt from danger and pain, reading, free desultory reading, was the employment and comfort of my solitary hours. At Westminster, my aunt sought only to amuse and indulge me; in my stations at Bath and Winchester, at Buriton and Putney, a false compassion respected my sufferings; and I was allowed, without controul or advice, to gratify the wander-

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ings of an unripe taste. My indiscriminate appetite subsided by degrees in the *historic* line: and since philosophy has exploded all innate ideas and natural propensities, I must ascribe this choice to the assiduous perusal of the Universal History, as the octavo volumes successively appeared. This unequal work, and a treatise of Hearne, the *Ductor historicus*, referred and introduced me to the Greek and Roman historians, to as many at least as were accessible to an English reader. All that I could find were greedily devoured, from Littlebury's lame Herodotus, and Spelman's valuable Xenophon, to the pompous folios of Gordon's Tacitus, and a ragged Procopius of the beginning of the last century. The cheap acquisition of so much knowledge confirmed my dislike to the study of languages; and I argued with Mrs. Porten, that, were I master of Greek and Latin, I must interpret to myself in English the thoughts of the original, and that such extemporary versions must be inferior to the elaborate translations of professed scholars; a silly sophism, which could not easily be confuted by a person ignorant of any other language than her own. From the ancient I leaped to the modern world: many crude lumps of Speed, Rapin, Mezeray, Davila, Machiavel, Father Paul, Bower, &c. I devoured like so many novels; and I swallowed with the same voracious appetite the descriptions of India and China, of Mexico and Peru.

My first introduction to the historic scenes, which have since engaged so many years of my life,

life, must be ascribed to an accident. In the summer of 1751, I accompanied my father on a visit to Mr. Hoare's, in Wiltshire; but I was less delighted with the beauties of Stourhead, than with discovering in the library a common book, the Continuation of Echard's Roman History, which is indeed executed with more skill and taste than the previous work. To me the reigns of the successors of Constantine were absolutely new; and I was immersed in the passage of the Goths over the Danube, when the summons of the dinner-bell reluctantly dragged me from my intellectual feast. This transient glance served rather to irritate than to appease my curiosity; and as soon as I returned to Bath I procured the second and third volumes of Howel's History of the World, which exhibit the Byzantine period on a larger scale. Mahomet and his Saracens soon fixed my attention; and some instinct of criticism directed me to the genuine sources. Simon Ockley, an original in every sense, first opened my eyes; and I was led from one book to another, till I had ranged round the circle of Oriental history. Before I was sixteen, I had exhausted all that could be learned in English of the Arabs and Persians, the Tartars and Turks; and the same ardour urged me to guess at the French of D'Herbelot, and to construe the barbarous Latin of Pocock's Abulfaragius. Such vague and multifarious reading could not teach me to think, to write, or to act; and the only principle, that darted a ray of light into the indigested chaos, was

was an early and rational application to the order of time and place. The maps of Cellarius and Wells imprinted in my mind the picture of ancient geography: from Stranchius I imbibed the elements of chronology: the Tables of Helvicus and Anderson, the Annals of Usher and Prideaux, distinguished the connection of events, and engraved the multitude of names and dates in a clear and indelible series. But in the discussion of the first ages I overleaped the bounds of modesty and use. In my childish balance I presumed to weigh the systems of Scaliger and Petavius, of Marsham and Newton, which I could seldom study in the originals; and my sleep has been disturbed by the difficulty of reconciling the Septuagint with the Hebrew computation. I arrived at Oxford with a stock of erudition, that might have puzzled a doctor, and a degree of ignorance, of which a school-boy would have been ashamed.

At the conclusion of this first period of my life, I am tempted to enter a protest against the trite and lavish praise of the happiness of our boyish years, which is echoed with so much affectation in the world. That happiness I have never known, that time I have never regretted; and were my poor aunt still alive, she would bear testimony to the early and constant uniformity of my sentiments. It will indeed be replied, that *I* am not a competent judge; that pleasure is incompatible with pain; that joy is excluded from sickness; and that the felicity of a school-boy consists in the

the perpetual motion of thoughtless and playful agility, in which I was never qualified to excel. My name, it is most true, could never be enrolled among the sprightly race, the idle progeny of Eton or Westminster,

> "Who foremost might delight to cleave,
> With pliant arm, the glassy wave,
> Or urge the flying ball."

The poet may gaily describe the short hours of recreation; but he forgets the daily tedious labours of the school, which is approached each morning with anxious and reluctant steps.

A traveller, who visits Oxford or Cambridge, is surprised and edified by the apparent order and tranquillity that prevail in the seats of the English muses. In the most celebrated universities of Holland, Germany, and Italy, the students, who swarm from different countries, are loosely dispersed in private lodgings at the houses of the burghers: they dress according to their fancy and fortune; and in the intemperate quarrels of youth and wine, their *swords*, though less frequently than of old, are sometimes stained with each other's blood. The use of arms is banished from our English universities; the uniform habit of the academics, the square cap, and black gown, is adapted to the civil and even clerical profession; and from the doctor in divinity to the undergraduate, the degrees of learning and age are externally distinguished. Instead of being scattered in a town, the students of Oxford and Cambridge are

are united in colleges; their maintenance is provided at their own expense, or that of the founders; and the stated hours of the hall and chapel represent the discipline of a regular, and, as it were, a religious community. The eyes of the traveller are attracted by the size or beauty of the public edifices; and the principal colleges appear to be so many palaces, which a liberal nation has erected and endowed for the habitation of science. My own introduction to the university of Oxford forms a new æra in my life; and at the distance of forty years I still remember my first emotions of surprise and satisfaction. In my fifteenth year I felt myself suddenly raised from a boy to a man: the persons, whom I respected as my superiors in age and academical rank, entertained me with every mark of attention and civility; and my vanity was flattered by the velvet cap and silk gown, which distinguish a gentleman-commoner from a plebeian student. A decent allowance, more money than a school-boy had ever seen, was at my own disposal; and I might command, among the tradesmen of Oxford, an indefinite and dangerous latitude of credit. A key was delivered into my hands, which gave me the free use of a numerous and learned library: my apartment consisted of three elegant and well-furnished rooms in the new building, a stately pile, of Magdalen College; and the adjacent walks, had they been frequented by Plato's disciples, might have been compared to the Attic shade on the banks of the Ilissus. Such was the fair

fair prospect of my entrance (April 3, 1752) into the university of Oxford.

A venerable prelate, whose taste and erudition must reflect honour on the society in which they were formed, has drawn a very interesting picture of his academical life.—"I was educated (says Bishop Lowth) in the UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD. I enjoyed all the advantages, both public and private, which that famous seat of learning so largely affords. I spent many years in that illustrious society, in a well-regulated course of useful discipline and studies, and in the agreeable and improving commerce of gentlemen and of scholars; in a society where emulation without envy, ambition without jealousy, contention without animosity, incited industry, and awakened genius; where a liberal pursuit of knowledge, and a genuine freedom of thought, was raised, encouraged, and pushed forward by example, by commendation, and by authority. I breathed the same atmosphere that the HOOKERS, the CHILLINGWORTHS, and the LOCKES had breathed before; whose benevolence and humanity were as extensive as their vast genius and comprehensive knowledge; who always treated their adversaries with civility and respect; who made candour, moderation, and liberal judgment as much the rule and law as the subject of their discourse. And do you reproach me with my education in this place, and with my relation to this most respectable body, which I shall always esteem my greatest advantage and my highest honour?"

honour?" I transcribe with pleasure this eloquent passage, without examining what benefits or what rewards were derived by Hooker, or Chillingworth, or Locke, from their academical institution; without inquiring, whether in this angry controversy the spirit of Lowth himself is purified from the intolerant zeal, which Warburton had ascribed to the genius of the place. It may indeed be observed, that the atmosphere of Oxford did not agree with Mr. Locke's constitution, and that the philosopher justly despised the academical bigots, who expelled his person and condemned his principles. The expression of gratitude is a virtue and a pleasure: a liberal mind will delight to cherish and celebrate the memory of its parents; and the teachers of science are the parents of the mind. I applaud the filial piety, which it is impossible for me to imitate; since I must not confess an imaginary debt, to assume the merit of a just or generous retribution. To the university of Oxford *I* acknowledge no obligation; and she will as cheerfully renounce me for a son, as I am willing to disclaim her for a mother. I spent fourteen months at Magdalen College; they proved the fourteen months the most idle and unprofitable of my whole life: the reader will pronounce between the school and the scholar: but I cannot affect to believe that Nature had disqualified me for all literary pursuits. The specious and ready excuse of my tender age, imperfect preparation, and hasty departure, may doubtless be alleged; nor do I wish to defraud such excuses

cuses of their proper weight. Yet in my sixteenth year I was not devoid of capacity or application; even my childish reading had displayed an early though blind propensity for books; and the shallow flood might have been taught to flow in a deep channel and a clear stream. In the discipline of a well-constituted academy, under the guidance of skilful and vigilant professors, I should gradually have risen from translations to originals, from the Latin to the Greek classics, from dead languages to living science: my hours would have been occupied by useful and agreeable studies, the wanderings of fancy would have been restrained, and I should have escaped the temptations of idleness, which finally precipitated my departure from Oxford.

Perhaps in a separate annotation I may coolly examine the fabulous and real antiquities of our sister universities, a question which has kindled such fierce and foolish disputes among their fanatic sons. In the mean while it will be acknowledged, that these venerable bodies are sufficiently old to partake of all the prejudices and infirmities of age. The schools of Oxford and Cambridge were founded in a dark age of false and barbarous science; and they are still tainted with the vices of their origin. Their primitive discipline was adapted to the education of priests and monks; and the government still remains in the hands of the clergy, an order of men whose manners are remote from the present world, and whose eyes are dazzled by the light of philosophy.

philosophy. The legal incorporation of these societies by the charters of popes and kings had given them a monopoly of the public instruction; and the spirit of monopolists is narrow, lazy, and oppressive: their work is more costly and less productive than that of independent artists; and the new improvements so eagerly grasped by the competition of freedom, are admitted with slow and sullen reluctance in those proud corporations, above the fear of a rival, and below the confession of an error. We may scarcely hope that any reformation will be a voluntary act; and so deeply are they rooted in law and prejudice, that even the omnipotence of parliament would shrink from an inquiry into the state and abuses of the two universities.

The use of academical degrees, as old as the thirteenth century, is visibly borrowed from the mechanic corporations; in which an apprentice, after serving his time, obtains a testimonial of his skill, and a licence to practise his trade and mystery. It is not my design to depreciate those honours, which could never gratify or disappoint my ambition; and I should applaud the institution, if the degrees of bachelor or licentiate were bestowed as the reward of manly and successful study: if the name and rank of doctor or master were strictly reserved for the professors of science, who have approved their title to the public esteem.

In all the universities of Europe, excepting our own, the languages and sciences are distributed

among a numerous list of effective professors: the students, according to their taste, their calling, and their diligence, apply themselves to the proper masters; and in the annual repetition of public and private lectures, these masters are assiduously employed. Our curiosity may inquire what number of professors has been instituted at Oxford? (for I shall now confine myself to my own university;) by whom are they appointed, and what may be the probable chances of merit or incapacity? how many are stationed to the three faculties, and how many are left for the liberal arts? what is the form, and what the substance, of their lessons? But all these questions are silenced by one short and singular answer, "That in the university of Oxford, the greater part of the public professors have for these many years given up altogether even the pretence of teaching." Incredible as the fact may appear, I must rest my belief on the positive and impartial evidence of a master of moral and political wisdom, who had himself resided at Oxford. Dr. Adam Smith assigns as the cause of their indolence, that, instead of being paid by voluntary contributions, which would urge them to increase the number, and to deserve the gratitude of their pupils, the Oxford professors are secure in the enjoyment of a fixed stipend, without the necessity of labour, or the apprehension of controul. It has indeed been observed, nor is the observation absurd, that excepting in experimental sciences, which demand a costly apparatus and a dexterous

dexterous hand, the many valuable treatises, that have been published on every subject of learning, may now supersede the ancient mode of oral instruction. Were this principle true in its utmost latitude, I should only infer that the offices and salaries, which are become useless, ought without delay to be abolished. But there still remains a material difference between a book and a professor; the hour of the lecture inforces attendance; attention is fixed by the presence, the voice, and the occasional questions of the teacher; the most idle will carry something away; and the more diligent will compare the instructions, which they have heard in the school, with the volumes, which they peruse in their chamber. The advice of a skilful professor will adapt a course of reading to every mind and every situation; his authority will discover, admonish, and at last chastise the negligence of his disciples; and his vigilant inquiries will ascertain the steps of their literary progress. Whatever science he professes he may illustrate in a series of discourses, composed in the leisure of his closet, pronounced on public occasions, and finally delivered to the press. I observe with pleasure, that in the university of Oxford Dr. Lowth, with equal eloquence and erudition, has executed this task in his incomparable *Prælectiones* on the Poetry of the Hebrews.

The college of St. Mary Magdalen was founded in the fifteenth century by Wainfleet, Bishop of Winchester; and now consists of a president, forty fellows, and a number of inferior students. It is

esteemed one of the largest and most wealthy of our academical corporations, which may be compared to the Benedictine abbeys of catholic countries; and I have loosely heard that the estates belonging to Magdalen College, which are leased by those indulgent landlords at small quit-rents and occasional fines, might be raised, in the hands of private avarice, to an annual revenue of nearly thirty thousand pounds. Our colleges are supposed to be schools of science, as well as of education; nor is it unreasonable to expect that a body of literary men, devoted to a life of celibacy, exempt from the care of their own subsistence, and amply provided with books, should devote their leisure to the prosecution of study, and that some effects of their studies should be manifested to the world. The shelves of their library groan under the weight of the Benedictine folios, of the editions of the fathers, and the collections of the middle ages, which have issued from the single abbey of St. Germain de Préz at Paris. A composition of genius must be the offspring of one mind; but such works of industry, as may be divided among many hands, and must be continued during many years, are the peculiar province of a laborious community. If I inquire into the manufactures of the monks of Magdalen, if I extend the inquiry to the other colleges of Oxford and Cambridge, a silent blush, or a scornful frown, will be the only reply. The fellows or monks of my time were decent easy men, who supinely enjoyed the gifts of the founder: their days were filled by a series of uniform

form employments; the chapel and the hall, the coffee-house and the common room, till they retired, weary and well satisfied, to a long slumber. From the toil of reading, or thinking, or writing, they had absolved their conscience; and the first shoots of learning and ingenuity withered on the ground, without yielding any fruits to the owners or the public. As a gentleman-commoner, I was admitted to the society of the fellows, and fondly expected that some questions of literature would be the amusing and instructive topics of their discourse. Their conversation stagnated in a round of college business, Tory politics, personal anecdotes, and private scandal: their dull and deep potations excused the brisk intemperance of youth: and their constitutional toasts were not expressive of the most lively loyalty for the house of Hanover. A general election was now approaching: the great Oxfordshire contest already blazed with all the malevolence of party-zeal. Magdalen College was devoutly attached to the old interest! and the names of Wenman and Dashwood were more frequently pronounced, than those of Cicero and Chrysostom. The example of the senior fellows could not inspire the under-graduates with a liberal spirit or studious emulation; and I cannot describe, as I never knew, the discipline of college. Some duties may possibly have been imposed on the poor scholars, whose ambition aspired to the peaceful honours of a fellowship *(ascribi quietis ordinibus - - - - Deorum)*; but no independent members were admitted below the rank of a gentleman-

commoner, and our velvet cap was the cap of liberty. A tradition prevailed that some of our predecessors had spoken Latin declamations in the hall; but of this ancient custom no vestige remained: the obvious methods of public exercises and examinations were totally unknown; and I have never heard that either the president or the society interfered in the private œconomy of the tutors and their pupils.

The silence of the Oxford professors, which deprives the youth of public instruction, is imperfectly supplied by the tutors, as they are styled, of the several colleges. Instead of confining themselves to a single science, which had satisfied the ambition of Burman or Bernoulli, they teach, or promise to teach, either history or mathematics, or ancient literature, or moral philosophy; and as it is possible that they may be defective in all, it is highly probable that of some they will be ignorant. They are paid, indeed, by private contributions; but their appointment depends on the head of the house: their diligence is voluntary, and will consequently be languid, while the pupils themselves, or their parents, are not indulged in the liberty of choice or change. The first tutor into whose hands I was resigned appears to have been one of the best of the tribe: Dr. Waldegrave was a learned and pious man, of a mild disposition, strict morals, and abstemious life, who seldom mingled in the politics or the jollity of the college. But his knowledge of the world was confined to the university; his learning was of the last, rather than

than of the present age; his temper was indolent; his faculties, which were not of the first rate, had been relaxed by the climate, and he was satisfied, like his fellows, with the slight and superficial discharge of an important trust. As soon as my tutor had sounded the insufficiency of his disciple in school-learning, he proposed that we should read every morning from ten to eleven the comedies of Terence. The sum of my improvement in the university of Oxford is confined to three or four Latin plays; and even the study of an elegant classic, which might have been illustrated by a comparison of ancient and modern theatres, was reduced to a dry and literal interpretation of the author's text. During the first weeks I constantly attended these lessons in my tutor's room; but as they appeared equally devoid of profit and pleasure, I was once tempted to try the experiment of a formal apology. The apology was accepted with a smile. I repeated the offence with less ceremony; the excuse was admitted with the same indulgence: the slightest motive of laziness or indisposition, the most trifling avocation at home or abroad, was allowed as a worthy impediment; nor did my tutor appear conscious of my absence or neglect. Had the hour of lecture been constantly filled, a single hour was a small portion of my academic leisure. No plan of study was recommended for my use; no exercises were prescribed for his inspection; and, at the most precious season of youth, whole days and weeks were suffered to elapse without labour or amusement, without advice or account.

I should have listened to the voice of reason and of my tutor; his mild behaviour had gained my confidence. I preferred his society to that of the younger students; and in our evening walks to the top of Heddington-hill, we freely conversed on a variety of subjects. Since the days of Pocock and Hyde, Oriental learning has always been the pride of Oxford, and I once expressed an inclination to study Arabic. His prudence discouraged this childish fancy; but he neglected the fair occasion of directing the ardour of a curious mind. During my absence in the Summer vacation, Dr. Waldegrave accepted a college living at Washington in Sussex, and on my return I no longer found him at Oxford. From that time I have lost sight of my first tutor; but at the end of thirty years (1781) he was still alive; and the practice of exercise and temperance had entitled him to a healthy old age.

The long recess between the Trinity and Michaelmas terms empties the colleges of Oxford, as well as the courts of Westminster. I spent, at my father's house at Buriton in Hampshire, the two months of August and September. It is whimsical enough, that as soon as I left Magdalen college, my taste for books began to revive; but it was the same blind and boyish taste for the pursuit of exotic history. Unprovided with original learning, unformed in the habits of thinking, unskilled in the arts of composition, I resolved—to write a book. The title of this first Essay, *the Age of Sesostris*, was perhaps suggested by Voltaire's Age of

of Lewis XIV. which was new and popular; but my sole object was to investigate the probable date of the life and reign of the conqueror of Asia. I was then enamoured of Sir John Marsham's Canon Chronicus; an elaborate work, of whose merits and defects I was not yet qualified to judge. According to his specious, though narrow plan, I settled my hero about the time of Solomon, in the tenth century before the Christian æra. It was therefore incumbent on me, unless I would adopt Sir Isaac Newton's shorter chronology, to remove a formidable objection; and my solution, for a youth of fifteen, is not devoid of ingenuity. In his version of the Sacred Books, Manetho the high priest has identified Sethosis, or Sesostris, with the elder brother of Danaus, who landed in Greece, according to the Parian Marble, fifteen hundred and ten years before Christ. But in my supposition the high priest is guilty of a voluntary error; flattery is the prolific parent of falsehood. Manetho's history of Egypt is dedicated to Ptolemy Philadelphus, who derived a fabulous or illegitimate pedigree from the Macedonian kings of the race of Hercules. Danaus is the ancestor of Hercules; and after the failure of the elder branch, his descendants, the Ptolemies, are the sole representatives of the royal family, and may claim by inheritance the kingdom which they hold by conquest. Such were my juvenile discoveries; at a riper age, I no longer presume to connect the Greek, the Jewish, and the Egyptian antiquities, which are lost in a distant cloud. Nor is this the only instance,

stance, in which the belief and knowledge of the child are superseded by the more rational ignorance of the man. During my stay at Buriton, my infant labour was diligently prosecuted, without much interruption from company or country diversions; and I already heard the music of public applause. The discovery of my own weakness was the first symptom of taste. On my return to Oxford, the Age of Sesostris was wisely relinquished; but the imperfect sheets remained twenty years at the bottom of a drawer, till, in a general clearance of papers, (November 1772,) they were committed to the flames.

After the departure of Dr. Waldegrave, I was transferred, with his other pupils, to his academical heir, whose literary character did not command the respect of the college. Dr. **** well remembered that he had a salary to receive, and only forgot that he had a duty to perform. Instead of guiding the studies, and watching over the behaviour of his disciple, I was never summoned to attend even the ceremony of a lecture; and, excepting one voluntary visit to his rooms, during the eight months of his titular office, the tutor and pupil lived in the same college as strangers to each other. The want of experience, of advice, and of occupation, soon betrayed me into some improprieties of conduct, ill-chosen company, late hours, and inconsiderate expense. My growing debts might be secret; but my frequent absence was visible and scandalous: and a tour to Bath, a visit into Buckinghamshire, and four excursions to London

London in the same winter, were costly and dangerous frolics. They were, indeed, without a meaning, as without an excuse. The irksomeness of a cloistered life repeatedly tempted me to wander; but my chief pleasure was that of travelling; and I was too young and bashful to enjoy, like a Manly Oxonian in Town, the pleasures of London. In all these excursions I eloped from Oxford; I returned to college; in a few days I eloped again, as if I had been an independent stranger in a hired lodging, without once hearing the voice of admonition, without once feeling the hand of control. Yet my time was lost, my expenses were multiplied, my behaviour abroad was unknown; folly as well as vice should have awakened the attention of my superiors, and my tender years would have justified a more than ordinary degree of restraint and discipline.

It might at least be expected, that an ecclesiastical school should inculcate the orthodox principles of religion. But our venerable mother had contrived to unite the opposite extremes of bigotry and indifference: an heretic, or unbeliever, was a monster in her eyes; but she was always, or often, or sometimes, remiss in the spiritual education of her own children. According to the statutes of the university, every student, before he is matriculated, must subscribe his assent to the thirty-nine articles of the church of England, which are signed by more than read, and read by more than believe them. My insufficient age excused me, however, from the immediate performance of this legal

legal ceremony; and the vice-chancellor directed me to return, as soon as I should have accomplished my fifteenth year; recommending me, in the mean while, to the instruction of my college. My college forgot to instruct: I forgot to return, and was myself forgotten by the first magistrate of the university. Without a single lecture, either public or private, either christian or protestant, without any academical subscription, without any episcopal confirmation, I was left by the dim light of my catechism to grope my way to the chapel and communion-table, where I was admitted, without a question, how far, or by what means, I might be qualified, to receive the sacrament. Such almost incredible neglect was productive of the worst mischiefs. From my childhood I had been fond of religious disputation: my poor aunt has been often puzzled by the mysteries which she strove to believe; nor had the elastic spring been totally broken by the weight of the atmosphere of Oxford. The blind activity of idleness urged me to advance without armour into the dangerous mazes of controversy; and at the age of sixteen, I bewildered myself in the errors of the church of Rome.

The progress of my conversion may tend to illustrate, at least, the history of my own mind. It was not long since Dr. Middleton's free inquiry had sounded an alarm in the theological world: much ink and much gall had been spilt in the defence of the primitive miracles; and the two dullest of their champions were crowned with academic

mic honours by the university of Oxford. The name of Middleton was unpopular; and his proscription very naturally led me to peruse his writings, and those of his antagonists. His bold criticism, which approaches the precipice of infidelity, produced on my mind a singular effect; and had I persevered in the communion of Rome, I should now apply to my own fortune the prediction of the Sybil,

—— Via prima salutis,
Quod minimè reris, Graiâ, pandetur ab urbe.

The elegance of style and freedom of argument were repelled by a shield of prejudice. I still revered the character, or rather the names, of the saints and fathers whom Dr. Middleton exposes; nor could he destroy my implicit belief, that the gift of miraculous powers was continued in the church, during the first four or five centuries of christianity. But I was unable to resist the weight of historical evidence, that within the same period most of the leading doctrines of popery were already introduced in theory and practice: nor was my conclusion absurd, that miracles are the test of truth, and that the church must be orthodox and pure, which was so often approved by the visible interposition of the Deity. The marvellous tales which are so boldly attested by the Basils and Chrysostoms, the Austins and Jeroms, compelled me to embrace the superior merits of celibacy, the institution of the monastic life, the use of the sign of the cross, of holy oil, and even of images, the invocation of saints, the worship of relics, the rudiments of purgatory in prayers for the dead, and the tre-

tremendous mystery of the sacrifice of the body and blood of Christ, which insensibly swelled into the prodigy of transubstantiation. In these dispositions, and already more than half a convert, I formed an unlucky intimacy with a young gentleman of our college. With a character less resolute, Mr. Molesworth had imbibed the same religious opinions; and some Popish books, I know not through what channel, were conveyed into his possession. I read, I applauded, I believed: the English translations of two famous works of Bossuet, Bishop of Meaux, the Exposition of the Catholic Doctrine, and the History of the Protestant Variations, achieved my conversion, and I surely fell by a noble hand.* I have since examined the originals with a more discerning eye, and shall not hesitate to pronounce, that Bossuet is indeed a master of all the weapons of controversy. In the Exposition, a specious apology, the orator assumes, with consummate art, the tone of candour and simplicity; and the ten-horned monster is transformed, at his magic touch, into the milk-white hind, who must be loved as soon as she is seen. In the History, a bold and well-aimed attack, he displays, with a happy mixture of narrative and argument, the faults and follies, the changes and contradictions of our first reformers; whose variations (as he dexterously contends) are the mark of historical error, while

* 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 favour of the Roman catholic religion. S.

the

the perpetual unity of the catholic church is the sign and test of infallible truth. To my present feelings it seems incredible that I should ever believe that I believed in transubstantiation. But my conqueror oppressed me with the sacramental words, "Hoc est corpus meum," and dashed against each other the figurative half-meanings of the protestant sects: every objection was resolved into omnipotence; and after repeating at St. Mary's, the Athanasian creed, I humbly acquiesced in the mystery of the real presence.

"To take up half on trust, and half to try,
Name it not faith, but bungling bigotry.
Both knave and fool, the merchant we may call,
To pay great sums, and to compound the small,
For who would break with Heaven, and would not break for all?"

No sooner had I settled my new religion than I resolved to profess myself a catholic. Youth is sincere and impetuous; and a momentary glow of enthusiasm had raised me above all temporal considerations.*

By the keen protestants, who would gladly retaliate the example of persecution, a clamour is raised of the increase of popery: and they are always loud to declaim against the toleration of priests and jesuits, who pervert so many of his majesty's subjects from their religion and allegiance. On the present occasion, the fall of one or more of her

* 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.

sons

sons directed this clamour against the university; and it was confidently affirmed that popish missionaries were suffered, under various disguises, to introduce themselves into the colleges of Oxford. But justice obliges me to declare, that, as far as relates to myself, this assertion is false; and that I never conversed with a priest, or even with a papist, till my resolution from books was absolutely fixed. In my last excursion to London, I addressed myself to Mr. Lewis, a Roman catholic bookseller in Russell-street, Covent Garden, who recommended me to a priest, of whose name and order I am at present ignorant.* In our first interview he soon discovered that persuasion was needless. After sounding the motives and merits of my conversion, he consented to admit me into the pale of the church; and at his feet, on the eighth of June 1753, I solemnly, though privately, abjured the errors of heresy. The seduction of an English youth of family and fortune was an act of as much danger as glory; but he bravely overlooked the danger, of which I was not then sufficiently informed. "Where a person is reconciled to the see of Rome, or procures others to be reconciled, the offence (says Blackstone) amounts to high treason." And if the humanity of the age would prevent the execution of this sanguinary statute,

* His name was Baker, a Jesuit, and one of the chaplains of the Sardinian Ambassador. Mr. Gibbon's conversion made some noise; and Mr. Lewis, the Roman Catholic bookseller of Russel-street, Covent Garden, was summoned before the Privy Council, and interrogated on the subject. This was communicated by Mr. Lewis's son. 1814.

there

there were other laws of a less odious cast, which condemned the priest to perpetual imprisonment, and transferred the proselyte's estate to his nearest relation. An elaborate controversial epistle, approved by my director, and addressed to my father, announced and justified the step which I had taken. My father was neither a bigot nor a philosopher; but his affection deplored the loss of an only son; and his good sense was astonished at my strange departure from the religion of my country. In the first sally of passion he divulged a secret which prudence might have suppressed, and the gates of Magdalen college were for ever shut against my return. Many years afterwards, when the name of Gibbon was become as notorious as that of Middleton, it was industriously whispered at Oxford, that the historian had formerly "turned papist:" my character stood exposed to the reproach of inconstancy; and this invidious topic would have been handled without mercy by my opponents, could they have separated my cause from that of the university. For my own part, I am proud of an honest sacrifice of interest to conscience. I can never blush, if my tender mind was entangled in the sophistry that seduced the acute and manly understandings of CHILLINGWORTH and BAYLE, who afterwards emerged from superstition to scepticism.

While Charles the First governed England, and was himself governed by a catholic queen, it cannot be denied that the missionaries of Rome laboured with impunity and success in the court,

the country, and even the universities. One of the sheep,

> —— Whom the grim wolf with privy paw
> Daily devours apace, and nothing said,

is Mr. William Chillingworth, Master of Arts, and Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford; who, at the ripe age of twenty-eight years, was persuaded to elope from Oxford, to the English seminary at Douay in Flanders. Some disputes with Fisher, a subtle jesuit, might first awaken him from the prejudices of education; but he yielded to his own victorious argument, "that there must be somewhere an infallible judge; and that the church of Rome is the only christian society which either does or can pretend to that character." After a short trial of a few months, Mr. Chillingworth was again tormented by religious scruples: he returned home, resumed his studies, unravelled his mistakes, and delivered his mind from the yoke of authority and superstition. His new creed was built on the principle, that the Bible is our sole judge, and private reason our sole interpreter: and he ably maintains this principle in the Religion of a Protestant, a book which, after startling the doctors of Oxford, is still esteemed the most solid defence of the Reformation. The learning, the virtue, the recent merits of the author, entitled him to fair preferment: but the slave had now broken his fetters; and the more he weighed, the less was he disposed to subscribe to the thirty-nine articles of the church of England. In a private letter he declares, with all

all the energy of language, that he could not subscribe to them without subscribing to his own damnation; and that if ever he should depart from this immoveable resolution, he would allow his friends to think him a madman, or an atheist. As the letter is without a date, we cannot ascertain the number of weeks or months that elapsed between this passionate abhorrence and the Salisbury Register, which is still extant. "Ego Gulielmus Chillingworth, ... omnibus hisce articulis, ... et singulis in iisdem contentis, volens et ex animo subscribo, et consensum meum iisdem præbeo. 20 die Julii 1638." But, alas! the chancellor and prebendary of Sarum soon deviated from his own subscription: as he more deeply scrutinized the article of the Trinity, neither scripture nor the primitive fathers could long uphold his orthodox belief; and he could not but confess, "that the doctrine of Arius is either a truth, or at least no damnable heresy." From this middle region of the air, the descent of his reason would naturally rest on the firmer ground of the Socinians: and if we may credit a doubtful story, and the popular opinion, his anxious inquiries at last subsided in philosophic indifference. So conspicuous, however, were the candour of his nature and the innocence of his heart, that this apparent levity did not affect the reputation of Chillingworth. His frequent changes proceeded from too nice an inquisition into truth. His doubts grew out of himself; he assisted them with all the strength of his reason: he was then too hard for himself; but finding as little quiet and repose in those victories,

he quickly recovered, by a new appeal to his own judgment: so that in all his sallies and retreats, he was in fact his own convert.

Bayle was the son of a Calvinist minister in a remote province in France, at the foot of the Pyrenees. For the benefit of education, the protestants were tempted to risk their children in the catholic universities; and in the twenty-second year of his age, young Bayle was seduced by the arts and arguments of the jesuits of Thoulouse. He remained about seventeen months (19th March 1699—19th August 1670) in their hands, a voluntary captive; and a letter to his parents, which the new convert composed or subscribed (15th April 1670,) is darkly tinged with the spirit of popery. But Nature had designed him to think as he pleased, and to speak as he thought: his piety was offended by the excessive worship of creatures; and the study of physics convinced him of the impossibility of transubstantiation, which is abundantly refuted by the testimony of our senses. His return to the communion of a falling sect was a bold and disinterested step, that exposed him to the rigour of the laws; and a speedy flight to Geneva protected him from the resentment of his spiritual tyrants, unconscious as they were of the full value of the prize, which they had lost. Had Bayle adhered to the catholic church, had he embraced the ecclesiastical profession, the genius and favour of such a proselyte might have aspired to wealth and honours in his native country: but the hypocrite would have found less happiness in the comforts

comforts of a benefice, or the dignity of a mitre, than he enjoyed at Rotterdam in a private state of exile, indigence, and freedom. Without a country, or a patron, or a prejudice, he claimed the liberty and subsisted by the labours of his pen: the inequality of his voluminous works is explained and excused by his alternately writing for himself, for the booksellers, and for posterity; and if a severe critic would reduce him to a single folio, that relic, like the books of the Sybil, would become still more valuable. A calm and lofty spectator of the religious tempest, the philosopher of Rotterdam condemned with equal firmness the persecution of Lewis the Fourteenth, and the republican maxims of the Calvinists; their vain prophecies, and the intolerant bigotry which sometimes vexed his solitary retreat. In reviewing the controversies of the times, he turned against each other the arguments of the disputants; successively wielding the arms of the catholics and protestants, he proves that neither the way of authority, nor the way of examination can afford the multitude any test of religious truth; and dexterously concludes that custom and education must be the sole grounds of popular belief. The ancient paradox of Plutarch, that atheism is less pernicious than superstition, acquires a tenfold vigor, when it is adorned with the colours of his wit, and pointed with the acuteness of his logic. His critical dictionary is a vast repository of facts and opinions; and he balances the *false* religions in his sceptical scales, till the opposite quantities (if I may use the language of algebra)

annihilate each other. The wonderful power which he so boldly exercised, of assembling doubts and objections, had tempted him jocosely to assume the title of the νεφελιγερετα Ζευς, the cloud-compelling Jove; and in a conversation with the ingenious Abbé (afterwards Cardinal) de Polignac, he freely disclosed his universal Pyrrhonism. "I am most truly (said Bayle) a protestant; for I protest indifferently against all systems and all sects."

The academical resentment, which I may possibly have provoked, will prudently spare this plain narrative of my studies, or rather of my idleness; and of the unfortunate event which shortened the term of my residence at Oxford. But it may be suggested, that my father was unlucky in the choice of a society, and the chance of a tutor. It will perhaps be asserted, that in the lapse of forty years many improvements have taken place in the college and in the university. I am not unwilling to believe, that some tutors might have been found more active than Dr. Waldegrave and less contemptible than Dr. ****. At a more recent period, many students have been attracted by the merit and reputation of Sir William Scott, then a tutor in University College, and now conspicuous in the profession of the civil law: my personal acquaintance with that gentleman has inspired me with a just esteem for his abilities and knowledge; and I am assured that his lectures on history would compose, were they given to the public, a most valuable treatise. Under the auspices of the late Deans, a more regular discipline has been introduced,

duced, as I am told, at Christ Church;* a course of classical and philosophical studies is proposed, and

* 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 shewn 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: and also that of Dr. Bagot, Bishop of St. Asaph, whose attention to the duties of his office while he was Dean of Christ Church was unremitted; and to whom, perhaps, that college is more indebted for the good discipline introduced there, than to any other person whatever. 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

and even pursued, in that numerous seminary: learning has been made a duty, a pleasure, and even a fashion; and several young gentlemen do honour to the college in which they have been educated. According to the will of the donor, the profit of the second part of Lord Clarendon's History has been applied to the establishment of a riding-school, that the polite exercises might be taught, I know not with what success, in the university. The Vinerian professorship is of far more serious importance; the laws of his country are the

having under their care chiefly men of opulence, who may be supposed exempt from the necessity of economical controul, 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.

Since these observations appeared, a Sermon, with very copious notes, has been published by the Reverend Dr. Parr, wherein he complains of the scantiness of praise bestowed on those who were educated at the universities of England. I digressed merely to speak of the few heads of colleges of whom I had at that time heard, or with whom I was acquainted, and I did not allude to any others educated there. I have further to observe, that I have not met with any person who lived at the time to which Mr. Gibbon alludes, who was not of opinion that his representation, at least of his own college, was just: and such was the opinion of that accomplished, ingenious, and zealous friend of the university, the late Mr. Windham: but every man, acquainted with the former and present state of the university, will acknowledge the vast improvements which have of late been introduced into the plan and conduct of education in the university.

first

first science of an Englishman of rank and fortune, who is called to be a magistrate, and may hope to be a legislator. This judicious institution was coldly entertained by the graver doctors, who complained (I have heard the complaint) that it would take the young people from their books: but Mr. Viner's benefaction is not unprofitable, since it has at least produced the excellent commentaries of Sir William Blackstone.

After carrying me to Putney, to the house of his friend Mr. Mallet,* by whose philosophy I was rather scandalized than reclaimed, it was necessary for my father to form a new plan of education, and to devise some method which, if possible, might effect the cure of my spiritual malady. After much debate it was determined, from the advice and personal experience of Mr. Eliot, (now Lord Eliot,) to fix me, during some years, at Lausanne in Switzerland. Mr. Frey, a Swiss gentleman of Basil, undertook the conduct of the journey: we left London the 19th of June, crossed the sea from Dover to Calais, travelled post through several provinces of France, by the direct road of St. Quentin, Rheims, Langres, and Besançon, and arrived the 30th of June at Lausanne, where I was immediately settled under the roof and tuition of Mr. Pavilliard, a Calvinist minister.

* 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.—His tenets were deistical; perhaps a stronger term might have been used. S.

The

The first marks of my father's displeasure rather astonished than afflicted me: when he threatened to banish, and disown, and disinherit a rebellious son, I cherished a secret hope that he would not be able or willing to effect his menaces; and the pride of conscience encouraged me to sustain the honourable and important part which I was now acting. My spirits were raised and kept alive by the rapid motion of my journey, the new and various scenes of the Continent, and the civility of Mr. Frey, a man of sense, who was not ignorant of books or the world. But after he had resigned me into Pavilliard's hands, and I was fixed in my new habitation, I had leisure to contemplate the strange and melancholy prospect before me. My first complaint arose from my ignorance of the language. In my childhood I had once studied the French grammar, and I could imperfectly understand the easy prose of a familiar subject. But when I was thus suddenly cast on a foreign land, I found myself deprived of the use of speech and of hearing; and, during some weeks, incapable not only of enjoying the pleasures of conversation, but even of asking or answering a question in the common intercourse of life. To a home-bred Englishman every object, every custom was offensive; but the native of any country might have been disgusted with the general aspect of his lodging and entertainment. I had now exchanged my elegant apartment in Magdalen College, for a narrow, gloomy street, the most unfrequented of an unhandsome town,

for

for an old inconvenient house, and for a small chamber ill-contrived and ill-furnished, which, on the approach of Winter, instead of a companionable fire, must be warmed by the dull invisible heat of a stove. From a man I was again degraded to the dependance of a school-boy. Mr. Pavilliard managed my expenses, which had been reduced to a diminutive state: I received a small monthly allowance for my pocket-money; and helpless and awkward as I have ever been, I no longer enjoyed the indispensable comfort of a servant. My condition seemed as destitute of hope, as it was devoid of pleasure: I was separated for an indefinite, which appeared an infinite term from my native country; and I had lost all connection with my catholic friends. I have since reflected with surprise, that as the Romish clergy of every part of Europe maintain a close correspondence with each other, they never attempted, by letters or messages, to rescue me from the hands of the heretics, or at least to confirm my zeal and constancy in the profession of the faith. Such was my first introduction to Lausanne; a place where I spent nearly five years with pleasure and profit, which I afterwards revisited without compulsion, and which I have finally selected as the most grateful retreat for the decline of my life.

But it is the peculiar felicity of youth that the most unpleasing objects and events seldom make a deep or lasting impression; it forgets the past, enjoys the present, and anticipates the future. At the

the flexible age of sixteen I soon learned to endure, and gradually to adopt, the new forms of arbitrary manners: the real hardships of my situation were alienated by time. Had I been sent abroad in a more splendid style, such as the fortune and bounty of my father might have supplied, I might have returned home with the same stock of language and science, which our countrymen usually import from the Continent. An exile and a prisoner as I was, their example betrayed me into some irregularities of wine, of play, and of idle excursions: but I soon felt the impossibility of associating with them on equal terms; and after the departure of my first acquaintance, I held a cold and civil correspondence with their successors. This seclusion from English society was attended with the most solid benefits. In the *Pays de Vaud*, the French language is used with less imperfection than in most of the distant provinces of France: in Pavilliard's family, necessity compelled me to listen and to speak; and if I was at first disheartened by the apparent slowness, in a few months I was astonished by the rapidity of my progress. My pronunciation was formed by the constant repetition of the same sounds; the variety of words and idioms, the rules of grammar, and distinctions of genders, were impressed in my memory: ease and freedom were obtained by practice; correctness and elegance by labour; and before I was recalled home, French, in which I spontaneously thought, was more familiar than English to my ear, my tongue, and

and my pen. The first effect of this opening knowledge was the revival of my love of reading, which had been chilled at Oxford; and I soon turned over, without much choice, almost all the French books in my tutor's library. Even these amusements were productive of real advantage: my taste and judgment were now somewhat riper. I was introduced to a new mode of style and literature: by the comparison of manners and opinions, my views were enlarged, my prejudices were corrected, and a copious voluntary abstract of the *Histoire de l'Eglise et de l'Empire*, by le Suer, may be placed in a middle line between my childish and my manly studies. As soon as I was able to converse with the natives, I began to feel some satisfaction in their company: my awkward timidity was polished and emboldened; and I frequented, for the first time, assemblies of men and women. The acquaintance of the Pavilliards prepared me by degrees for more elegant society. I was received with kindness and indulgence in the best families of Lausanne; and it was in one of these that I formed an intimate and lasting connection with Mr. Deyverdun, a young man of an amiable temper and excellent understanding. In the arts of fencing and dancing, small indeed was my proficiency; and some months were idly wasted in the riding-school. My unfitness to bodily exercise reconciled me to a sedentary life, and the horse, the favourite of my countrymen, never contributed to the pleasures of my youth.

My obligations to the lessons of Mr. Pavilliard, gratitude

gratitude will not suffer me to forget: he was endowed with a clear head and a warm heart; his innate benevolence had assuaged the spirit of the church; he was rational, because he was moderate: in the course of his studies he had acquired a just though superficial knowledge of most branches of literature; by long practice, he was skilled in the arts of teaching; and he laboured with assiduous patience to know the character, gain the affection, and open the mind of his English pupil.*

As

Extract of a Letter from M. PAVILLIARD *to* EDWARD GIBBON, Esq.

À 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, parcequ'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, parceque je n'entends 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 de Gibbon n'entend pas assez de François, mais il y fait beaucoup de progrès.

Je suis fort content de la politesse et de la douceur de caractère 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.

À Lausanne, ce 13 Aout 1753.

Monsieur de Gibbon se porte bien par la grace de Dieu; je l'aime, et je me suis extrêmement attaché à lui parcequ'il est doux

As soon as we began to understand each other, he gently led me, from a blind and undistinguishing love

doux et tranquille. Pour ce qui regarde ses sentimens, quoique je ne lui aye encore rien dit là-dessus, j'ai lieu d'espérer qu'il ouvrira les yeux à la vérité. Je le pense ainsi, parcequ'étant dans mon cabinet, il a choisi deux livres de controversie qu'il a pris dans sa chambre, et qu'il les lit. Il m'a chargé de vous offrir ses très humbles respects, et de vous demander la permission de le laisser monter au manège: cet exercice pourroit contribuer à donner de la force à son corps, c'est l'idée qu'il en a.

From the Same to the Same.

À Lausanne, ce 31 Octobre 1753.

Monsieur,

Depuis ma lettre du 15me Aout, je reçus le 18me du même mois la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire en datte du 24e Juillet. Je l'ai lue avec attention: permettez moi de vous marquer les réflexions que j'y ai fait.

Vous souhaitez que je tienne Monsieur votre fils à la maison attaché à ses études, et qu'il sorte peu. Vous êtes père, par là même, Monsieur, vous avez droit de prescrire la manière dont vous voulez qu'on le conduise. Sans doute vous ne prenez ce parti, que parceque vous croyez qu'on réussira mieux par cette voie, à le ramener des prejugés auxquels il s'est livré. Mais je vous prie de considérer que Monsieur votre fils est d'un caractère sérieux, qu'il se plait à refléchir, qu'étant dans sa chambre occupé à lire, il suivra ses idées, et il s'y attachera toujours plus, parceque personne ne le contredira: d'ailleurs regardant comme une peine l'obligation qu'on lui impose, il sera toujours moins porté à écouter favorablement ce que je lui dirai: il envisagera tous mes discours, comme venant d'un homme qui est dans des idées qu'il désapprouve, et qui veut, cependant, les lui faire recevoir, parcequ'il est paié pour cela.

Je crois, Monsieur, qu'il seroit plus à propos de le distraire un peu, de l'égaier un peu, pour lui faire passer ce qu'il a de trop sombre dans le caractère: en voyant bonne compagnie, il appercevroit

love of reading, into the path of instruction. I consented with pleasure that a portion of the morning hours should be consecrated to a plan of modern history and geography, and to the critical perusal of the French and Latin classics; and at each step I felt myself invigorated by the habits of application and method. His prudence repressed and dissembled some youthful sallies; and as soon as I was confirmed in the habits of industry and temperance, he gave the reins into my own hands. His favourable report of my behaviour and progress gradually obtained some latitude of action

appercevroit qu'on pense juste sur bien de sujets: il s'accoutumeroit à être contredit quelquefois, et à céder aussi dans l'occasion, il examineroit avec plus de soin et avec moins de préoccupation les principes qu'il adopte, et les voyant souvent condamnés par des personnes qu'il voit qui ont du goût pour la verité, il ne les regarderoit pas comme infaillibles, et convaincu qu'on ne le hait pas à cause de ses sentiments, il écouteroit ce qu'on lui diroit avec plus de confiance. Tout ce que je viens de dire est une suite des remarques que j'ai fait sur son caractère, et sur ce que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'en dire dans votre lettre. Je me suis apperçu qu'il étoit attaché au parti du Prétendant: il s'en est déclaré assez ouvertement dans la suite. J'ai combattu ses idées sans faire semblant que c'étoit les siennes, et sans marquer aucune intention de lui faire de la peine: il a répliqué plusieurs fois, mais à la fin j'ai tellement renversé tous ses raisonnemens qu'il n'en parle plus, et qu'il s'exprime sur le sujet du roi d'une manière bien différente de ce qu'il faisoit autrefois. Je n'assurerai pas cependant qu'il ait entièrement changé d'idées, parcequ'il parle peu, et que je n'ai pas voulu faire connoître que j'avois dessein de l'emporter sur lui.

Monsieur,

Votre très humble et obéissant Serviteur,

PAVILLIARD, PASTEUR.

and

and expense; and he wished to alleviate the hardships of my lodging and entertainment. The principles of philosophy were associated with the examples of taste; and by a singular chance, the book, as well as the man, which contributed the most effectually to my education, has a stronger claim on my gratitude than on my admiration. Mr. De Crousaz, the adversary of Bayle and Pope, is not distinguished by lively fancy or profound reflection; and even in his own country, at the end of a few years, his name and writings are almost obliterated. But his philosophy had been formed in the school of Locke, his divinity in that of Limborch and Le Clerc; in a long and laborious life, several generations of pupils were taught to think, and even to write; his lessons rescued the academy of Lausanne from Calvinistic prejudice; and he had the rare merit of diffusing a more liberal spirit among the clergy and people of the Pays de Vaud. His system of logic, which in the last editions has swelled to six tedious and prolix volumes, may be praised as a clear and methodical abridgment of the art of reasoning, from our simple ideas to the most complex operations of the human understanding. This system I studied, and meditated, and abstracted, till I obtained the free command of an universal instrument, which I soon presumed to exercise on my catholic opinions. Pavilliard was not unmindful that his first task, his most important duty, was to reclaim me from the errors of popery. The intermixture of sects has rendered the Swiss clergy acute and learned on the topics of controversy; and I have some of his

letters in which he celebrates the dexterity of his attack, and my gradual concessions, after a firm and well-managed defence.* I was willing, and I am now willing, to allow him a handsome share of the honour of my conversion: yet I must observe, that it was principally effected by my private reflections; and I still remember my solitary transport at the discovery of a philosophical argument against the doctrine of transubstantiation: *that* the text of scripture, which seems to inculcate the real presence, is attested only by a single sense—our sight; while the real presence itself is disproved by three of our senses—the sight, the touch, and the taste. The various articles of the Romish creed disappeared like a dream; and after a full conviction, on Christmas-day 1754, I received the sacrament in the church of Lausanne. It was here that I suspended my religious inquiries, acquiescing with implicit belief in the tenets and mysteries, which are adopted by the general consent of catholics and protestants.†

Such,

* 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 favour of popery. Mr. Gibbon many years ago became very fat and corpulent, but he had uncommonly small bones, and was very slightly made. S.

† *Letter from* Mr. PAVILLIARD *to* EDWARD GIBBON, Esq.

Juin 26, 1754.

Monsieur,

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

Such, from my arrival at Lausanne, during the first eighteen or twenty months (July 1753—March 1755,)

été ni par oubli, ni par négligence, 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 eût rien à me répondre. Là-dessus je n'ai pas jugé qu'il fallût le pousser à bout, et extorquer de lui un aveu que son cœur desavoueroit; je lui donnois alors du tems pour réfléchir; tous mes livres étoient à sa disposition; je revenois à la charge quand il m'avouoit qu'il avoit étudié la matière aussi bien qu'il l'avoit pu, et enfin j'établissois une verité.

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 tems, 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 ait 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'Eucharistе 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

1755), were my useful studies, the foundation of all my future improvements. But every man who rises

est fausse : que le Carême et les jeunes 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 réformateurs des personnes dont la conduite et les mœurs ont été un scandale, sont entièrement fausses.

Vous comprenez bien, Monsieur, que ces articles sont d'une longue discussion, qu'il a fallu du tems 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 tems, qu'il n'étoit plus catholique Romain. Je me flatte qu'après avoir obtenu la victoire sur ces articles, je l'aura sur le reste avec le secours de Dieu. Tellement que je compte vous marquer dans peu que cette ouvrage est fini ; je dois vous dire encore que, quoique j'ai trouvé M^r^ 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 appelle, chicaneur. Par rapport à l'article du jeune le Vendredi et Samedi, long tems après que je vous eus écrit qu'il n'avoit jamais marqué qu'il voulût 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 quelque tems sur ce sujet ; il m'assura qu'il n'envisageoit cela que comme une pratique bonne à la vérité, et qu'il devoit suivre, quoiqu'il ne la crût 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 cet article qui est certainement un des moins importans, des moins fondés ; et cependant il m'a fallu un tems considérable pour le détromper, et pour lui faire comprendre qu'il avoit tort de

rises above the common level has received two educations: the first from his teachers; the second, more

de s'assujettir à la pratique d'une église 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, puisqu'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, puisqu'avec de l'argent on obtenoit des dispenses pour manger gras, &c. de manière que je l'ai ramené à la liberté Chretienne avec beaucoup de peine et seulement depuis quelques semaines. Je l'ai engagé à vous écrire, pour vous manifester les sentimens où il est, et l'état de sa santé; et je crois qu'il l'a fait.

From Mr. GIBBON *to* Mrs. PORTEN.*

Dear Madam,

I have at length good news to tell you. I am now good Protestant, and am extremely glad of it. I have in all my Letters taken notice of the different mouvements of my mind, entirely Catholic when I came to Lausanne, wavering long time between the two systems, and at last fixed for the Protestant—when that conflict was over, I had still another difficulty—brought up with all the ideas of the Church of England, I could scarce resolve to communion with Presbyterians, as all the people of this country are. I at last got over it, for considering that whatever difference there may be between their churches and ours, in the government and discipline, they still regard us as brethren and profess the same faith as us—determined then in this design, I declared it to the ministers of the town, assembled at Mr. Pavilliard's, who having examined me, approved of it, and permitted me to receive the communion with them, which I did Christmas day from the hands of Mr. Pavilliard, who appeared extremely glad of it. I

* This letter is curious: as it shews in how short a time (not more than a year and a half) he had adopted the idiom of the French language and lost that of his own.

more personal and important, from himself. He will not, like the fanatics of the last age, define the

am so extremely, myself—and do assure you, feel a joy extremely pure, and the more so, as I know it to be not only innocent but laudable.

Mr. PAVILLIARD *to* Mrs. PORTEN.

Lausanne, January 28, 1755.

Madam,

As I have a piece of news extremely interesting to acquaint you with, I cannot any longer defer answering to the letter you honoured me with. God has at length blessed my cares, and heard your prayers; I have had the satisfaction of bringing back Mr. Gibbon to the bosom of our reformed church; he has communicated with us Christmas day last, with devotion: he appears satisfied with what he has done, and I am persuaded is at present as little inclined to the sentiments of the Church of Rome, as I am myself. I have made use with him, neither of rigour nor artifice. I have never hurried him in his decisions, but have always left him the time to reflect on every article; he has been persuaded of the integrity of my intentions, he has heard me as a friend, and I have served him as guide to enter into the road of the truth. God Almighty be blessed for it; I pray that God to strengthen him more and more in the right way, and to make him a faithful member of his church. I ought to render him the justice to say, I never found him obstinate; he has been fixed in his ideas, but when he has seen the light, he has rendered himself. His behaviour has been very regular and has made no slips, except that of gaming twice and losing much more than I desired. I hope, Madam, you will acquaint Mr. Gibbon with your satisfaction and restore him your affection, which though his errors may have shaken, they have not, I am sure, destroyed. As his father has allowed him but the bare necessaries, but nothing more, I dare beg you to grant him some tokens of your satisfaction. I am convinced he will employ them well, and I ever flatter myself he will give me the direction of them, for he has promised me never to play any more games of chance. I wish you, Madam, all kinds of prosperity.

the moment of grace; but he cannot forget the æra of his life, in which his mind has expanded to its proper form and dimensions. My worthy tutor had the good sense and modesty to discern how far he could be useful: as soon as he felt that I advanced beyond his speed and measure, he wisely left me to my genius; and the hours of lesson were soon lost in the voluntary labour of the whole morning, and sometimes of the whole day. The desire of prolonging my time, gradually confirmed the salutary habit of early rising; to which I have always adhered; with some regard to seasons and situations: but it is happy for my eyes and my health, that my temperate ardour has never been seduced to trespass on the hours of the night. During the last three years of my residence at Lausanne, I may assume the merit of serious and solid application; but I am tempted to distinguish the last eight months of the year 1755, as the period of the most extraordinary diligence and rapid progress.* In my French and Latin translations I adopted

* JOURNAL, December 1755.]—In finishing this year, I must remark how favourable 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 Boehat's Mémoires sur la Suisse, and wrote a very ample relation of my tour. I likewise

adopted an excellent method, which, from my own success, I would recommend to the imitation of students. I chose some classic writer, such as Cicero and Vertot, the most approved for purity and elegance of style. I translated, for instance, an epistle of Cicero into French; and after throwing it aside, till the words and phrases were obliterated from my memory, I re-translated my French into such Latin as I could find; and then compared each sentence of my imperfect version, with the ease, the grace, the propriety of the Roman orator. A similar experiment was made on several pages of the Revolutions of Vertot; I turned them into Latin, returned them after a sufficient interval into my own French, and again scrutinized the resemblance or dissimilitude of the copy and the original. By degrees I was less ashamed, by degrees I was more satisfied with myself; and I persevered in the practice of these double translations, which filled several books, till I had acquired the knowledge of both idioms, and the command at least of a correct style. This useful exercise of writing was accompanied and succeeded by the more pleasing occupation of reading the best authors. The perusal of the Roman classics was at once my exercise and reward. Dr. Middleton's History, which I then

began to study Greek, and went through the Grammar. I began 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.

appre-

appreciated above its true value, naturally directed me to the writings of Cicero. The most perfect editions, that of Olivet, which may adorn the shelves of the rich, that of Ernesti, which should lie on the table of the learned, were not within my reach. For the familiar epistles I used the text and English commentary of Bishop Ross; but my general edition was that of Verburgius, published at Amsterdam in two large volumes in folio, with an indifferent choice of various notes. I read, with application and pleasure, *all* the epistles, *all* the orations, and the most important treatises of rhetoric and philosophy; and as I read, I applauded the observation of Quintillian, that every student may judge of his own proficiency, by the satisfaction which he receives from the Roman orator. I tasted the beauties of language, I breathed the spirit of freedom, and I imbibed from his precepts and examples the public and private sense of a man. Cicero in Latin, and Xenophon in Greek, are indeed the two ancients whom I would first propose to a liberal scholar; not only for the merit of their style and sentiments, but for the admirable lessons, which may be applied almost to every situation of public and private life. Cicero's Epistles may in particular afford the models of every form of correspondence, from the careless effusions of tenderness and friendship, to the well-guarded declaration of discreet and dignified resentment. After finishing this great author, a library of eloquence and reason, I formed a more extensive plan of reviewing the Latin

Latin classics,* under the four divisions of, 1. historians, 2. poets, 3. orators, and 4. philosophers, in a chronological series, from the days of Plautus and Sallust, to the decline of the language and empire of Rome: and this plan, in the last twenty-seven months of my residence at Lausanne (January 1756—April 1758), I *nearly* accomplished. Nor was this review, however rapid, either hasty or superficial. I indulged myself in a second and even a third perusal of Terence, Virgil, Horace, Tacitus, &c. and studied to imbibe the sense and spirit most congenial to my own. I never suffered a difficult or corrupt passage to escape, till I had viewed it in every light of which it was susceptible: though often disappointed, I always consulted the most learned or ingenious commentators, Torrentius and Dacier on Horace, Catrou and Servius on Virgil, Lipsius on Tacitus, Meziriac on Ovid, &c.; and in the ardour of my inquiries, I embraced a large circle of historical and critical erudition. My abstracts of each book were made in the French language: my observations often branched into particular essays; and I can still read, without contempt, a dissertation of eight folio pages on eight lines (287—294) of the fourth Georgic of Virgil. Mr. Deyverdun, my friend, whose name will be frequently repeated, had joined with equal zeal,

* 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.

though

though not with equal perseverance, in the same undertaking. To him every thought, every composition, was instantly communicated; with him I enjoyed the benefits of a free conversation on the topics of our common studies.

But it is scarcely possible for a mind endowed with any active curiosity to be long conversant with the Latin classics, without aspiring to know the Greek originals, whom they celebrate as their masters, and of whom they so warmly recommend the study and imitation;

—— Vos exemplaria Græca
Nocturnâ versate manu, versate diurnâ.

It was now that I regretted the early years which had been wasted in sickness or idleness, or mere idle reading; that I condemned the perverse method of our schoolmasters, who, by first teaching the mother language, might descend with so much ease and perspicuity to the origin and etymology of a derivative idiom. In the nineteenth year of my age I determined to supply this defect; and the lessons of Pavilliard again contributed to smooth the entrance of the way, the Greek alphabet, the grammar, and the pronunciation according to the French accent. At my earnest request we presumed to open the Iliad; and I had the pleasure of beholding, though darkly and through a glass, the true image of Homer, whom I had long since admired in an English dress. After my tutor had left me to myself, I worked my way through about half the Iliad, and afterwards interpreted alone a large

large portion of Xenophon and Herodotus. But my ardour, destitute of aid and emulation, was gradually cooled, and, from the barren task of searching words in a lexicon, I withdrew to the free and familiar conversation of Virgil and Tacitus. Yet in my residence at Lausanne I had laid a solid foundation, which enabled me, in a more propitious season, to prosecute the study of Grecian literature.

From a blind idea of the usefulness of such abstract science, my father had been desirous, and even pressing, that I should devote some time to the mathematics;* nor could I refuse to comply with

* *Extract of a Letter from* Mr. PAVILLIARD *to* EDWARD GIBBON, Esq.

Je n'ai point changé de sentimens pour Monsieur votre fils. Il vous rend compte de ses études, et je puis vous assurer qu'il ne vous dit rien qui ne soit très vrai. Il emploie très bien son temps, et il s'applique extrèmement, aussi a-t-il fait beaucoup de progrès. Il entend très bien le Latin, et il a lu les meilleurs auteurs que nous aions, et cela plus d'une fois: il a lu la Logique de Mr. de Crousaz et l'Essai sur l'Entendement humain de Mr. Locke, dont il a fait des extraits: il a commencé le Grec, et il s'y attache: il va commencer l'algèbre, comme vous le lui ordonnez. Vous jugerez par ses lettres s'il entend le François, car je vous assure que je n'y ai fait aucune correction.

Par rapport à la religion, il n'a pas laissé échapper un seul mot, qui ait pu me faire soupçonner qu'il eut encore quelque attachement pour la religion Romaine, et quoique nous parlions souvent sur ces matières je le trouve toujours penser très juste sur toutes les questions qu'on traite. Le petit voyage que nous avons fait lui a beaucoup valu à cet égard: il a été témoin des superstitions épouvantables, qui y régnent: il en a été d'autant plus

with so reasonable a wish. During two winters I attended the private lectures of Monsieur de Traytorrens, who explained the elements of algebra and geometry,

plus frappé qu'il ne le connoissoit pas, et qu'il ne pouvoit s'imaginer qu'elles fussent aussi grandes. Quand il n'auroit pas déjà renoncé à cette communion, il l'auroit fait indubitablement, tant elles lui ont paru excessives et déraisonnables. Je suis persuadé qu'il a embrassé le parti Protestant par raison, et qu'il y a peu de personnes qui aient plus examiné et mieux senti la force de nos preuves que lui. Je lui dois ce témoignage, et je le lui rends avec plaisir, de même que sur sa bonne conduite.

P. S. La lettre que vous avez écrit à Monsieur votre fils l'a extrèmement touché parce qu'elle lui a fait voir que vous étiez mécontent de lui. Rien ne peut le mortifier davantage que cette idée. Rendez lui, je vous supplie, votre affection, il la mérite, par l'attachement qu'il a pour vous.

From the Same to the Same.

Janvier 12, 1757.

Monsieur,

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 nuisât 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 grands 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 serois attendu : il est charmé d'avoir commencé, et je pense qu'il fera un petit cours de géométrie, ce qui en tout ne lui prendra que sept à huit mois. Pendant qu'il fait ses leçons, il ne s'est point relaché sur ses autres études; il avance beaucoup dans le Grec, et il a presque lu la moitié de l'Iliade d'Homère ; je lui fais régulièrement des leçons sur cet auteur: il a aussi fini les historiens Latins; il en est à présent

geometry, as far as the conic sections of the Marquis de l'Hôpital, and appeared satisfied with my diligence and improvement.* But as my childish pro-

présent aux Poëtes; et il a lu entièrement Plaute et Terence, et bientôt il aura fini Lucrèce. 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 voyoit compagnie; je puis vous le dire encore aujourdhui.

From the Same to the Same.

Jan. 14, 1758.

Monsieur,

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 extrèmement estimer par tous ceux qui le connoissent, et j'espère que quand il vous montrera en détail ce qu'il sait, 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 n'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.

* 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,

propensity for numbers and calculations was totally extinct, I was content to receive the passive impression of my Professor's lectures, without any active exercise of my own powers. As soon as I understood the principles, I relinquished for ever the pursuit of the mathematics; nor can I lament that I desisted, before my mind was hardened by the habit of rigid demonstration, so destructive of the finer feelings of moral evidence, which must, however, determine the actions and opinions of our lives. I listened with more pleasure to the proposal of studying the law of nature and nations, which was taught in the academy of Lausanne by Mr. Vicat, a professor of some learning and reputation. But, instead of attending his public or private course, I preferred in my closet the lessons of his masters, and my own reason. Without being disgusted by Grotius or Puffendorf, I studied in their writings the duties of a man, the rights of a citizen, the theory of justice, (it is, alas! a theory,) and the laws of peace and war, which have had some influence on the practice of modern Europe.

race, (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. Allamand 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.

My

My fatigues were alleviated by the good sense of their commentator Barbeyrac. Locke's Treatise of Government instructed me in the knowledge of Whig principles, which are rather founded in reason than experience; but my delight was in the frequent perusal of Montesquieu, whose energy of style, and boldness of hypothesis, were powerful to awaken and stimulate the genius of the age. The logic of De Crousaz had prepared me to engage with his master Locke, and his antagonist Bayle; of whom the former may be used as a bridle, and the latter as a spur, to the curiosity of a young philosopher. According to the nature of their respective works, the schools of argument and objection, I carefully went through the Essay on Human Understanding, and occasionally consulted the most interesting articles of the Philosophic Dictionary. In the infancy of my reason I turned over, as an idle amusement, the most serious and important treatise: in its maturity, the most trifling performance could exercise my taste or judgment; and more than once I have been led by a novel into a deep and instructive train of thinking. But I cannot forbear to mention three particular books, since they may have remotely contributed to form the historian of the Roman empire. 1. From the Provincial Letters of Pascal, which almost every year I have perused with new pleasure, I learned to manage the weapon of grave and temperate irony, even on subjects of ecclesiastical solemnity. 2. The Life of Julian, by the Abbé de la Bleterie, first introduced me to the man and the times; and

I should

I should be glad to recover my first essay on the truth of the miracle which stopped the rebuilding of the Temple of Jerusalem. 3. In Giannone's Civil History of Naples, I observed with a critical eye the progress and abuse of sacerdotal power, and the revolutions of Italy in the darker ages. This various reading, which I now conducted with discretion, was digested, according to the precept and model of Mr. Locke, into a large common-place book; a practice, however, which I do not strenuously recommend. The action of the pen will doubtless imprint an idea on the mind as well as on the paper: but I much question whether the benefits of this laborious method are adequate to the waste of time; and I must agree with Dr. Johnson, (Idler, No. 74.) "that what is twice read, is commonly better remembered, than what is transcribed."

During two years, if I forget some boyish excursions of a day or a week, I was fixed at Lausanne; but at the end of the third summer, my father consented that I should make the tour of Switzerland with Pavilliard: and our short absence of one month (September 21st—October 20th, 1755) was a reward and relaxation of my assiduous studies.* The fashion of climbing the mountains and

* *From* EDWARD GIBBON *to* Mrs. PORTEN.

* * * \

and reviewing the *Glaciers*, had not yet been introduced by foreign travellers, who seek the sub-

will cost you but a shilling, and follow me. I go by Iverdun, Neufchâtel, Bienne or Biel, Soleurre 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 for 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, 1755.

lime

lime beauties of nature. But the political face of the country is not less diversified by the forms and spirit of so many various republics, from the jealous government of the *few* to the licentious freedom of the *many*. I contemplated with pleasure the new prospects of men and manners; though my conversation with the natives would have been more free and instructive, had I possessed the German, as well as the French language. We passed through most of the principal towns in Switzerland; Neufchâtel, Bienne, Soleurre, Arau, Baden, Zurich, Basil, and Bern. In every place we visited the churches, arsenals, libraries, and all the most eminent persons; and after my return, I digested my notes in fourteen or fifteen sheets of a French journal, which I dispatched to my father, as a proof that my time and his money had not been misspent. Had I found this journal among his papers, I might be tempted to select some passages; but I will not transcribe the printed accounts, and it may be sufficient to notice a remarkable spot, which left a deep and lasting impression on my memory. From Zurich we proceeded to the Benedictine Abbey of Einfidlen, more commonly styled Our Lady of the Hermits. I was astonished by the profuse ostentation of riches in the poorest corner of Europe; amidst a savage scene of woods and mountains, a palace appears to have been erected by magic; and it was erected by the potent magic of religion. A crowd of palmers and votaries was prostrate before the altar. The title and worship

of the Mother of God provoked my indignation; and the lively naked image of superstition suggested to me, as in the same place it had done to Zuinglius, the most pressing argument for the reformation of the church. About two years after this tour, I passed at Geneva a useful and agreeable month; but this excursion, and some short visits in the Pays de Vaud, did not materially interrupt my studious and sedentary life at Lausanne.

My thirst of improvement, and the languid state of science at Lausanne, soon prompted me to solicit a literary correspondence with several men of learning, whom I had not an opportunity of personally consulting. 1. In the perusal of Livy, (xxx. 44.) I had been stopped by a sentence in a speech of Hannibal, which cannot be reconciled by any torture with his character or argument. The commentators dissemble, or confess their perplexity. It occurred to me, that the change of a single letter, by substituting *otio* instead of *odio*, might restore a clear and consistent sense; but I wished to weigh my emendation in scales less partial than my own. I addressed myself to M. Crevier,* the successor of Rollin, and a professor in the university of Paris, who had published a large and valuable edition of Livy. His answer was speedy and polite; he praised my ingenuity, and adopted my conjecture. 2. I maintained a Latin correspondence, at first anonymous, and afterwards in

* See Appendix, Letters, No. I.

my

my own name, with Professor Breitinger* of Zurich, the learned editor of a Septuagint Bible. In our frequent letters we discussed many questions of antiquity, many passages of the Latin classics. I proposed my interpretations and amendments. His censures, for he did not spare my boldness of conjecture, were sharp and strong; and I was encouraged by the consciousness of my strength, when I could stand in free debate against a critic of such eminence and erudition. 3. I corresponded on similar topics with the celebrated Professor Matthew Gesner,† of the university of Gottingen; and he accepted, as courteously as the two former, the invitation of an unknown youth. But his abilities might possibly be decayed; his elaborate letters were feeble and prolix; and when I asked his proper direction, the vain old man covered half a sheet of paper with the foolish enumeration of his titles and offices. 4. These Professors of Paris, Zurich, and Gottingen, were strangers, whom I presumed to address on the credit of their name; but Mr. Allamand,‡ Minister at Bex, was my personal friend, with whom I maintained a more free and interesting correspondence. He was a master of language, of science, and, above all, of dispute; and his acute and flexible logic could support, with equal address, and perhaps with equal indifference, the adverse sides of every possible question. His spirit was active, but his pen had been indolent. Mr.

* See Appendix, Letters, No. IV. and V.
† Ditto, No. VI. VII. and VIII.
‡ Ditto, No. II. and III.

Allamand had exposed himself to much scandal and reproach, by an anonymous letter (1745) to the Protestants of France; in which he labours to persuade them that *public* worship is the exclusive right and duty of the state, and that their numerous assemblies of dissenters and rebels were not authorised by the law or the gospel. His style is animated, his arguments specious; and if the papist may seem to lurk under the mask of a protestant, the philosopher is concealed under the disguise of a papist. After some trials in France and Holland, which were defeated by his fortune or his character, a genius that might have enlightened or deluded the world, was buried in a country living, unknown to fame, and discontented with mankind. *Est sacrificulus in pago, et rusticos decipit.* As often as private or ecclesiastical business called him to Lausanne, I enjoyed the pleasure and benefit of his conversation, and we were mutually flattered by our attention to each other. Our correspondence, in his absence, chiefly turned on Locke's metaphysics, which he attacked, and I defended; the origin of ideas, the principles of evidence, and the doctrine of liberty;

> And found no end, in wandering mazes lost.

By fencing with so skilful a master, I acquired some dexterity in the use of my philosophic weapons; but I was still the slave of education and prejudice. He had some measures to keep; and I much suspect that he never shewed me the true colours of his secret scepticism.

Before

Before I was recalled from Switzerland, I had the satisfaction of seeing the most extraordinary man of the age; a poet, an historian, a philosopher, who has filled thirty quartos, of prose and verse, with his various productions, often excellent, and always entertaining. Need I add the name of Voltaire? After forfeiting, by his own misconduct, the friendship of the first of kings, he retired, at the age of sixty, with a plentiful fortune, to a free and beautiful country, and resided two winters (1757 and 1758) in the town or neighbourhood of Lausanne. My desire of beholding Voltaire, whom I then rated above his real magnitude, was easily gratified. He received me with civility as an English youth; but I cannot boast of any peculiar notice or distinction, *Virgilium vidi tantum.*

The ode which he composed on his first arrival on the banks of the Leman Lake, *O Maison d'Aristippe! O Jardin d'Epicure, &c.* had been imparted as a secret to the gentleman by whom I was introduced. He allowed me to read it twice; I knew it by heart; and as my discretion was not equal to my memory, the author was soon displeased by the circulation of a copy. In writing this trivial anecdote, I wished to observe whether my memory was impaired, and I have the comfort of finding that every line of the poem is still engraved in fresh and indelible characters. The highest gratification which I derived from Voltaire's residence at Lausanne, was the uncommon circumstance of hearing a great poet declaim his own productions on the stage. He had formed a company

of gentlemen and ladies, some of whom were not destitute of talents. A decent theatre was framed at Monrepos, a country-house at the end of a suburb; dresses and scenes were provided at the expense of the actors; and the author directed the rehearsals with the zeal and attention of paternal love. In two successive winters his tragedies of Zayre, Alzire, Zulime, and his sentimental comedy of the Enfant Prodigue, were played at the theatre of Monrepos. Voltaire represented the characters best adapted to his years, Lusignan, Alvaréz, Benassar, Euphemon. His declamation was fashioned to the pomp and cadence of the old stage; and he expressed the enthusiasm of poetry, rather than the feelings of nature. My ardour, which soon became conspicuous, seldom failed of procuring me a ticket. The habits of pleasure fortified my taste for the French theatre, and that taste has perhaps abated my idolatry for the gigantic genius of Shakespeare, which is inculcated from our infancy as the first duty of an Englishman. The wit and philosophy of Voltaire, his table and theatre, refined, in a visible degree, the manners of Lausanne; and, however addicted to study, I enjoyed my share of the amusements of society. After the representation of Monrepos I sometimes supped with the actors. I was now familiar in some, and acquainted in many houses; and my evenings were generally devoted to cards and conversation, either in private parties or numerous assemblies.

I hesitate, from the apprehension of ridicule, when I approach the delicate subject of my early love.

love. By this word I do not mean the polite attention, the gallantry, without hope or design, which has originated in the spirit of chivalry, and is interwoven with the texture of French manners. I understand by this passion the union of desire, friendship, and tenderness, which is inflamed by a single female, which prefers her to the rest of her sex, and which seeks her possession as the supreme or the sole happiness of our being. I need not blush at recollecting the object of my choice; and though my love was disappointed of success, I am rather proud that I was once capable of feeling such a pure and exalted sentiment. The personal attractions of Mademoiselle Susan Curchod were embellished by the virtues and talents of the mind. Her fortune was humble but her family was respectable. Her mother, a native of France, had preferred her religion to her country. The profession of her father did not extinguish the moderation and philosophy of his temper, and he lived content with a small salary and laborious duty in the obscure lot of minister of Crassy, in the mountains that separate the Pays de Vaud from the county of Burgundy.* In the solitude

* *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.

solitude of a sequestered village he bestowed a liberal, and even learned, education on his only daughter. She surpassed his hopes by her proficiency in the sciences and languages; and in her short visits to some relations at Lausanne, the wit, the beauty, and erudition of Mademoiselle Curchod were the theme of universal applause. The report of such a prodigy awakened my curiosity; I saw and loved. I found her learned without pedantry, lively in conversation, pure in sentiment, and elegant in manners; and the first sudden emotion was fortified by the habits and knowledge of a more familiar acquaintance. She permitted me to make her two or three visits at her father's house. I passed some happy days there, in the mountains of Burgundy, and her parents honourably encouraged the connection. In a calm retirement the gay vanity of youth no longer fluttered in her bosom;

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 Alvarez; D'Hermanches, Zamore; de St. Cierge, Gusman; M. de Gentil, Monteze; and Madame Denys, Alzire.

she

she listened to the voice of truth and passion, and I might presume to hope that I had made some impression on a virtuous heart. At Crassy and Lausanne I indulged my dream of felicity: but on my return to England, I soon discovered that my father would not hear of this strange alliance, and that without his consent I was myself destitute and helpless. After a painful struggle I yielded to my fate: I sighed as a lover, I obeyed as a son;* my wound was insensibly healed by time, absence, and the habits of a new life. My cure was accelerated by a faithful report of the tranquillity and cheerfulness of the lady herself, and my love subsided in friendship and esteem. The minister of Crassy soon afterwards died; his stipend died with him: his daughter retired to Geneva, where, by teaching young ladies, she earned a hard subsistence for herself and her mother; but in her lowest distress she maintained a spotless reputation, and a dignified behaviour. A rich banker of Paris, a citizen of Geneva, had the good fortune and good sense to discover and possess this inestimable treasure; and in the capital of taste and luxury she resisted the temptations of wealth, as she had sustained the hardships of indigence. The genius of her husband has exalted him to the most conspicuous station in Europe. In every change of prosperity and disgrace

* 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.

he

he has reclined on the bosom of a faithful friend; and Mademoiselle Curchod is now the wife of M. Necker, the minister, and perhaps the legislator, of the French monarchy.

Whatsoever have been the fruits of my education, they must be ascribed to the fortunate banishment which placed me at Lausanne. I have sometimes applied to my own fate the verses of Pindar, which remind an Olympic champion that his victory was the consequence of his exile; and that at home, like a domestic fowl, his days might have rolled away inactive or inglorious.

. . . ἤτοι καὶ τεά κεν,
Ἐνδομάχας ἅτ' ἀλέκτωρ,
Συγγόνῳ παρ' ἑσσὶα
Ἀκλεὴς τιμὰ κατεφυλλορόησε ποδῶν·
Εἰ μὴ σὰσις ἀνὶάνειρα
Κνωσὶας ἄμερσε πάτρας.* OLYMP. xii.

If my childish revolt against the religion of my country had not stripped me in time of my academic gown, the five important years, so liberally improved in the studies and conversation of Lausanne, would have been steeped in port and prejudice among the monks of Oxford. Had the fa-

* Thus, like the crested bird of Mars, at home
Engag'd in foul domestic jars,
And wasted with intestine wars,
Inglorious hadst 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 *Pind.*

tigue

tigue of idleness compelled me to read, the path of learning would not have been enlightened by a ray of philosophic freedom. I should have grown to manhood ignorant of the life and language of Europe, and my knowlege of the world would have been confined to an English cloister. But my religious error fixed me at Lausanne, in a state of banishment and disgrace. The rigid course of discipline and abstinence, to which I was condemned, invigorated the constitution of my mind and body; poverty and pride estranged me from my countrymen. One mischief, however, and in their eyes a serious and irreparable mischief, was derived from the success of my Swiss education: I had ceased to be an Englishman. At the flexible period of youth, from the age of sixteen to twenty-one, my opinions, habits, and sentiments were cast in a foreign mould; the faint and distant remembrance of England was almost obliterated; my native language was grown less familiar; and I should have cheerfully accepted the offer of a moderate independence on the terms of perpetual exile. By the good sense and temper of Pavilliard my yoke was insensibly lightened: he left me master of my time and actions; but he could neither change my situation, nor increase my allowance, and with the progress of my years and reason I impatiently sighed for the moment of my deliverance. At length, in the Spring of the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-eight, my father signified his permission and his pleasure that I should immediately return home. We were then in the midst of a war: the resent-

resentment of the French at our taking their ships without a declaration, had rendered that polite nation somewhat peevish and difficult. They denied a passage to English travellers, and the road through Germany was circuitous, toilsome, and perhaps in the neighbourhood of the armies, exposed to some danger. In this perplexity, two Swiss officers of my acquaintance in the Dutch service, who were returning to their garrisons, offered to conduct me through France as one of their companions; nor did we sufficiently reflect that my borrowed name and regimentals might have been considered, in case of a discovery, in a very serious light. I took my leave of Lausanne on the 11th April 1758, with a mixture of joy and regret, in the firm resolution of revisiting, as a man, the persons and places which had been so dear to my youth. We travelled slowly, but pleasantly, in a hired coach, over the hills of Franche-compté and the fertile province of Lorraine, and passed, without accident or inquiry, through several fortified towns of the French frontier: from thence we entered the wild Ardennes of the Austrian dutchy of Luxemburg; and after crossing the Meuse at Liege, we traversed the heaths of Brabant, and reached, on the fifteenth day, our Dutch garrison of Bois le Duc. In our passage through Nancy, my eye was gratified by the aspect of a regular and beautiful city, the work of Stanislaus, who, after the storms of Polish royalty, reposed in the love and gratitude of his new subjects of Lorraine. In our halt at Maestricht I visited Mr. de Beaufort, a learned critic, who

who was known to me by his specious arguments against the five first centuries of the Roman History. After dropping my regimental companions, I stepped aside to visit Rotterdam and the Hague. I wished to have observed a country, the monument of freedom and industry; but my days were numbered, and a longer delay would have been ungraceful. I hastened to embark at the Brill, landed the next day at Harwich, and proceeded to London, where my father awaited my arrival. The whole term of my first absence from England was four years ten months and fifteen days.

In the prayers of the church our personal concerns are judiciously reduced to the threefold distinction of *mind*, *body*, and *estate*. The sentiments of the mind excite and exercise our social sympathy. The review of my moral and literary character is the most interesting to myself and to the public; and I may expatiate, without reproach, on my private studies; since they have produced the public writings, which can alone entitle me to the esteem and friendship of my readers. The experience of the world inculcates a discreet reserve on the subject of our person and estate, and we soon learn that a free disclosure of our riches or poverty would provoke the malice of envy, or encourage the insolence of contempt.

The only person in England whom I was impatient to see was my aunt Porten, the affectionate guardian of my tender years. I hastened to her house in College-street, Westminster; and the evening was spent in the effusions of joy and confidence.

It

It was not without some awe and apprehension that I approached the presence of my father. My infancy, to speak the truth, had been neglected at home; the severity of his look and language at our last parting still dwelt on my memory; nor could I form any notion of his character, or my probable reception. They were both more agreeable than I could expect. The domestic discipline of our ancestors has been relaxed by the philosophy and softness of the age; and if my father remembered that he had trembled before a stern parent, it was only to adopt with his own son an opposite mode of behaviour. He received me as a man and a friend; all constraint was banished at our first interview, and we ever afterwards continued on the same terms of easy and equal politeness. He applauded the success of my education; every word and action was expressive of the most cordial affection; and our lives would have passed without a cloud, if his œconomy had been equal to his fortune, or if his fortune had been equal to his desires. During my absence he had married his second wife, Miss Dorothea Patton, who was introduced to me with the most unfavourable prejudice. I considered his second marriage as an act of displeasure, and I was disposed to hate the rival of my mother. But the injustice was in my own fancy, and the imaginary monster was an amiable and deserving woman. I could not be mistaken in the first view of her understanding, her knowledge, and the elegant spirit of her conversation: her polite welcome, and her assiduous care to study and gratify my wishes, announced

nounced at least that the surface would be smooth; and my suspicions of art and falsehood were gradually dispelled by the full discovery of her warm and exquisite sensibility. After some reserve on my side, our minds associated in confidence and friendship; and as Mrs. Gibbon had neither children nor the hopes of children, we more easily adopted the tender names and genuine characters of mother and of son. By the indulgence of these parents, I was left at liberty to consult my taste or reason in the choice of place, of company, and of amusements; and my excursions were bounded only by the limits of the island, and the measure of my income. Some faint efforts were made to procure me the employment of secretary to a foreign embassy; and I listened to a scheme which would again have transported me to the continent. Mrs. Gibbon, with seeming wisdom, exhorted me to take chambers in the Temple, and devote my leisure to the study of the law. I cannot repent of having neglected her advice. Few men, without the spur of necessity, have resolution to force their way through the thorns and thickets of that gloomy labyrinth. Nature had not endowed me with the bold and ready eloquence which makes itself heard amidst the tumult of the bar; and I should probably have been diverted from the labours of literature, without acquiring the fame or fortune of a successful pleader. I had no need to call to my aid the regular duties of a profession; every day, every hour, was agreeably filled; nor have I known, like so many

many of my countrymen, the tediousness of an idle life.

Of the two years (May 1758—May 1760,) between my return to England and the embodying of the Hampshire militia, I passed about nine months in London, and the remainder in the country. The metropolis affords many amusements, which are open to all. It is itself an astonishing and perpetual spectacle to the curious eye; and each taste, each sense may be gratified by the variety of objects which will occur in the long circuit of a morning walk. I assiduously frequented the theatres at a very propitious æra of the stage, when a constellation of excellent actors, both in tragedy and comedy, was eclipsed by the meridian brightness of Garrick in the maturity of his judgment, and vigour of his performance. The pleasures of a town-life are within the reach of every man who is regardless of his health, his money, and his company. By the contagion of example I was sometimes seduced; but the better habits, which I had formed at Lausanne, induced me to seek a more elegant and rational society; and if my search was less easy and successful than I might have hoped, I shall at present impute the failure to the disadvantages of my situation and character. Had the rank and fortune of my parents given them an annual establishment in London, their own house would have introduced me to a numerous and polite circle of acquaintance. But my father's taste had always preferred the highest and the lowest company, for which he was equally qualified; and after a twelve years' retirement,

ment, he was no longer in the memory of the great with whom he had associated. I found myself a stranger in the midst of a vast and unknown city; and at my entrance into life I was reduced to some dull family parties, and some scattered connections, which were not such as I should have chosen for myself. The most useful friends of my father were the Mallets: they received me with civility and kindness at first on his account, and afterwards on my own; and (if I may use Lord Chesterfield's words) I was soon *domesticated* in their house. Mr. Mallet, a name among the English poets, is praised by an unforgiving enemy, for the ease and elegance of his conversation, and his wife was not destitute of wit or learning. By his assistance I was introduced to lady Hervey, the mother of the present earl of Bristol. Her age and infirmities confined her at home; her dinners were select; in the evening her house was open to the best company of both sexes and all nations; nor was I displeased at her preference and affectation of the manners, the language, and the literature of France. But my progress in the English world was in general left to my own efforts, and those efforts were languid and slow. I had not been endowed by art or nature with those happy gifts of confidence and address, which unlock every door and every bosom; nor would it be reasonable to complain of the just consequences of my sickly childhood, foreign education, and reserved temper. While coaches were rattling through Bond-street, I have passed many a solitary evening in my lodging with my books.

My studies were sometimes interrupted by a sigh, which I breathed towards Lausanne; and on the approach of Spring, I withdrew without reluctance from the noisy and extensive scene of crowds without company, and dissipation without pleasure. In each of the twenty-five years of my acquaintance with London (1758---1783) the prospect gradually brightened; and this unfavourable picture most properly belongs to the first period after my return from Switzerland.

My father's residence in Hampshire, where I have passed many light, and some heavy hours, was at Buriton, near Petersfield, one mile from the Portsmouth road, and at the easy distance of fifty-eight miles from London.* An old mansion, in a state of decay, had been converted into the fashion and convenience of a modern house; and if strangers had nothing to see, the inhabitants had little to desire. The spot was not happily chosen, at the end of the village and the bottom of the hill: but the aspect of the adjacent grounds was various and cheerful; the downs commanded a noble prospect, and the long hanging woods in sight of the house could not perhaps have been improved by art or expense. My father kept in his own hands the whole of the estate, and even rented some additional land; and whatsoever might be the balance of profit and loss, the farm supplied him with amusement and plenty. The produce maintained a number of men and horses, which were multi-

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

plied

plied by the intermixture of domestic and rural servants; and in the intervals of labour the favourite team, a handsome set of bays or greys, was harnessed to the coach. The œconomy of the house was regulated by the taste and prudence of Mrs. Gibbon. She prided herself in the elegance of her occasional dinners; and from the uncleanly avarice of Madame Pavilliard, I was suddenly transported to the daily neatness and luxury of an English table. Our immediate neighbourhood was rare and rustic; but from the verge of our hills, as far as Chichester and Goodwood, the western district of Sussex was interspersed with noble seats and hospitable families, with whom we cultivated a friendly, and might have enjoyed a very frequent, intercourse. As my stay at Buriton was always voluntary, I was received and dismissed with smiles; but the comforts of my retirement did not depend on the ordinary pleasures of the country. My father could never inspire me with his love and knowledge of farming. I never handled a gun, I seldom mounted an horse; and my philosophic walks were soon terminated by a shady bench, where I was long detained by the sedentary amusement of reading or meditation. At home I occupied a pleasant and spacious apartment; the library on the same floor was soon considered as my peculiar domain; and I might say with truth, that I was never less alone than when by myself. My sole complaint, which I piously suppressed, arose from the kind restraint imposed on the freedom of my time. By the habit of early rising I always secured a sacred

portion of the day, and many scattered moments were stolen and employed by my studious industry. But the family hours of breakfast, of dinner, of tea, and of supper, were regular and long: after breakfast Mrs. Gibbon expected my company in her dressing-room; after tea my father claimed my conversation and the perusal of the newspapers; and in the midst of an interesting work I was often called down to receive the visit of some idle neighbours. Their dinners and visits required, in due season, a similar return; and I dreaded the period of the full moon, which was usually reserved for our more distant excursions. I could not refuse attending my father, in the summer of 1759, to the races at Stockbridge, Reading, and Odiam, where he had entered a horse for the hunters' plate; and I was not displeased with the sight of our Olympic games, the beauty of the spot, the fleetness of the horses, and the gay tumult of the numerous spectators. As soon as the militia business was agitated, many days were tediously consumed in meetings of deputy-lieutenants at Petersfield, Alton, and Winchester. In the close of the same year, 1759, Sir Simeon (then Mr.) Stewart attempted an unsuccessful contest for the county of Southampton, against Mr. Legge, Chancellor of the Exchequer: a well-known contest, in which Lord Bute's influence was first exerted and censured. Our canvass at Portsmouth and Gosport lasted several days; but the interruption of my studies was compensated in some degree by the spectacle of English manners, and the acquisition of some practical knowledge.

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If in a more domestic or more dissipated scene my application was somewhat relaxed, the love of knowledge was inflamed and gratified by the command of books; and I compared the poverty of Lausanne with the plenty of London. My father's study at Buriton was stuffed with much trash of the last age, with much high church divinity and politics, which have long since gone to their proper place: yet it contained some valuable editions of the classics and the fathers, the choice, as it should seem, of Mr. Law; and many English publications of the times had been occasionally added. From this slender beginning I have gradually formed a numerous and select library, the foundation of my works, and the best comfort of my life, both at home and abroad. On the receipt of the first quarter, a large share of my allowance was appropriated to my literary wants. I cannot forget the joy with which I exchanged a bank-note of twenty pounds for the twenty volumes of the Memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptions; nor would it have been easy, by any other expenditure of the same sum, to have procured so large and lasting a fund of rational amusement. At a time when I most assiduously frequented this school of ancient literature, I thus expressed my opinion of a learned and various collection, which since the year 1759 has been doubled in magnitude, though not in merit—"Une de ces societés, qui ont mieux immortalisé Louis XIV. qu'une ambition souvent pernicieuse aux hommes, com-

mençoit déjà ces recherches qui réunissent la justesse de l'esprit, l'aménité et l'érudition: où l'on voit tant de découvertes, et quelquefois, ce qui ne cède qu'à peine aux découvertes, une *ignorance* modeste et *savante*." The review of my library must be reserved for the period of its maturity; but in this place I may allow myself to observe, that I am not conscious of having ever bought a book from a motive of ostentation, that every volume, before it was deposited on the shelf, was either read or sufficiently examined, and that I soon adopted the tolerating maxim of the elder Pliny, " nullum esse librum tam malum ut non ex aliquâ parte prodesset." I could not yet find leisure or courage to renew the pursuit of the Greek language, excepting by reading the lessons of the Old and New Testament every Sunday, when I attended the family to church. The series of my Latin authors was less strenuously completed; but the acquisition, by inheritance or purchase, of the best editions of Cicero, Quintilian, Livy, Tacitus, Ovid, &c. afforded a fair prospect, which I seldom neglected. I persevered in the useful method of abstracts and observations; and a single example may suffice, of a note which had almost swelled into a work. The solution of a passage of Livy (xxxviii. 38) involved me in the dry and dark treatises of Greaves, Arbuthnot, Hooper, Bernard, Eisenschmidt, Gronovius, La Barré, Freret, &c.; and in my French essay (chap. 20.) I ridiculously send the reader to my own *manuscript*

manuscript remarks on the weights, coins, and measures of the ancients, which were abruptly terminated by the militia drum.

As I am now entering on a more ample field of society and study, I can only hope to avoid a vain and prolix garrulity, by overlooking the vulgar crowd of my acquaintance, and confining myself to such intimate friends among books and men, as are best entitled to my notice by their own merit and reputation, or by the deep impression which they have left on my mind. Yet I will embrace this occasion of recommending to the young student a practice, which about this time I myself adopted. After glancing my eye over the design and order of a new book, I suspended the perusal till I had finished the task of self-examination, till I had revolved, in a solitary walk, all that I knew or believed, or had thought on the subject of the whole work, or of some particular chapter: I was then qualified to discern how much the author added to my original stock; and if I was sometimes satisfied by the agreement, I was sometimes armed by the opposition, of our ideas. The favourite companions of my leisure were our English writers since the Revolution: they breathe the spirit of reason and liberty; and they most seasonably contributed to restore the purity of my own language, which had been corrupted by the long use of a foreign idiom. By the judicious advice of Mr. Mallet, I was directed to the writings of Swift and Addison; wit and simplicity are their common attributes: but the style of Swift is supported by manly

manly original vigour; that of Addison is adorned by the female graces of elegance and mildness. The old reproach, that no British altars had been raised to the Muse of history, was recently disproved by the first performances of Robertson and Hume, the histories of Scotland and of the Stuarts. I will assume the presumption of saying, that I was not unworthy to read them: nor will I disguise my different feelings in the repeated perusals. The perfect composition, the nervous language, the well-turned periods of Dr. Robertson, inflamed me to the ambitious hope that I might one day tread in his footsteps: the calm philosophy, the careless inimitable beauties of his friend and rival, often forced me to close the volume with a mixed sensation of delight and despair.

The design of my first work, the Essay on the Study of Literature, was suggested by a refinement of vanity, the desire of justifying and praising the object of a favourite pursuit. In France, to which my ideas were confined, the learning and language of Greece and Rome were neglected by a philosophic age. The guardian of those studies, the Academy of Inscriptions, was degraded to the lowest rank among the three royal societies of Paris: the new appellation of Erudits was contemptuously applied to the successors of Lipsius and Casaubon; and I was provoked to hear (see M. d'Alembert, Discours préliminaire à l'Encyclopédie) that the exercise of the memory, their sole merit, had been superseded by the nobler faculties of the imagination and the judgment. I

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was ambitious of proving by my own example, as well as by my precepts, that all the faculties of the mind may be exercised and displayed by the study of ancient literature; I began to select and adorn the various proofs and illustrations which had offered themselves in reading the classics; and the first pages or chapters of my essay were composed before my departure from Lausanne. The hurry of the journey, and of the first weeks of my English life, suspended all thoughts of serious application: but my object was ever before my eyes; and no more than ten days, from the first to the eleventh of July, were suffered to elapse after my summer establishment at Buriton. My essay was finished in about six weeks; and as soon as a fair copy had been transcribed by one of the French prisoners at Petersfield, I looked round for a critic and judge of my first performance. A writer can seldom be content with the doubtful recompense of solitary approbation; but a youth ignorant of the world, and of himself, must desire to weigh his talents in some scales less partial than his own: my conduct was natural, my motive laudable, my choice of Dr. Maty judicious and fortunate. By descent and education Dr. Maty, though born in Holland, might be considered as a Frenchman; but he was fixed in London by the practice of physic, and an office in the British Museum. His reputation was justly founded on the eighteen volumes of the *Journal Brittannique*, which he had supported, almost alone, with perseverance and success. This humble though useful labour,

labour, which had once been dignified by the genius of Bayle and the learning of Le Clerc, was not disgraced by the taste, the knowledge, and the judgment of Maty: he exhibits a candid and pleasing view of the state of literature in England during a period of six years (January 1750—December 1755;) and, far different from his angry son, he handles the rod of criticism with the tenderness and reluctance of a parent. The author of the *Journal Brittannique* sometimes aspires to the character of a poet and philosopher: his style is pure and elegant; and in his virtues, or even in his defects, he may be ranked as one of the last disciples of the school of Fontenelle. His answer to my first letter was prompt and polite: after a careful examination he returned my manuscript, with some animadversion and much applause; and when I visited London in the ensuing winter, we discussed the design and execution in several free and familiar conversations. In a short excursion to Buriton I reviewed my essay, according to his friendly advice; and after suppressing a third, adding a third, and altering a third, I consummated my first labour by a short preface, which is dated February 3d, 1759. Yet I still shrunk from the press with the terrors of virgin modesty: the manuscript was safely deposited in my desk; and as my attention was engaged by new objects, the delay might have been prolonged till I had fulfilled the precept of Horace, "nonumque prematur in annum." Father Sirmond, a learned jesuit, was still more rigid, since

since he advised a young friend to expect the mature age of fifty, before he gave himself or his writings to the public (Olivet Histoire de l'Académie Françoise, tom. ii. p. 143.) The counsel was singular; but it is still more singular that it should have been approved by the example of the author. Sirmond was himself fifty-five years of age when he published (in 1614) his first work, an edition of Sidonius Apollinaris, with many valuable annotations: (see his life, before the great edition of his works in five volumes folio, Paris, 1696, é Typographiâ Regiâ.)

Two years elapsed in silence: but in the spring of 1761 I yielded to the authority of a parent, and complied, like a pious son, with the wish of my own heart.* My private resolves were influenced

* 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.

fluenced by the state of Europe. About this time the belligerent powers had made and accepted overtures of peace; our English plenipotentiaries were named to assist at the Congress of Augsbourg, which never met: I wished to attend them as a gentleman or a secretary; and my father fondly believed that the proof of some literary talents might introduce me to public notice, and second the recommendations of my friends. After a last revisal I consulted with Mr. Mallet and Dr. Maty, who approved the design and promoted the execution. Mr. Mallet, after hearing me read my manuscript, received it from my hands, and delivered it into those of Becket, with whom he made an agreement in my name; an easy agreement: I required only a certain number of copies; and, without transferring my property, I devolved on the bookseller the charges and profits of the edition. Dr. Maty undertook, in my absence, to correct the sheets: he inserted, without my knowledge, an elegant and flattering epistle to the author; which is composed, however, with so much art, that, in case of a defeat, his favourable report might have been ascribed to the indulgence

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.

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of a friend for the rash attempt of a *young English* gentleman. The work was printed and published, under the title of Essai sur l'Étude de la Littérature, à Londres, chez T. Becket et P. A. de Hondt, 1761, in a small volume in duodecimo: my dedication to my father, a proper and pious address, was composed the twenty-eighth of May: Dr. Maty's letter is dated the 16th of June; and I received the first copy (June 23d) at Alresford, two days before I marched with the Hampshire militia. Some weeks afterwards, on the same ground, I presented my book to the late Duke of York, who breakfasted in Colonel Pitt's tent. By my father's direction, and Mallet's advice, many literary gifts were distributed to several eminent characters in England and France; two books were sent to the Count de Caylus, and the Duchesse d'Aiguillon, at Paris: I had reserved twenty copies for my friends at Lausanne, as the first fruits of my education, and a grateful token of my remembrance: and on all these persons I levied an unavoidable tax of civility and compliment. It is not surprising that a work, of which the style and sentiments were so totally foreign, should have been more successful abroad than at home. I was delighted by the copious extracts, the warm commendations, and the flattering predictions of the Journals of France and Holland: and the next year (1762) a new edition (I believe at Geneva) extended the fame, or at least the circulation, of the work. In England it was received with cold indifference, little read, and speedily forgotten: a small

small impression was slowly dispersed; the bookseller murmured, and the author (had his feelings been more exquisite) might have wept over the blunders and baldness of the English translation. The publication of my History fifteen years afterwards revived the memory of my first performance, and the Essay was eagerly sought in the shops. But I refused the permission which Becket solicited of reprinting it: the public curiosity was imperfectly satisfied by a pirated copy of the booksellers of Dublin; and when a copy of the original edition has been discovered in a sale, the primitive value of half-a-crown has risen to the fanciful price of a guinea or thirty shillings.

I have expatiated on the petty circumstances and period of my first publication, a memorable æra in the life of a student, when he ventures to reveal the measure of his mind: his hopes and fears are multiplied by the idea of self-importance, and he believes for a while that the eyes of mankind are fixed on his person and performance. Whatever may be my present reputation, it no longer rests on the merit of this first essay; and at the end of twenty-eight years I may appreciate my juvenile work with the impartiality, and almost with the indifference, of a stranger. In his answer to Lady Hervey, the Count de Caylus admires, or affects to admire, "les livres sans nombre que Mr. Gibbon a lus et très bien lus."* But, alas! my stock of erudition at that time was

* See Appendix, Letter No. XIII.

scanty

scanty and superficial; and if I allow myself the liberty of naming the Greek masters, my genuine and personal acquaintance was confined to the Latin classics. The most serious defect of my Essay is a kind of obscurity and abruptness which always fatigues, and may often elude, the attention of the reader. Instead of a precise and proper definition of the title itself, the sense of the word *Littérature* is loosely and variously applied: a number of remarks and examples, historical, critical, philosophical, are heaped on each other without method or connection; and if we except some introductory pages, all the remaining chapters might indifferently be reversed or transposed. The obscurity of many passages is often affected, *brevis esse laboro, obscurus fio;* the desire of expressing perhaps a common idea with sententious and oracular brevity: alas! how fatal has been the imitation of Montesquieu! But this obscurity sometimes proceeds from a mixture of light and darkness in the author's mind; from a partial ray which strikes upon an angle, instead of spreading itself over the surface of an object. After this fair confession I shall presume to say, that the Essay does credit to a young writer of two and twenty years of age, who had read with taste, who thinks with freedom, and who writes in a foreign language with spirit and elegance. The defence of the early History of Rome and the new Chronology of Sir Isaac Newton form a specious argument. The patriotic and political design of the Georgics is happily conceived; and any probable conjecture,

which tends to raise the dignity of the poet and the poem, deserves to be adopted, without a rigid scrutiny. Some dawnings of a philosophic spirit enlighten the general remarks on the study of history and of man. I am not displeased with the inquiry into the origin and nature of the gods of polytheism, which might deserve the illustration of a riper judgment. Upon the whole, I may apply to the first labour of my pen the speech of a far superior artist, when he surveyed the first productions of his pencil. After viewing some portraits which he had painted in his youth, my friend Sir Joshua Reynolds acknowledged to me, that he was rather humbled than flattered by the comparison with his present works; and that after so much time and study, he had conceived his improvement to be much greater than he found it to have been.

At Lausanne I composed the first chapters of my Essay in French, the familiar language of my conversation and studies, in which it was easier for me to write than in my mother-tongue. After my return to England I continued the same practice, without any affectation, or design of repudiating (as Dr. Bentley would say) my vernacular idiom. But I should have escaped some Anti-gallican clamour, had I been content with the more natural character of an English author. I should have been more consistent had I rejected Mallet's advice, of prefixing an English dedication to a French book; a confusion of tongues that seemed to accuse the ignorance of my patron. The use of a foreign dialect might be excused

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by the hope of being employed as a negociator, by the desire of being generally understood on the continent; but my true motive was doubtless the ambition of new and singular fame, an Englishman claiming a place among the writers of France. The Latin tongue had been consecrated by the service of the church, it was refined by the imitation of the ancients; and in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the scholars of Europe enjoyed the advantage, which they have gradually resigned, of conversing and writing in a common and learned idiom. As that idiom was no longer in any country the vulgar speech, they all stood on a level with each other; yet a citizen of old Rome might have smiled at the best Latinity of the Germans and Britons; and we may learn from the *Ciceronianus* of Erasmus, how difficult it was found to steer a middle course between pedantry and barbarism. The Romans themselves had sometimes attempted a more perilous task, of writing in a living language, and appealing to the taste and judgment of the natives. The vanity of Tully was doubly interested in the Greek memoirs of his own consulship; and if he modestly supposes that some Latinisms might be detected in his style, he is confident of his own skill in the art of Isocrates and Aristotle; and he requests his friend Atticus to disperse the copies of his work at Athens, and in the other cities of Greece, (*ad Atticum*, i. 19. ii. 1.) But it must not be forgotten, that from infancy to manhood Cicero and his contemporaries had read and declaimed,

and composed with equal diligence in both languages; and that he was not allowed to frequent a Latin school till he had imbibed the lessons of the Greek grammarians and rhetoricians. In modern times, the language of France has been diffused by the merit of her writers, the social manners of the natives, the influence of the monarchy, and the exile of the protestants. Several foreigners have seized the opportunity of speaking to Europe in this common dialect, and Germany may plead the authority of Leibnitz and Frederic, of the first of her philosophers, and the greatest of her kings. The just pride and laudable prejudice of England has restrained this communication of idioms; and of all the nations on this side of the Alps, my countrymen are the least practised, and least perfect in the exercise of the French tongue. By Sir William Temple and Lord Chesterfield it was only used on occasions of civility and business, and their printed letters will not be quoted as models of composition. Lord Bolingbroke may have published in French a sketch of his Reflections on Exile: but his reputation now reposes on the address of Voltaire, "Docte sermones utriusque linguæ;" and by his English dedication to Queen Caroline, and his Essay on Epic Poetry, it should seem that Voltaire himself wished to deserve a return of the same compliment. The exception of Count Hamilton cannot fairly be urged; though an Irishman by birth, he was educated in France from his childhood. Yet I am surprised that a long residence in England, and the habits of domestic

domestic conversation, did not affect the ease and purity of his inimitable style; and I regret the omission of his English verses, which might have afforded an amusing object of comparison. I might therefore assume the *primus ego in patriam, &c.* but with what success I have explored this untrodden path must be left to the decision of my French readers. Dr. Maty, who might himself be questioned as a foreigner, has secured his retreat at my expense. "Je ne crois pas que vous vous piquiez d'être moins facile à reconnoître pour un Anglois que Lucullus pour un Romain." My friends at Paris have been more indulgent, they received me as a countryman, or at least as a provincial; but they were friends and Parisians.* The defects which Maty insinuates, "Ces traits saillans, ces figures hardies, ce sacrifice de la règle au sentiment, et de la cadence à la force," are the faults of the youth, rather than of the stranger: and after the long and laborious exercise of my own language, I am conscious that my French style has been ripened and improved.

I have already hinted, that the publication of my Essay was delayed till I had embraced the military profession. I shall now amuse myself with the recollection of an active scene, which bears no

* 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.

affinity to any other period of my studious and social life.

In the outset of a glorious war, the English people had been defended by the aid of German mercenaries. A national militia has been the cry of every patriot since the Revolution; and this measure, both in parliament and in the field, was supported by the country gentlemen or Tories, who insensibly transferred their loyalty to the house of Hanover: in the language of Mr. Burke, they have changed the idol, but they have preserved the idolatry. In the act of offering our names and receiving our commissions, as major and captain in the Hampshire regiment, (June 12th, 1759,) we had not supposed that we should be dragged away, my father from his farm, myself from my books, and condemned, during two years and a half, (May 10, 1760—December 23, 1762,) to a wandering life of military servitude. But a weekly or monthly exercise of thirty thousand provincials would have left them useless and ridiculous; and after the pretence of an invasion had vanished, the popularity of Mr. Pitt gave a sanction to the illegal step of keeping them till the end of the war under arms, in constant pay and duty, and at a distance from their respective homes. When the King's order for our embodying came down, it was too late to retreat, and too soon to repent. The South battalion of the Hampshire militia was a small independent corps of four hundred and seventy-six, officers and men, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Thomas Worsley, who, after a prolix and passionate contest,

test, delivered us from the tyranny of the Lord Lieutenant, the Duke of Bolton. My proper station, as first captain, was at the head of my own, and afterwards of the grenadier company; but in the absence, or even in the presence, of the two field officers, I was entrusted by my friend and my father with the effective labour of dictating the orders, and exercising the battalion. With the help of an original journal, I could write the history of my bloodless and inglorious compaigns; but as these events have lost much of their importance in my own eyes, they shall be dispatched in a few words. From Winchester, the first place of assembly, (June 4, 1760,) we were removed, at our own request, for the benefit of a foreign education. By the arbitrary, and often capricious, orders of the War Office, the battalion successively marched to the pleasant and hospitable Blandford (June 17;) to Hilsea barracks, a seat of disease and discord (September 1;) to Cranbrook in the Weald of Kent (December 11;) to the sea-coast of Dover (December 27;) to Winchester camp (June 25, 1761;) to the populous and disorderly town of Devizes (October 23;) to Salisbury (February 28, 1762;) to our beloved Blandford a second time (March 9;) and finally, to the fashionable resort of Southampton (June 2;) where the colours were fixed till our final dissolution (December 23.) On the beach at Dover we had exercised in sight of the Gallic shores. But the most splendid and useful scene of our life was a four months encampment on Winchester Down, under the command of the Earl of Effingham. Our army consisted of the thirty-fourth regiment of

foot and six militia corps. The consciousness of defects was stimulated by friendly emulation. We improved our time and opportunities in morning and evening field-days; and in the general reviews the South Hampshire were rather a credit than a disgrace to the line. In our subsequent quarters of the Devizes and Blandford, we advanced with a quick step in our military studies; the ballot of the ensuing summer renewed our vigour and youth; and had the militia subsisted another year, we might have contested the prize with the most perfect of our brethren.

The loss of so many busy and idle hours was not compensated by any elegant pleasure; and my temper was insensibly soured by the society of our rustic officers. In every state there exists, however, a balance of good and evil. The habits of a sedentary life were usefully broken by the duties of an active profession: in the healthful exercise of the field I hunted with a battalion, instead of a pack; and at that time I was ready, at any hour of the day or night, to fly from quarters to London, from London to quarters, on the slightest call of private or regimental business. But my principal obligation to the militia, was the making me an Englishman, and a soldier. After my foreign education, with my reserved temper, I should long have continued a stranger to my native country, had I not been shaken in this various scene of new faces and new friends: had not experience forced me to feel the characters of our leading men, the state of parties, the forms of office, and the operation of our civil and military system. In this peaceful

peaceful service, I imbibed the rudiments of the language, and science of tactics, which opened a new field of study and observation. I diligently read, and meditated, the *Mémoires Militaires* of Quintus Icilius, (Mr. Guichardt,) the only writer who has united the merits of a professor and a veteran. The discipline and evolutions of a modern battalion gave me a clearer notion of the phalanx and the legion; and the captain of the Hampshire grenadiers (the reader may smile) has not been useless to the historian of the Roman empire.

A youth of any spirit is fired even by the play of arms, and in the first sallies of my enthusiasm I had seriously attempted to embrace the regular profession of a soldier. But this military fever was cooled by the enjoyment of our mimic Bellona, who soon unveiled to my eyes her naked deformity. How often did I sigh for my proper station in society and letters! How often (a proud comparison) did I repeat the complaint of Cicero in the command of a provincial army! "Clitellæ bovi sunt impositæ. Est incredibile quàm me negotii tædeat. Non habet satis magnum campum ille tibi non ignotus cursus animi; et industriæ meæ præclara opera cessat. Lucem, *libros*, urbem, domum, vos desidero. Sed feram, ut potero; sit modo annuum. Si prorogatur, actum est."* From a service without danger I might indeed have retired without disgrace; but as often as I hinted a wish of resigning, my fetters were rivetted by the friendly en-

* Epist. ad Atticum, lib. v. 15.

treaties

treaties of the colonel, the parental authority of the major, and my own regard for the honour and welfare of the battalion. When I felt that my personal escape was impracticable, I bowed my neck to the yoke: my servitude was protracted far beyond the annual patience of Cicero; and it was not till after the preliminaries of peace that I received my discharge, from the act of government which disembodied the militia.*

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* 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

When I complain of the loss of time, justice to myself and to the militia must throw the greatest part

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 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 *Bibliothèque des Sciences*, &c. from July to October: both these Journals speak very handsomely of my book.

December 25th, 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

part of that reproach on the first seven or eight months, while I was obliged to learn as well as to teach.

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 Essai sur l'Étude 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, nor 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 candour, told me he was both willing and able to serve me; that indeed he had already applied to Lord Effingham for Leake, 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 Leake 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 22.]—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

teach. The dissipation of Blandford, and the disputes of Portsmouth, consumed the hours which were

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 consideration, 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 *Bibliothèque Universelle*, to look into the *Bibliothèque Choisie*, which is by far the better work.

September

were not employed in the field; and amid the perpetual hurry of an inn, a barrack, or a guard-room, all

September 23d.]—Colonel Wilkes, of the Buckinghamshire 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 humour, and a great deal of knowledge; but a thorough profligate in principle as in practice, his life stained with every vice, and his conversation full of blasphemy and indecency. These morals he glories in—for shame is a weakness he has long since surmounted. He told us himself, that in this time of public dissension he was resolved to make his fortune. Upon this noble 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.

		No. of Files.		No. of Men.		Establishment.
Berkshire,	Grenadiers, 19 Battalion, 72	91	—	273	—	560
W. Essex,	Grenadiers, 15 Battalion, 80	95	—	285	—	480
S. Glóster,	Grenadiers, 20 Battalion, 84	104	—	312	—	600

N. Glóster,

all literary ideas were banished from my mind. After this long fast, the longest which I have ever known,

		No. of Files.	No. of Men.	Establishment.
N. Glóster,	Grenadiers, 13 Battalion, 52	65	— 195	— 360
Lancashire,	Grenadiers, 20 Battalion, 88	108	— 324	— 800
Wiltshire,	Grenadiers, 24 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 phenomenon: what must it be upon foreign service? I doubt whether a nominal army of an 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 had

known, I once more tasted at Dover the pleasures of reading and thinking; and the hungry appetite with

had 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 route 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

with which I opened a volume of Tully's philosophical works is still present to my memory. The last

fashioned breeding, which is at once so honourable 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 colours, 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 the 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 honour. 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

last review of my Essay before its publication, had prompted me to investigate the *nature of the gods;* my inquiries led me to the Histoire Critique du Manichéisme of Beausobre, who discusses many deep questions of Pagan and Christian theology; and from this rich treasury of facts and opinions, I deduced my own consequences, beyond the holy circle of the author. After this recovery I never relapsed into indolence; and my example might prove, that in the life most averse to study, some hours may be stolen, some minutes may be snatched. Amidst

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, connections, 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.

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the tumult of Winchester camp I sometimes thought and read in my tent; in the more settled quarters of the Devizes, Blandford, and Southampton, I always secured a separate lodging, and the necessary books; and in the summer of 1762, while the new militia was raising, I enjoyed at Beriton two or three months of literary repose.* In forming a new plan of study, I hesitated between the mathematics and the Greek language; both of which I had neglected since my return from Lausanne. I consulted a learned and friendly mathematician, Mr. George Scott, a pupil of de Moivre; and his map of a country which I have never explored, may perhaps be more serviceable to others.† As soon as I had

* 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 conveniencies 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.

† See Appendix, Letter, No. XIV. from Mr. Scott to Mr. Gibbon.

given the preference to Greek, the example of Scaliger and my own reason determined me on the choice of Homer, the father of poetry, and the Bible of the ancients: but Scaliger ran through the Iliad in one and twenty days; and I was not dissatisfied with my own diligence for performing the same labour in an equal number of weeks. After the first difficulties were surmounted, the language of nature and harmony soon became easy and familiar, and each day I sailed upon the ocean with a brisker gale and a more steady course.

Ἐν δ' ἄνεμος πρῆσεν μέσον ἰξίον, ἀμφὶ δε κῦμα
Στείρη πορφύρεον μεγάλ' ἴαχε, νηὸς ἰούσης·
Ἡ δ' ἔθεεν κατα κῦμα διαπρήσσουσα κέλευθα.*

ILIAS, A. 481.

In the study of a poet who has since become the most intimate of my friends, I successively applied many passages and fragments of Greek writers; and among these I shall notice a life of Homer, in the Opuscula Mythologica of Gale, several books of the geography of Strabo, and the entire treatise of Longinus, which, from the title and the style, is equally worthy of the epithet of *sublime*. My grammatical skill was improved, my vocabulary was enlarged; and in the militia I acquired a just

* —— Fair wind, and blowing fresh,
Apollo sent them; quick they rear'd the mast,
Then spread th' unsullied canvass to the gale,
And the wind fill'd it. Roar'd the sable flood
Around the bark, that ever as she went
Dash'd wide the brine, and scudded swift away.

COWPER'S *Homer*.

and

and indelible knowledge of the first of languages. On every march, in every journey, Horace was always in my pocket, and often in my hand: but I should not mention his two critical epistles, the amusement of a morning, had they not been accompanied by the elaborate commentary of Dr. Hurd, now Bishop of Worcester. On the interesting subjects of composition and imitation of epic and dramatic poetry, I presumed to think for myself; and thirty close-written pages in folio could scarcely comprise my full and free discussion of the sense of the master and the pedantry of the servant.*

After his oracle Dr. Johnson, my friend Sir Joshua Reynolds denies all original genius, any natural propensity of the mind to one art or science rather than another. Without engaging in a metaphysical or rather verbal dispute, I *know*, by experience, that from my early youth I aspired to the character of an historian. While I served in the militia, before and after the publication of my Essay, this idea ripened in my mind; nor can I paint in more lively colours the feelings of the moment, than by transcribing some passages, under their respective dates, from a journal which I kept at that time.

BERITON, APRIL 14, 1761.

(In a short excursion from Dover.)

"Having thought of several subjects for an historical composition, I chose the expedition of Charles VIII. of France into Italy. I read two

* See Vol. II. Miscellaneous Works.

memoirs of Mr. de Forcemagne in the Academy of Inscriptions, (tom. xvii. p. 539—607.) and abstracted them. I likewise finished this day a dissertation, in which I examine the right of Charles VIII. to the crown of Naples, and the rival claims of the House of Anjou and Arragon: it consists of ten folio pages, besides large notes."*

BERITON, AUGUST 4, 1761.

(In a week's excursion from Winchester camp.)

" After having long revolved subjects for my intended historical essay, I renounced my first thought of the expedition of Charles VIII. as too remote from us, and rather an introduction to great events, than great and important in itself. I successively chose and rejected the crusade of Richard the First, the barons' wars against John and Henry the Third, the history of Edward the Black Prince, the lives and comparisons of Henry V. and the Emperor Titus, the life of Sir Philip Sidney, and that of the Marquis of Montrose. At length I have fixed on Sir Walter Raleigh for my hero. His eventful story is varied by the characters of the soldier and sailor, the courtier and historian; and it may afford such a fund of materials as I desire, which have not yet been properly manufactured. At present I cannot attempt the execution of this work. Free leisure, and the opportunity of consulting many books, both printed and manuscript, are as necessary as they are impossible to be attained in my present way of life. However, to acquire a general in-

* See Vol. II. p. 6.

sight

sight into my subject and resources, I read the life of Sir Walter Raleigh by Dr. Birch, his copious article in the General Dictionary by the same hand, and the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and James the First in Hume's History of England."

BERITON, JANUARY 1762.

(In a month's absence from the Devizes.)

"During this interval of repose, I again turned my thoughts to Sir Walter Raleigh, and looked more closely into my materials. I read the two volumes in quarto of the Bacon Papers, published by Dr. Birch; the Fragmenta Regalia of Sir Robert Naunton, Mallet's Life of Lord Bacon, and the political treatises of that great man in the first volume of his works, with many of his letters in the second; Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts, and the elaborate Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, which Mr. Oldys has prefixed to the best edition of his History of the World. My subject opens upon me, and in general improves upon a nearer prospect."

BERITON, JULY 26, 1762.

(During my summer residence.)

"I am afraid of being reduced to drop my hero; but my time has not, however, been lost in the research of his story, and of a memorable era of our English annals. The Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, by Oldys, is a very poor performance; a servile panegyric, or flat apology, tediously minute, and composed in a dull and affected style. Yet the author was a man of diligence and learning, who had read every thing relative to his subject, and whose

ample collections are arranged with perspicuity and method. Excepting some anecdotes lately revealed in the Sidney and Bacon Papers, I know not what I should be able to add. My ambition (exclusive of the uncertain merit of style and sentiment) must be confined to the hope of giving a good abridgment of Oldys. I have even the disappointment of finding some parts of this copious work very dry and barren; and these parts are unluckily some of the most characteristic: Raleigh's colony of Virginia, his quarrels with Essex, the true secret of his conspiracy, and, above all, the detail of his private life, the most essential and important to a biographer. My best resource would be in the circumjacent history of the times, and perhaps in some digressions artfully introduced, like the fortunes of the Peripatetic philosophy in the portrait of Lord Bacon. But the reigns of Elizabeth and James the First are the periods of English history, which have been the most variously illustrated: and what new lights could I reflect on a subject, which has exercised the accurate industry of *Birch*, the lively and curious acuteness of *Walpole*, the critical spirit of *Hurd*, the vigorous sense of *Mallet* and *Robertson*, and the impartial philosophy of *Hume?* Could I even surmount these obstacles, I should shrink with terror from the modern history of England, where every character is a problem, and every reader a friend or an enemy; where a writer is supposed to hoist a flag of party, and is devoted to damnation by the adverse faction. Such would be *my* reception at home: and abroad, the historian of Raleigh must

must encounter an indifference far more bitter than censure or reproach. The events of his life are interesting; but his character is ambiguous, his actions are obscure, his writings are English, and his fame is confined to the narrow limits of our language and our island. I must embrace a safer and more extensive theme.

"There is one which I should prefer to all others, *The History of the Liberty of the Swiss*, of that independence which a brave people rescued from the House of Austria, defended against a Dauphin of France, and finally sealed with the blood of Charles of Burgundy. From such a theme, so full of public spirit, of military glory, of examples of virtue, of lessons of government, the dullest stranger would catch fire: what might not *I* hope, whose talents, whatsoever they may be, would be inflamed with the zeal of patriotism. But the materials of this history are inaccessible to me, fast locked in the obscurity of an old barbarous German dialect, of which I am totally ignorant, and which I cannot resolve to learn for this sole and peculiar purpose.

"I have another subject in view, which is the contrast of the former history: the one a poor, warlike, virtuous republic, which emerges into glory and freedom; the other a commonwealth, soft, opulent, and corrupt; which, by just degrees, is precipitated from the abuse to the loss of her liberty: both lessons are, perhaps, equally instructive. This second subject is, *The History of the Republic of Florence, under the House of Medicis:* a period of one hundred and fifty years, which rises or descends

scends from the dregs of the Florentine democracy, to the title and dominion of Cosmo de Medicis in the Grand Duchy of Tuscany. I might deduce a chain of revolutions not unworthy of the pen of Vertot; singular men, and singular events; the Medicis four times expelled, and as often recalled; and the Genius of Freedom reluctantly yielding to the arms of Charles V. and the policy of Cosmo. The character and fate of Savanerola, and the revival of arts and letters in Italy, will be essentially connected with the elevation of the family and the fall of the republic. The Medicis, stirps quasi fataliter nata ad instauranda vel fovenda studia, (Lipsius ad Germanos et Gallos, Epist. viii.) were illustrated by the patronage of learning; and enthusiasm was the most formidable weapon of their adversaries. On this splendid subject I shall most probably fix; but *when*, or *where*, or *how* will it be executed? I behold in a dark and doubtful perspective;"

Res altâ terrâ, et caligine mersas.*

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*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 Holt; who, under a great appearance of oddity, conceals more real honour, 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 honour of being a member, affords every even-

ing

The youthful habits of the language and manners of France had left in my mind an ardent desire of revisiting the continent on a larger and more liberal plan. According to the law of custom, and perhaps of reason, foreign travel completes the education of an English gentleman: my father had consented to my

ing 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 bed-chamber; 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 Drury-lane 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 Odyssey*, *the Life of Homer*, and *Longinus* περὶ Ὑψους. 2. Books which I have read, or consulted, to illustrate the former. Such as this year, *Blackwall's Inquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer*, *Burke's Sublime and Beautiful*, *Hurd's Horace*, *Guichardt's Mémoires*

my wish, but I was detained above four years by my rash engagement in the militia. I eagerly grasped the first moments of freedom: three or four weeks in Hampshire and London were employed in the preparations of my journey, and the farewell visits of friendship and civility: my last

Mémoires Militaires, a great variety of passages of the ancients occasionally useful: large extracts from *Mezeriac*, *Bayle*, and *Potter*; and many memoirs and abstracts from the *Academy of Belles Lettres*: 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 MM. Hardion and de Valois; the other upon the Games of the Grecians, by MM. 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 Bibliothèques*, *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.

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act in town was to applaud Mallet's new tragedy of Elvira;* a post-chaise conveyed me to Dover, the packet

* 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 MM. de la Bleterie, de Ste Palaye, Caperonier, du Clos, de Forcemagne, 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, connections, and, indeed, imprudence, we heard nothing but applause. I think it was deserved. The plan was borrowed from M. 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

packet to Boulogne, and such was my diligence, that I reached Paris on the 28th of January 1763, only thirty-six days after the disbanding of the militia. Two or three years were loosely defined for the term of my absence; and I was left at liberty to spend that time in such places and in such a manner as was most agreeable to my taste and judgment.

In this first visit I passed three months and a half, (January 28—May 9,) and a much longer space might have been agreeably filled, without any intercourse with the natives. At home we are content to move in the daily round of pleasure and business; and a scene which is always present is

but for the inconvenience unavoidable upon all theatres, that of entrusting 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 rigour 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.

supposed

supposed to be within our knowledge, or at least within our power. But in a foreign country, curiosity is our business and our pleasure; and the traveller, conscious of his ignorance, and covetous of his time, is diligent in the search and the view of every object that can deserve his attention. I devoted many hours of the morning to the circuit of Paris and the neighbourhood, to the visit of churches and palaces conspicuous by their architecture, to the royal manufactures, collections of books and pictures, and all the various treasures of art, of learning, and of luxury. An Englishman may hear without reluctance, that in these curious and costly articles Paris is superior to London; since the opulence of the French capital arises from the defects of its government and religion. In the absence of Louis XIV. and his successors, the Louvre has been left unfinished: but the millions which have been lavished on the sands of Versailles, and the morass of Marli, could not be supplied by the legal allowance of a British king. The splendour of the French nobles is confined to their town residence; that of the English is more usefully distributed in their country seats; and we should be astonished at our own riches, if the labours of architecture, the spoils of Italy and Greece, which are now scattered from Inverary to Wilton, were accumulated in a few streets between Marybone and Westminster. All superfluous ornament is rejected by the cold frugality of the protestants; but the catholic superstition, which is always the enemy of reason, is often the parent of the arts. The wealthy communities

munities of priests and monks expend their revenues in stately edifices; and the parish church of St. Sulpice, one of the noblest structures in Paris, was built and adorned by the private industry of a late curé. In this outset, and still more in the sequel of my tour, my eye was amused; but the pleasing vision cannot be fixed by the pen; the particular images are darkly seen through the medium of five-and-twenty years, and the narrative of my life must not degenerate into a book of travels.*

But the principal end of my journey was to enjoy the society of a polished and amiable people, in whose favour I was strongly prejudiced, and to converse with some authors, whose conversation,

* JOURNAL, 21 Fevrier, 1763.]—Aujourdhui 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 bibliothèque 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'élève 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 manège 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 les 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.

as I fondly imagined, must be far more pleasing and instructive than their writings. The moment was happily chosen. At the close of a successful war the British name was respected on the continent:

—— Clarum et venerabile nomen
Gentibus.

Our opinions, our fashions, even our games, were adopted in France; a ray of national glory illuminated each individual, and every Englishman was supposed to be born a patriot and a philosopher. For myself, I carried a personal recommendation; my name and my Essay were already known; the compliment of having written in the French language entitled me to some returns of civility and gratitude. I was considered as a man of letters, who wrote for amusement. Before my departure I had obtained from the Duke de Nivernois, Lady Hervey, the Mallets, Mr. Walpole, &c. many letters of recommendation to their private or literary friends. Of these epistles the reception and success were determined by the character and situation of the persons by whom and to whom they were addressed: the seed was sometimes cast on a barren rock, and it sometimes multiplied an hundred fold in the production of new shoots, spreading branches, and exquisite fruit. But upon the whole, I had reason to praise the national urbanity, which from the court has diffused its gentle influence to the shop, the cottage, and the schools. Of the men of genius of the age, Montesquieu and Fontenelle were no more; Voltaire resided on his own estate near Geneva;

Rousseau in the preceding year had been driven from his hermitage of Montmorency; and I blush at my having neglected to seek, in this journey, the acquaintance of Buffon. Among the men of letters whom I saw, d'Alembert and Diderot held the foremost rank in merit, or at least in fame. I shall content myself with enumerating the well-known names of the Count de Caylus, of the Abbé de la Bleterie, Barthelemy, Reynal, Arnaud, of Messieurs de la Condamine, du Clos, de Ste Palaye, de Bougainville, Caperonnier, de Guignes, Suard, &c. without attempting to discriminate the shades of their characters, or the degrees of our connection. Alone, in a morning visit, I commonly found the artists and authors of Paris less vain, and more reasonable, than in the circles of their equals, with whom they mingle in the houses of the rich. Four days in a week I had a place, without invitation, at the hospitable tables of Mesdames Geoffrin and du Bocage, of the celebrated Helvetius, and of the Baron d'Olbach. In these symposia the pleasures of the table were improved by lively and liberal conversation; the company was select, though various and voluntary.*

The

* JOURNAL, Février 23, 1763.]—Je fis une visite à l'Abbé de la Bleterie, 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. Helvétius. 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

The society of Madame du Bocage was more soft and moderate than that of her rivals, and the evening conversations of M. de Foncemagne were supported by the good sense and learning of the

Février 24.]—L'Abbé Barthelemy 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 Bontems 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 recommendation pour M. le Comte de Caylus, je m'étois imaginé que je trouverois réunis 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 lève de grand matin, court les atteliers des artistes pendant tout le jour, et rentre chez lui à six heures 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 dès que 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.

principal members of the Academy of Inscriptions. The opera and the Italians I occasionally visited; but the French theatre, both in tragedy and comedy, was my daily and favourite amusement. Two famous actresses then divided the public applause. For my own part, I preferred the consummate art of the Clairon, to the intemperate sallies of the Dumesnil, which were extolled by her admirers, as the genuine voice of nature and passion. Fourteen weeks insensibly stole away; but had I been rich and independent, I should have prolonged, and perhaps have fixed, my residence at Paris.

Between the expensive style of Paris and of Italy it was prudent to interpose some months of tranquil simplicity; and at the thoughts of Lausanne I again lived in the pleasures and studies of my early youth. Shaping my course through Dijon and Besançon, in the last of which places I was kindly entertained by my cousin Acton, I arrived in the month of May 1763 on the banks of the Leman Lake. It had been my intention to pass the Alps in the autumn, but such are the simple attractions of the place, that the year had almost expired before my departure from Lausanne in the ensuing spring. An absence of five years had not made much alteration in manners, or even in persons. My old friends, of both sexes, hailed my voluntary return; the most genuine proof of my attachment. They had been flattered by the present of my book, the produce of their soil; and the good Pavilliard shed tears of joy as he embraced a pupil, whose

whose literary merit he might fairly impute to his own labours.* To my old list I added some new acquaintance, and among the strangers I shall distinguish Prince Lewis of Wirtemberg, the brother of the reigning Duke, at whose country-house, near Lausanne, I frequently dined: a wandering meteor, and at length a falling star, his light and ambitious spirit had successively dropped from the firmament of Prussia, of France, and of Austria; and his faults, which he styled his misfortunes, had driven him into philosophic exile in the Pays de Vaud. He could now moralize on the vanity of the world, the equality of mankind, and the happiness of a private station. His address was affable and polite, and as he had shone in courts and armies, his memory could supply, and his eloquence could

* Lausanne, Août 17, 1763.]—Après dîner je suis allé en ville. J'ai monté au château, où il y avoit une journée embarrassante. C******** C****** et Mademoiselle de ******* y étoient toutes les deux. Je me suis décidé pour C. Elle a eu toutes les attentions. L'autre en a paru piquée. Avec quel sérieux la vanité des femmes traite ces misères! J'ai soupé chez Pavillard.

Août 18.]—Je suis allé dîner à Mésery. M. le Comte de Golofskin et sa femme. Le Comte est d'une famille très distinguée en Russie. Les dernières révolutions de cet empire leur avoient ôté leurs biens, à l'exception de la terre de Mona, qu'ils avoient achetée au Pays de Vaud. La mort de l'Impératrice Elizabeth les leur rendit; mais le Comte préfère sagement la retraite d'un pays libre aux orages du despotisme. Il est poli, mais froid. On lui donne de l'esprit. Il peut en avoir parmi ses amis. Sa femme, fille du Professeur Mosheim de Gottingen, paroît vive et gaie. Ces deux époux sont un modèle d'affection conjugale.

adorn, a copious fund of interesting anecdotes. His first enthusiasm was that of charity and agriculture; but the sage gradually lapsed in the saint, and Prince Lewis of Wirtemberg is now buried in a hermitage near Mayence, in the last stage of mystic devotion.* By some ecclesiastical quarrel, Voltaire

* Août 21.]—J'ai dîné à Benans, chez le Prince Louis de Wirtemberg. C'est pour la seconde fois. Il m'avoit prié pour rencontrer le Prince de Ligne, qui nous a fait faux bond. Il paroît que le Prince de Wirtemberg me goute beaucoup. A la politesse aisée et naturelle qu'il a pour tout le monde, il ajoute à mon égard un ton de confiance, d'estime, et presque d'affection. Avec de pareilles manières, il n'est pas possible qu'un Prince vous déplaise. Je trouve à celui-ci de l'esprit, des connoissances, et beaucoup d'usage du monde. Comme il connoit presque toutes les cours de l'Europe, les anecdotes politiques et militaires, dont il assaisonne sa conversation, la rendent très amusante, Je vois qu'il n'a point l'orgueil d'un prince Allemand, et l'indignation qu'il faisoit paroître contre un de ses ancêtres qui avoit voulu vendre un village pour acheter un cheval, me fait espérer qu'il n'en a pas la dureté. Je croirois assez qu'il a toujours un peu manqué de prudence et de conduite; des projets aussi ambitieux que chimériques dont on l'accuse,* sa vie ambulante, ses querelles avec son frère, ses dissipations, sa disgrace à la cour de Vienne; tout contribue à m'en persuader. Sa situation dans ce pays en est presqu'une preuve. Un prince d'une des premières maisons de l'empire, relégué (dirai-je) ou retiré en Suisse, où il soutient à peine l'état d'un gentilhomme, doit y être un peu par sa faute. Sa femme l'a accompagné dans sa retraite. C'est une demoiselle Saxonne qu'il a épousé sans biens, et sans beauté. Le public ajouteroit, et sans esprit; mais je commence à lui en trouver. Comme le prince s'est mésallié, les loix orgueilleuses de l'empire excluent ses enfans de la succession. Heureusement ils n'ont encore eu qu'une fille. A mon retour de Mésery, j'y ai trouvé deux Anglois qui ont soupé avec nous.

* V. le Testament Politique du Maréchal de Belleisle. Ouvrage digne d'un laquais, mais d'un laquais de ministre, qui a entendu beaucoup d'anecdotes curieuses.

had

had been provoked to withdraw himself from Lausanne, and retire to his castle at Ferney, where I again visited the poet and the actor, without seeking his more intimate acquaintance, to which I might now have pleaded a better title. But the theatre which he had founded, the actors whom he had formed, survived the loss of their master; and recent from Paris, I attended with pleasure at the representation of several tragedies and comedies. I shall not descend to specify particular names and characters; but I cannot forget a private institution, which will display the innocent freedom of Swiss manners. My favourite society had assumed, from the age of its members, the proud denomination of the spring *(la société du printems.)* It consisted of fifteen or twenty young unmarried ladies, of genteel, though not of the very first families; the eldest perhaps about twenty, all agreeable, several handsome, and two or three of exquisite beauty. At each other's houses they assembled almost every day, without the controul, or even the presence, of a mother or an aunt; they were trusted to their own prudence, among a crowd of young men of every nation in Europe. They laughed, they sung, they danced, they played at cards, they acted comedies; but in the midst of this careless gaiety, they respected themselves, and were respected by the men; the invisible line between liberty and licentiousness was never transgressed by a gesture, a word, or a look, and their virgin chastity was never sullied by the breath of scandal or suspicion: a singular institution, expressive of the innocent simplicity of

Swiss manners. After having tasted the luxury of England and Paris, I could not have returned with satisfaction to the coarse and homely table of Madame Pavilliard; nor was her husband offended that I now entered myself as a *pensionnaire*, or boarder, in the elegant house of Mr. de Mesery, which may be entitled to a short remembrance, as it has stood above twenty years, perhaps, without a parallel in Europe. The house in which we lodged was spacious and convenient, in the best street, and commanding, from behind, a noble prospect over the country and the Lake. Our table was served with neatness and plenty; the boarders were select; we had the liberty of inviting any guests at a stated price; and in the summer the scene was occasionally transferred to a pleasant villa, about a league from Lausanne. The characters of master and mistress were happily suited to each other, and to their situation. At the age of seventy-five, Madame de Mesery, who has survived her husband, is still a graceful, I had almost said a handsome woman. She was alike qualified to preside in her kitchen and her drawing-room; and such was the equal propriety of her conduct, that of two or three hundred foreigners, none ever failed in respect, none could complain of her neglect, and none could ever boast of her favour. Mesery himself, of the noble family of De Crousaz, was a man of the world, a jovial companion, whose easy manners and natural sallies maintained the cheerfulness of his house. His wit could laugh at his own ignorance: he disguised, by an air of profusion, a strict

strict attention to his interest; and in this situation, he appeared like a nobleman who spent his fortune and entertained his friends. In this agreeable society I resided nearly eleven months (May 1763—April 1764;) and in this second visit to Lausanne, among a crowd of my English companions, I knew and esteemed Mr. Holroyd (now Lord Sheffield;) and our mutual attachment was renewed and fortified in the subsequent stages of our Italian journey. Our lives are in the power of chance, and a slight variation on either side, in time or place, might have deprived me of a friend, whose activity in the ardour of youth was always prompted by a benevolent heart, and directed by a strong understanding.*

If

* JOURNAL, Septembre 16, 1763.]—***** et Frey 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 Frey refusant de l'y accompagner, on a pris la partie de le rapeller en Angleterre en le faisant passer par Paris. Frey 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!

Septembre 21me.]—J'ai essuyé une petite mortification au cercle. Le départ de Frey ayant fait vaquer 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

If my studies at Paris had been confined to the study of the world, three or four months would not

mais je sais en même tems que je l'aurois eu il y a trois mois, sans y songer un moment. Ma réputation baisse ici avec quelque raison, et j'ai des ennemis.

Septembre 25me.]—J'ai passé l'après-dîner chez Madame de Bochat. Je ne l'avois pas vue depuis le 14 de ce mois. Elle ne m'a point parlé, ni 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 Mésery. Elle vouloit me faire rencontrer avec une demoiselle Françoise qu'elle a prié à souper; cette demoiselle, qui s'appelle 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?

Décembre 1er, 1763.]—Nous sommes tous montés à l'église pour voir la cérémonie du jour. C'étoit la présentation du Bailif à la grande église, et la prestation du serment par la ville de Lausanne, les vassaux et tous les communautés du bailliage. Le grand ministre Polier de Rollens a prêché à cette occasion. Il nous a étonné; au lieu de ces compositions sans chaleur et sans idées qu'il ne qualifie que trop souvent du nom de sermons, il a fait paroître aujourdhui les talens d'un orateur et les sentimens d'un citoyen: il a su parler au souverain de ses devoirs, et au peuple de ses droits fondés les uns et les autres sur la volonté des hommes libres qui vouloient se donner un prince et non pas un tyran. Il a loué peu, avec justesse et sans fadeur. Son débit et son geste étoient assortis au ton de son sujet. Ils étoient pleins de dignité,

not have been unprofitably spent. My visits, however superficial, to the Academy of Medals and the public

dignité, d'onction et de force. Après le sermon, le Trésorier s'est rendu au chœur de l'église suivi du Bailif et de toute l'assemblée. Là il a présenté au Bailliage leur nouveau gouverneur, qu'il a annoncé par un discours court, mais qui m'a paru rempli de choses. Le Boursier lui a répondu, mais si bas, que j'ai perdu tout ce qu'il a dit. Ce mot de perdu, est-il à sa place? Au reste, jamais cérémonie n'a été conduite avec moins de décence. Le désordre étoit affreux. Les Grenadiers de George Grand paroissoient n'y être que pour repousser les honnêtes gens et pour laisser entrer la canaille.

Lausanne, Décembre 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, il s'est retiré avec le grade de maréchal de camp. C'est un homme d'une grande politesse, d'un esprit vif et facile; il seroit aujourdhui, 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 tems les airs bruyans et étourdis.

Lausanne, Décembre 18me, 1763.]—C'étoit un Dimanche de Communion. Les cérémonies religieuses sont bien entendues 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 à l'existence d'un Lausannois.

Il y a quelques jours que j'ai bien perdu mon temps. Heureux encore si ce n'étoit que mon temps, que j'eusse perdu! J'ai beaucoup joué, ou du moins j'ai beaucoup parié au cercle; après quelques commencemens de bonheur je me suis enfilé au *whist* et au piquet, et j'ai perdu un quarantaine de Louis. J'ai

* 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.

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public libraries, opened a new field of inquiry; and the view of so many manuscripts of different ages

eu alors le courage de m'arrêter tout d'un coup, et sans me laisser éblouir par de vaines espérances de rattraper ma perte, j'ai renoncé au gros jeu, du moins pendant quelque temps. Il voudroit mieux y renoncer à jamais; il y a tant d'inconvéniens, la perte du temps, la mauvaise compagnie; ces agitations continuelles de crainte et d'espérance qui aigrissent à la longue l'humeur et qui dérangent la santé. Le goût d'étude et la reflexion, peut-il s'associer avec celui du jeu? C'est d'ailleurs une remarque que l'expérience m'a souvent fait faire; que la partie ne sauroit être égale et qu'une perte quelconque est sentie bien plus vivement que ne le seroit un gain pareil. La raison en est claire. On avoit déjà arrangé sa dépense sur son révenu, et cette perte inattendue entraine la privation de nécessaire ou du moins de quelques agrémens sur lesquels on comptoit. Mais le gain, trop précaire et trop incertain pour devoir changer les plans d'un homme sensé, ne sert tout au plus qu'à satisfaire la fantaisie du moment. Voilà de la sagesse après coup. Si j'avois fait ces reflexions quelques jours plutôt, je me serois épargné quelques désagrémens de la part de mon père qui peut ne se point accommoder de ce surcroit de dépense.

Décembre 31me.]—Jettons 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 tems je n'étudiai point. Les amusements m'occupoient beaucoup, et l'habitude de la dissipation, qu'on prend si facilement dans les grandes villes, ne me permettoient pas de mettre à profit le tems qui me demeuroit. A la verité, si j'ai peu feuilleté les livres

ages and characters induced me to consult the two great Benedictine works, the *Diplomatica* of Mabillon,

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 ont 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 Genève interrompit un peu mon assiduité, que le séjour de Mésery m'offrit mille distractions, et que la société de Saussure acheva de me faire perdre mon tems. Je repris mon travail avec ce Journal au milieu d'*Août*, et depuis ce tems jusqu'au commencement de *Novembre*, j'ai mis à profit tous mes instans ; j'avoue que pendant les deux derniers mois mon ardeur s'est un peu ralentie. I^rement^, 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, reduisant 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 Cicéron, 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. Rutillius 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

billon, and the *Palæographia* of Montfaucon. I studied the theory without attaining the practice of

raires par M. d'Anville, et quelques Mémoires de l'Académie des Belles Lettres. II^ment^, On me fit attendre Nardini de la Bibliothèque de Genève. Je voulus remplir ce moment de vuide par la lecture de *Juvenal*, poëte qui je ne connoissois encore que de réputation. Je le lu deux fois avec plaisir et avec soin. III^ment^, 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 Bibliothèque raisonnée. IV^ment^. J'ai beaucoup écrit de mon Recueil Géographique de l'Italie qui est déjà bien ample et assez curieux. V^ment^, 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 détacheés, 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 réforme qui lui retranche quantité de pièces qui sont assez étrangères à son veritable plan. Après avoir un peu refléchi là dessus, voici quelques règles que je me suis faites sur les objets qui lui conviennent. I^ment^, Toute ma vie civile et privée, mes amusemens, mes liaisons, mes écarts même, et toutes mes refléxions qui ne roulent que sur des sujets qui me sont personnels, je conviens que tout cela n'est intéressant que pour moi, mais aussi ce n'est que pour moi que j'écris mon journal. II^ment^, 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. III^ment^, J'y mettrai soigneusement tout ce qu'on peut appeller la partie matérielle de mes études; combien d'heures j'ai travaillé, combien de pages j'ai écrit ou lu, avec une courte notice du sujet qu'elles contenoient. IV^ment^, Je serois fâché de lire sans refléchir sur mes lectures, sans porter des jugemens raisonnés sur

mes

of the art: nor should I complain of the intricacy of Greek abbreviations and Gothic alphabets, since every

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. V^ment, Mes refléxions 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, auxquelles 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 numéro de chaque pièce avec le tems et l'occasion de sa composition. Moyennant ces précautions mon journal ne peut que m'être utile. Ce compte exact de mon tems m'en fera mieux sentir le prix; il dissipera par son détail, l'illusion qu'on se fait d'envisager 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 scènes qu'on a joué, ou qu'on a vu jouer.

Avril 6, 1764.]—J'ai été éveillé par Pavilliard et Holroyd pour arrêter une fâcheuse affaire qui s'étoit passée au bal après notre départ. Guise, qui faisoit la cour à Mademoiselle d'Illens depuis long tems, voyoit avec peine que Van Berken (un Hollandois) 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 d'Illens 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 Van Berken lui avoit envoyé un cartel, et que la réponse de Guise ne l'ayant point contenté ils devoient se rencontrer à cinq heures du soir. Au

désespoir

every day, in a familiar language, I am at a loss to decypher the hieroglyphics of a female note. In a tranquil scene, which revived the memory of my first studies, idleness would have been less pardonable: the public libraries of Lausanne and Geneva liberally supplied me with books; and if many hours were lost in dissipation, many more were employed in literary labour. In the country, Horace and Virgil, Juvenal and Ovid, were my assiduous com-

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 Van Berken. J'ai bientôt vu qu'il ne lui falloit qu'une explication assez légère, jointe à quelque apologie de la part de Guise pour le désarmer, et je suis retourné chez lui avec Holroyd pour l'engager à la donner. Nous lui avons fait comprendre que l'aveu d'un véritable tort ne blessoit jamais l'honneur, et que son insulte envers les dames aussi bien qu'envers Van Berken 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 à Guise, mais Mademoiselle d'Illens 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 à deux personnes, et à conserver la réputation d'un ami? Au reste j'ai vu au fond plus d'un caractère. Guise 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 Salis d'une indifférence qui vient plus d'un défaut de sensibilité, que d'un excès de raison. J'ai conçu une véritable amitié pour Holroyd. Il a beaucoup de raison et des sentimens d'honneur avec un cœur des mieux placé.

panions:

panions: but, in town, I formed and executed a plan of study for the use of my Transalpine expedition: the topography of old Rome, the ancient geography of Italy, and the science of medals. 1. I diligently read, almost always with a pen in my hand, the elaborate treatises of Nardini, Donatus, &c. which fill the fourth volume of the Roman Antiquities of Grævius. 2. I next undertook and finished the *Italia Antiqua* of Cluverius, a learned native of Prussia, who had measured, on foot, every spot, and has compiled and digested every passage of the ancient writers. These passages in Greek or Latin authors I perused in the text of Cluverius, in two folio volumes: but I separately read the descriptions of Italy by Strabo, Pliny, and Pomponius Mela, the Catalogues of the Epic poets, the Itineraries of Wesseling's Antoninus, and the coasting Voyage of Rutilius Numatianus; and I studied two kindred subjects in the Mesures Itinéraires of d'Anville, and the copious work of Bergier, *Histoire des grands chemins de l'Empire Romain*. From these materials I formed a table of roads and distances reduced to our English measure; filled a folio common-place book with my collections and remarks on the geography of Italy; and inserted in my journal many long and learned notes on the insulæ and populousness of Rome, the social war, the passage of the Alps by Hannibal, &c. 3. After glancing my eye over Addison's agreeable dialogues, I more seriously read the great work of Ezechiel Spanheim, *de Præstantiâ et Usû Numismatum*, and applied with him the medals of the

kings and emperors, the families and colonies, to the illustration of ancient history. And thus was I armed for my Italian journey.*

I shall advance with rapid brevity in the narrative of this tour, in which somewhat more than

* 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 Grands, aux Seigneux, et aux d'Illens. 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. Mésery 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 à 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 la 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 raisonnable de son existence, et qui jugeoit sans objets de comparaison. Aujourdhui 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 un étranger dans leurs filets. La maison de M. de Mésery 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.

a year

a year (April 1764—May 1765) was agreeably employed. Content with tracing my line of march, and slightly touching on my personal feelings, I shall wave the minute investigation of the scenes which have been viewed by thousands, and described by hundreds, of our modern travellers. ROME is the great object of our pilgrimage; and 1st, the journey; 2d, the residence; and 3d, the return; will form the most proper and perspicuous division. 1. I climbed Mount Cenis, and descended into the plain of Piedmont, not on the back of an elephant, but on a light osier seat, in the hands of the dextrous and intrepid chairmen of the Alps. The architecture and government of Turin* presented

* Turin, Mai 10, 1764.]—Nous avons été présentés aux Princesses, et au Duc de Chablais. C'étoit tout ce qui nous restoit de la famille royale que nous avions envie de voir. Il y a trois Princesses qui ont bien l'air de ne jamais changer d'état. L'ainée, la Princesse de Savoye, a un petit visage arrondi qui peut avoir été joli. Louise et Feliceté sont un peu pâles et maigres, mais ce sont bien les meilleures filles du monde. Le Duc de Chablais est grand, bien fait, et un peu noirâtre. Il n'a pas un air aussi prévenant que le Duc de Savoye; malgré sa grande jeunesse, et la gêne où l'on le tient, il paroît plus libre, et plus formé. C'est le favori du père, qui est aussi prodigue à son égard, qu'il est avare pour le pauvre Duc de Savoye, qui est obligé de prendre sur son nécessaire, et sur les revenus de sa femme, les sommes qu'il employe à des œuvres de charité, et de générosité, surtout à l'égard des officiers.

Turin, Mai 11, 1764.]—Il faut dire deux mots de Turin, et du Souverain qui y règne. Quand on voit les accroissemens lents et successifs de la maison de Savoye pendant huit cens ans, il faut convenir que sa grandeur est plutôt l'ouvrage de la prudence que de la fortune. Elle se soutient, comme elle s'est formé, par la sa-

sented the same aspect of tame and tiresome uniformity;

gesse, l'ordre, et l'économie. Avec la plus mauvaise partie des Alpes, une plaine fertile, mais assez resserrée, et une méchante île, qui lui rapporte, dirai-je, ou qui lui coûte une centaine de mille livres, le Roi de Sardaigne s'est mis au rang des puissances. Il a des places fortes, une armée qu'il a poussée jusqu'à 50,000 hommes, et une cour nombreuse et brillante. On voit dans chaque département un esprit d'activité, modéré par l'économie qui cherche à tirer parti de ses avantages, ou à les faire naître. Sciences, arts, bâtimens, manufactures, tout s'en ressent. Il n'y a pas jusqu' à la navigation qui soit négligée. Le Roi pense à faire construire un beau port à Nice, et il a appellé d'Angleterre notre Capitaine Atkins, pour l'employer dans sa marine naissante, qui n'est encore composée que d'un vaisseau de cinquante canons, et une frégate de trente. Tous les deux sont des prises Espagnoles, achetées des Anglois. La frégate est la fameuse Hermione.

Gênes, Mai 22, 1764.]—Nous sommes arrivés à *Gênes* vers les huit heures et demie du matin. Notre chemin n'étoit proprement que le lit d'un grand torrent; mais les coteaux nous offroient le spectacle très riant d'un nombre de maisons de campagne très propres, et ornées d'une belle architecture en peinture. Le coup d'œil de Gênes et de son port m'a paru très beau. Après dîné nous avons fait une visite à Madame Mac Carthy, qui voyage avec son fils, et aux Celesia, que j'avois beaucoup connus en Angleterre. Je n'ai trouvé que la femme qui m'a reçu avec beaucoup d'amitié. Je dois y dîner demain, et leur présenter Guise. Madame Celesia est très aimable, son caractère est doux, elle a beaucoup d'esprit, et d'imagination. Il me paroît que l'age et l'usage du monde l'ont guéri d'un tour un peu romanesque qu'elle avoit autrefois. J'ai toujours eu pour elle l'estime et la compassion qu'elle méritoit, et qui font toujours naître une amitié qui tient de la tendresse. Elle est fille du poëte Mallet; la tyrannie de sa belle-mère l'avoit jetté entre les bras de M. Celesia, alors Envoyé de Gênes en Angleterre, qui l'a épousée, et qui la mena bientôt après en sa patrie. Elle se dit fort heureuse; mais elle avoue qu'elle regrette toujours l'Angleterre.

23.]

uniformity; but the court was regulated with decent

23.] Nous avons dîné chez Celesia. Ils m'ont comblé de politesses, et même d'amitiés; car je dois prendre pour moi tout ce qu'ils ont fait pour Guise. J'ai beaucoup causé avec Celesia sur les affaires du pays, et surtout sur le soulèvement de Gênes en 1746, et sur les révoltes de Corse. Voici quelques circonstances que j'en ai appris. 1nt. Lorsque le peuple a fait cet effort, digne des Romains, il a formé un conseil qu'on appelloit Assemblée du Peuple, qui a continué pendant près d'une année; qu'il y avoit dans l'Etat deux chefs indépendans. Le Sénat régissoit comme à l'ordinaire toutes les affaires étrangères, et il abandonnoit à cette assemblée tout l'intérieur de la république. Elle demeuroit chargée du soin de la liberté, rendoit ses ordonnances sous peine de la vie, et tenoit son bourreau assis sur les degrés d'une église, et près d'une potence pour les faire exécuter. Ce qu'il y a de plus singulier, c'est que le peuple qui avoit pris ce goût de l'autorité suprême, se dégouta bientôt de ses propres chefs, laissa tomber peu-à-peu son assemblée, et rendit les rènes du gouvernement à la noblesse, sans dispute, et sans conditions. 2nt. Si les Genois ont irrité les Corses, ils ont tâché depuis de les ramener. Il y a quatre ans qu'on fit passer dans l'île une députation illustre, munie de pleins pouvoirs d'accorder aux rébelles tout ce qu'ils demanderoient. Ce fut sans effet. Ces esprits indépendans, nés dans la révolte, et qui se souviennent à peine qu'ils ont été sujets des Genois, n'ont écouté que les conseils violens de Paoli, qui seul sait gouverner ce peuple indocile. Ce chef fameux, dont les mœurs sont encore un peu féroces, égale par ses talens naturels les grands hommes de l'antiquité. M. Celesia ne pouvoit le comparer qu'à Cromwell. Comme lui, l'ambition lui tient lieu des richesses, qu'il méprise, et des plaisirs dont il ignore l'usage; comme lui, Dictateur perpétuel d'une république naissante, il sait la gouverner par un fantôme de sénat, dont il est le maître; comme lui, il a su remplir ses troupes d'un fanatisme religieux qui les rend invincibles. Les curés de l'île lui sont des instrumens trés utiles; mais enfin son addresse est d'autant plus singulière, que la religion n'a été ni le motif, ni le prétexte de la révolte. La partie la plus saine du Sénat est lasse d'une guerre

decent and splendid economy; and I was introduced

qui ne lui a valu que des dépenses immenses, et des disgraces. Elle n'y conserve plus que les places maritimes, dont le territoire est souvent borné par le glacis des fortifications. On abandonneroit avec plaisir les Corses à eux-mêmes, si on ne craignoit pas le Roi de Sardaigne. Il est très sur que la Cour de Vienne auroit souhaité d'acquérir l'île pour le Grand Duc de Toscane, et que le marché auroit peut-être eu lieu, sans la jalousie de France.

Juin 3.]—J'ai passé la matinée entière à la maison. Heureux momens de repos, dont on ne sent le prix, que lorsqu'on a vécu dans le tourbillon. J'ai achevé l'histoire des Révolutions de Gênes. Le style n'est pas mauvais, sans être celui de Vertot; l'ordonnance est claire, sans être habile. Il est si peu d'abbréviateurs à qui Velleius Paterculus ait légué son secret, celui de prendre toujours par grandes masses. Mais dans une histoire politique j'aurois voulu des idées plus exactes de la constitution de Gênes, de ses loix, et de ses mœurs.

Nous avons dîné chez Celesia qui est toujours malade. A huit heures du soir son beau-père nous a présenté au Doge Brignoletti. C'est un vieillard assez gros, qui a l'air peu spirituel. Il sait un peu de François, mais il ne nous a guères parlé qu'Italien. Il nous a poliment reçu, mais avec un mélange de dignité qui convenoit assez avec sa sérénité. Cette sérénité reçoit 5000 livres par an, et en dépense au moins 25,000 pour avoir le plaisir de demeurer dans une très vilaine maison, dont il ne peut sortir sans une permission du Sénat, d'être vêtu de rouge depuis les pieds jusqu'à la tête, et d'avoir douze pages de 60 ans, habillés à l'Espagnole.

Castel St. Giovanni, Juin 12.]—Nous sommes partis de Gênes de très grand matin. Nous espérions de pousser jusqu'à Plaisance, mais les mauvais chemins, et les chicanes qui nous ont arrêtés presqu'à chaque poste, nous ont obligé de nous reposer à neuf heures du soir à Castel St. Giovanni, petit bourg, dans le territoire de Plaisance, à deux postes de la capitale, et à onze et demie de Gênes. Je ne connois rien de plus désagréable, et de plus rude que le passage de la Bouquette, et même que tout le chemin

duced to his Sardinian majesty * Charles Emanuel, who, after the incomparable Frederic, held the second rank (proximus longo tamen intervallo) among the kings of Europe. The size and po-

chemin de Gênes à Novi, où commence la plaine de Lombardie. Le Roi de Sardaigne, par une attention sans relâche à profiter des plus petites acquisitions, a réduit enfin les Génois à leurs montagnes nues et stériles, dont ce peuple, tout industrieux qu'il est, peut à peine tirer le moindre avantage. En passant la Bouquette j'ai considéré ce défilé étroit, bordé de précipices, et dominé par des rochers escarpés. J'ai bien compris que sans la politique timide du Sénat, et l'ignorance dans laquelle les paysans étoient encore du soulèvement de Gênes, le Maréchal Botta y auroit laissé ses troupes, et sa liberté, ou sa vie.

Parme, Juin 14.]—Vers l'an 1747 des ouvriers qui travailloient à Villora dans les montagnes du Parmesan, déterrèrent une grande table de bronze. On continua à faire des recherches, et peu à peu l'on parvint à découvrir les ruines d'une ville qui ne peut être que l'ancienne Veleia, située dans ces quartiers, et qui doit avoir été écrasée sous la chûte d'une montagne. Ces décombres se trouvoient quelquefois à fleur de terre, et quelquefois à une assez grande profondeur. Je ne pense pas qu'on ait trouvé de maison complette, ni même des vestiges d'aucun édifice public, quoique Veleia ait du en avoir, quand ce ne seroit que des temples. Mais sur la situation des murs, l'on a dressé une espèce de Carte de Veleia, qui paroît avoir été grande. On y a trouvé beaucoup de statues, de lampes, et d'autres antiquités. Le Duc y entretient toujours un Directeur des travaux, avec une quarantaine d'ouvriers, et à mesure qu'on a épuisé un endroit, on le comble de terre. Voilà tout ce que j'en ai pu apprendre, graces à un mauvais air de mystère que la cour affecte d'y mettre. Elle compte un jour, quand on aura tout trouvé, de rendre compte au public de ses découvertes, et veut être la première à la rendre. On vous permet à peine de regarder attentivement, et jamais de rien copier.

* See Appendix, Letter, No. XVII.

pulousness of Milan could not surprise an inhabitant of London; but the fancy is amused by a visit to the Boromean Islands, an enchanted palace, a work of the fairies in the midst of a lake encompassed with mountains, and far removed from the haunts of men. I was less amused by the marble palaces of Genoa, than by the recent memorials of her deliverance (in December 1746) from the Austrian tyranny; and I took a military survey of every scene of action within the inclosure of her double walls. My steps were detained at Parma and Modena, by the precious relics of the Farnese and Este collections: but, alas! the far greater part had been already transported, by inheritance or purchase, to Naples and Dresden. By the road of Bologna and the Apennine, I at last reached Florence, where I reposed from June to September, during the heat of the summer months.* In the Gallery,

* JOURNAL, Florence, Juin 29, 1764.]—On a célébré la fête de St. Jean, protecteur de Florence. A sept heures du matin nous nous sommes rendus à la place du grand Duc, pour y voir la cérémonie des présentations, des hommages, &c. &c. Enfin l'on voyoit avancer la tour de St. Jean, plus élevée et plus ornée que les autres. Le saint lui-même couronnoit le faîte. Les niches des côtés étoient remplies de plusieurs autres saints, entre lesquels on distinguoit St. Sebastien, attaché à un pilier. Tous les saints étoient des hommes qui jouoient assez bien leurs rôles. Seulement comme la place de St. Jean paroissoit un peu dangereuse on avoit substitué une figure de bois au garçon qui le représentoit auparavant. Cette tour étoit suivie par ces Chevaux Barbes qui courent l'après-midi, &c. &c.

L'après-midi nous avons vu la Course des Chevaux Barbes qui se fait dans le Corso, une grande et belle rue, mais qui dans bien des

Gallery, and especially in the Tribune, I first acknowledged, at the feet of the Venus of Medicis,

des endroits n'est point assez large, ni assez droite. Nous sommes allés à la suite de M. Mann à six heures du soir. Le Corso étoit déjà rempli de plusieurs centaines de carrosses qui se promenoient pour étaler tout le faste du plus grand gala de Florence. Il faut convenir que les équipages et les habits étoient magnifiques et de goût, et que l'ensemble formoit le plus beau coup-d'œil qu'on puisse s'imaginer. Dans une demie heure les carrosses se sont retirés, et chacun a gagné sa fénêtre, son balcon, ou son échafaud. Nous avons suivi le ministre à la loge de la régence, qui étoit remplie de ce qu'il y avoit de plus distingué dans Florence. On nous y a reçu de la manière la plus polie. Par ce changement de décoration le spectacle devenoit moins brillant, mais plus singulier par la foule innombrable de tous les états qui occupoient les deux côtés d'une grande rue, pendant que la rue même étoit parfaitement libre. Il faut dire que tout se passa sans confusion, et qu'une poignée de grenadiers suffisoit pour retenir dans l'ordre tout ce peuple immense. On fit passer alors les chevaux en procession pour les conduire aux *Carceres*. Ils étoient quinze, parés de rubans de différentes couleurs, et conduits par les palfreniers et la livrée de leurs maîtres. Ils paroissoient en général beaux, mais quoiqu'on les appelle Barbes, ils peuvent être de tous les pays. Il y avoit en particulier un vieux Anglois de l'age de vingt-trois, mais qui remportoit encore à l'ordinaire le prix. On voyoit bien aux acclamations du peuple à quel point il en étoit le favori. Lorsqu'ils étoient arrivés au bout, on les rangea aussi également qu'on le pouvoit; on lâcha la corde; ils partirent—je les vis passer avec une vîtesse que l'impétuosité naturelle au cheval, animée encore par l'aiguillon qu'ils portoient m'expliquoit très-bien. Mais j'étois étonné de la constance et de la tranquillité avec laquelle ils poursuivirent leur carrière aussi bien que si les plus habiles cavaliers les eussent montés. Nous les perdîmes bientôt de vue, et toute l'assemblée fixoit les yeux sur le clocher de la cathédrale pour y lire le nom du vainqueur dans les signaux de lumières qui s'y répétoient et qui répondoient au numéro du cheval.

dicis, that the chissel may dispute the pre-eminence with the pencil, a truth in the fine arts which cannot on this side of the Alps be felt or understood.* At home I had taken some lessons of Italian;

cheval. Pour suspendre plus long-tems l'impatience publique, il falloit par hasard attendre jusqu'au numéro treize. Le Prince Neri déclara au peuple, (que la curiosité tenoit dans la plus tranquille silence,) que le poulain du Chevalier Alessandri avoit remporté la victoire, et ce silence se changea tout-à-coup aux acclamations tumultueuses de trente mille spectateurs. Avant de livrer le prix au vainqueur, on devoit le bénir avec beaucoup de cérémonie à l'église de St. Jean. Autant que j'ai pu juger, les chevaux ont fourni leur carrière de plus de deux milles dans cinq minutes. Le grand diable est arrivé le second, et presqu'au même instant que le premier.

A ne considérer que la vîtesse des chevaux, nos courses l'emportent infiniment sur celle-ci. Cependant l'antiquité de l'institution, l'ardeur d'un peuple entier, qui y assiste, l'intervention du prince, et même de la religion, lui donnent un air bien plus majestueux. On voit que les Florentins chérissent cet usage comme le seul vestige de leur liberté ancienne; c'est une fureur momentanée qui s'empare de tous les esprits, et depuis les jeux des anciens, c'est peut-être le seul spectacle des plaisirs de tout un état réuni pour s'amuser par les soins, et sous les yeux de ses magistrats.

* Juillet 16me .]—Nous avons fait notre VIIIme *visite à la Galerie*, &c. &c. &c. Je vais parler de ses meubles qui ne consistent qu'en statues, et en bustes antiques, placés alternativement, de manière qu'il se trouve toujours une statue et deux bustes. Ces derniers sont peut-être le trésor le plus précieux de la galerie, puisqu'ils contiennent la suite complette de tous les empereurs, depuis Auguste et Jules César jusqu'à Caracalle, sans compter plusieurs des successeurs de celui-ci; beaucoup d'impératrices, et des bustes qu'on a assignés à des philosophes et des poëtes Grecs,

Italian; on the spot I read, with a learned native, the

Grecs, sur la foi des descriptions vagues et obscures que les anciens nous ont laissé de leurs personnes. C'est un plaisir bien vif que de suivre les progrès, et la décadence des arts, et de parcourir cette suite des portraits originaux des maîtres du monde. On y voit bien plus distinctement leurs traits que sur leurs médailles, dont le champ est trop petit. Je conviens que ce n'est qu'à l'aide des médailles que nous les reconnoissions ici. C'est pourquoi j'aurois voulu qu'on eût pratiqué dans le piédestal de chaque buste, un petit tiroir rempli de ces médailles. Les curieux auroient trouvé beaucoup d'agrément à les comparer. A tout ce mérite accessoire il y a beaucoup de ces bustes qui ajoutent encore celui du travail. Sans vouloir les passer tous en revue comme l'a fait Cochin, je marquerai ceux qui m'ont arrêté par quelque endroit. 1. *Jules César.* Il est singulier. Tous ses traits sont contractés, et l'air du visage porte les caractères les plus frappans de la vieillesse et de la caducité. On comprend à peine que ce soit le buste d'un homme mort à l'âge de cinquante-six ans. Je n'ai pas pu remarquer sa tête chauve, quoique le front soit un peu dégarni des cheveux, non plus que la couronne de laurier, sous laquelle ce héros cachoit un défaut dont il avoit la foiblesse de rougir. Il est vrai que la plupart des têtes d'hommes de cette suite, sont sans aucun ornement. 2. *Cicéron.* Un long cou, un visage un peu maigre, beaucoup de rides, un teint un peu jaunâtre, qui vient de la couleur du marbre, tout annonce ici la force et les travaux de l'esprit plutôt que du corps. Il est d'une vérité et d'une finesse extraordinaire. Le sculpteur a marqué un pois sur la joue gauche; comme il est joliment fait, il n'est qu'un agrément qui sert d'ailleurs à le distinguer: mais quoique le nom fut héréditaire, la marque (Cicer) ne l'étoit pas. 3. *Agrippa.* C'est bien le contraste de Cicéron, quoiqu'il soit peut-être aussi beau dans son genre. Il est d'une manière grande et hardie. Un visage large et quarré, des traits saillans et marqués; des yeux grands, mais excessivement enfoncés dans la tête; des cheveux qui couvrent la moitié du front; tout y réveille l'idée

the classics of the Tuscan idiom; but the shortness

l'idée de la force et de la vigueur, et présente un ensemble plutôt terrible qu'agréable. On l'a placé parmi les empereurs que cet homme nouveau a mis sur le trône du monde. 4. *Sappho.* La sculpture étoit trop imparfaite au 6me siècle avant Jesus Christ pour nous permettre de regarder la tête de cette femme célèbre comme une originale. Je le croirois encore moins, puisque Sappho, qui brilloit plutôt par l'esprit que par la beauté, n'avoit certainement pas ce beau visage ovale, quoiqu'un peu arrondi par l'embonpoint que le sculpteur lui a donné ici. Ce morceau est d'une grande beauté. 5. *Caligula.* Ce buste, qui est d'une exécution libre et hardie, acquiert un nouveau prix par la ressemblance parfaite et exacte qu'il a avec les médailles de ce tyran. Pour un homme mort dans sa trentième année, ses traits sont extrêmement formés. 6. *Néron.* Il y a beaucoup d'expression, mais d'une expression un peu confuse. Dois-je le dire, et le dire ici? Néron ne m'a jamais révolté autant que Tibère, Caligula, ou Domitien. Il avoit beaucoup de vices, mais il n'étoit pas sans vertus. Je vois dans son histoire peu de traits d'une méchanceté étudiée. Il étoit cruel, mais il l'étoit plutôt par crainte que par goût. 7. *Sénèque.* Morceau très estimé et digne de l'être. Sa peau décharnée paroît ne couvrir que des os et des muscles, qui sont rendues avec une grande vérité: ses veines sont des tuyaux qui semblent vuides de sang. Tous les caractères du buste annoncent un vieillard, et peut-être un vieillard expirant. 8. *Galba.* Buste forte beau. 9. *Otho.* Il n'a d'autre mérite que celui de sa rareté. Je suis surpris qu'il s'en trouve. Mille accidens peuvent faire enterrer et conserver des monnoies; mais comment s'est-il trouvé quelqu'un qui ait voulu risquer de garder le buste odieux de ce fantôme d'empereur? A la vérité le règne de son ennemi Vitellius passa presqu'aussi vîte. 10. *Vitellius.* La tête de ce gourmand et bête stupide est chargée de chair. Il est singulier que les monumens de cet empereur aussi ne soient pas plus rares. Je pense que Vespasien le méprisa trop pour les détruire. 11. *Vespasien.* Si la nature doit être

ness of my time, and the use of the French language,

être le modèle des sculpteurs cette tête est d'une beauté merveilleuse. Rien n'est plus naturelle que les contours, rien n'est plus gracieux que l'air, à la fois gai, tranquille et majestueux. C'est vraiment un visage humain, et quoiqu'il soit plutôt laid que beau, il est bon et intéressant. Je suis persuadé que la ressemblance étoit frappante. 12. *Berenice.* La coeffure de cette reine est en boucles frisées très-artistement, mais disposées avec une apparence de négligence. Si elle n'étoit pas plus belle qu'elle n'est représentée ici, on a peine à comprendre la passion de Titus. 13. *Domitia.* La manière dont ses cheveux sont ramassés sur le front en beaucoup de petites boucles détachées, leur donne assez, selon Cochin, l'air d'une éponge. Nous nous sommes arrêtés aux Douze Césars, division qui est occasionnée par Suétone plutôt que par la raison. Les six Césars auroient été plus naturels.

17me.]—Nous avons fait notre *IXme. visite à la Galerie.* Voici la suite des bustes que nous avons reprise. 14. *Trajan.* Buste facile et naturel. Je vois sur la physionomie un sourire moqueur assez singulier. La tête est extrêmement tournée de côté : mais en général je ne me rappelle pas un seul buste dont la tête soit laissée dans son attitude régulière. Les sculpteurs auront cru avec raison qu'un petit écart de la ligne droite tracée par la nature donnoit plus de grace et d'âme à leurs figures. 15. *Hadrien.* Ce buste est très beau. On voit, selon le témoignage des historiens, que ce prince a commencé le premier à laisser croître sa barbe. Il la coupoit cependant de tems en tems, et ne se piquoit point d'avoir cette longue barbe pendante, et bien nourrie, qui faisoit l'orgueil des philosophes de ce siècle. A l'égard des cheveux, les premiers empereurs les avoient portés courts, frisés avec fort peu de soin, et tombant sur le front. Sur le buste d'Othon on distingue très bien la perruque frisée en grosses boucles par devant dont ce prince fut l'inventeur. Tout ceci ne regarde que les empereurs. Sénèque, qui affichoit la philosophie, a beaucoup de cheveux, et de barbe. 16. *Antinous.* Le buste de ce mignon d'Hadrien est très beau. Le visage est très bien formé, d'un mélange

language, prevented my acquiring any facility of speaking;

mélange de force et de douceur. Les épaules, la poitrine, et les mammelles, sont traitées avec beaucoup de mollesse. Le plus bel embonpoint ne détruit point ici les graces du contour. Ce buste, plus grand que nature, est entièrement antique, circonstance rare et presqu'unique. Tout au plus a-t-on la tête antique, souvent il en a fallu restaurer une partie, et le nez a presque toujours été cassé. C'est à Antinous seulement que les yeux des bustes commencent à avoir des prunelles; encore les siens sont-ils à peine perceptibles. On ne sauroit concevoir jusqu'à quel point la prunelle rend la vie et l'expression à tout, et anime tous les traits. Il étoit juste qu'un pareil secours appuyât la sculpture quand elle touchoit au moment de sa décadence. 17. *Antonin le Débonnaire.* Il est plein de verité et d'expression, surtout la partie supérieure du visage, le front, et les yeux. Antonin ajouta à la barbe de petites moustaches frisées. 18. *M. Aurèle.* Il y en a trois. Celui qui le représente jeune, est le meilleur. On peut remarquer dans toute cette famille la même manière de sculpture; c'est-à-dire plus de beautés de détail, avec un ensemble moins frappant. 19. *Annius Verus.* C'est un jeune enfant, qui est vraiment un chef-d'œuvre. Un petit visage rond, où brillent toutes les graces de la joie, et de l'innocence. On ne peut se lasser de le regarder. 20. *Un buste beaucoup plus grand que la nature.* C'est un visage assez jeune, quoique très formé; fort beau, mais qui lève les yeux au ciel avec la plus belle et la plus forte expression, de la douleur et de l'indignation. On dit que c'est Alexandre prêt à expirer. Si la conjecture est un peu avérée on pourroit se flatter de posséder un morceau unique de la main de Lysippe, le seul sculpteur à qui Alexandre permettoit de le tailler en marbre. Il n'y a rien dans ce chef-d'œuvre de noblesse, de simplicité, et d'expression, qui démente le siècle d'Alexandre, ou l'idée qu'on peut se former de Lysippe. 21. *Pertinax.* Il me paroît beau. 22. *Clodius Albinus.* Il est d'albâtre; à ce mérite, et celui d'un bon travail, il ajoute celui de la plus grande rareté. Quand on se rappelle que son ombre de royauté,

à été

speaking; and I was a silent spectator in the conversations

à été suivi d'un règne de vingt ans d'un enemi implacable et cruel, on conçoit bien les raisons de cette rareté. 23. *Septime Sévère.* Il est bon, mais j'aime mieux la manière que l'exécution de ce buste. 24. *Geta.* Celui qui le représente enfant, est fort joli, mais il y paroît plus formé que l'Annius Verus. 25. *Caracalle.* Bon, mais il me paroît un peu sec. C'est ici que la sculpture Romaine est tombée dans le même tems que l'architecture, avec qui elle a peut-être encore plus de rapports qu'avec la peinture. Je pense que ces derniers morceaux sont des artistes qui restoient encore du siècle d'or des Antonins, et qui ne formèrent point d'élèves dans le siècle de fer des Sévères, sous qui le gouvernement devint vraiment militaire, et despotique. Les bustes qui sont les moins mauvais dans la suite, sont, 26. *Gallien*, et 27. Eliogabale. Le total des bustes des corridors est de quatre vingt douze.

Florence, Juillet 29.]—Toute la nation dîna chez M. Mann. Après dîner nous allâmes voir une course de chevaux. Le Gran Diavolo a remporté le prix. C'est un vieux Anglois qui a vingt deux à vingt trois ans, à qui on n'est point encore en état de dire *solve senescentem equum.* Ses victoires, qui sont presqu' aussi fréquentes que ses combats, ont engagé un prince à offrir dernièrement 1000 sequins à son maître le Chevalier Alessandri, qui les a refusés.

31.]—Lord Palmerston et L. ont dîné avec nous. C'est un singulier contraste que ces deux jeunes gens. L'un, posé, tranquille, un peu froid, possède des qualités du cœur, et de l'esprit, qui le font estimer partout, et l'on voit qu'il a mis l'attention la plus sérieuse à les cultiver. L. est en tout d'une impétuosité, qui ne connoit point de bornes; d'une vanité qui lui fait rechercher sans l'obtenir l'applaudissement de ceux pour qui son orgueil ne lui inspire que du mépris; et d'une ambition folle qui ne sert qu'à le rendre ridicule, sans être accompagnée de cette constance qui peut seule la faire réussir; un air de philosophie sans beaucoup de logique, et une affectation de savoir, soutenue par une lecture vague et superficielle. Voilà cette homme extraordinaire qui s'attire

versations of our envoy, Sir Horace Mann, whose most serious business was that of entertaining the English at his hospitable table.* After leaving Florence, I compared the solitude of Pisa with the

s'attire partout la haine, ou la pitié. Je lui trouve cependant un fonds de génie naturel très au-dessus de son rival. Mais ici il sera tout aussi difficile de retrancher qu'à ajouter. Je vois qu'il me goute beaucoup; peu-à-peu sans le savoir nous nous sommes trouvés extrêmement liés. Avec lui il n'y a point de milieu entre une déclaration de guerre, et l'alliance la plus intime.

* JOURNAL, Florence, Août 9me, 1764.]—Cocchi à dîné avec nous. Nous avons beaucoup causé, mais je ne lui trouve pas le génie 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. Le soir nous avons suivi le Chevalier Mann à trois assemblées chez la Comtesse de Gallo, chez la Marquise Gerini, et chez le Duc Strozzi. Cette succession rapide peut seule m'empêcher de m'ennuyer. Je ne parle point la langue du pays. J'ignore leurs jeux. Les femmes sont occupées de leurs Cicisbées, et les hommes paroissent d'une indifférence extrême.

Florence, Août 16.]—J'avois oublié de marquer vers le milieu de Juillet, que le Cardinal Stuart a passé à Florence pour aller à Pise. C'est dans le Palais Corsini qu'il a logé. Nous l'avons vu un instant à la Galerie, où il ne s'est arrêté qu'une demie-heure. C'est un homme d'une petite mine, et qui a l'air beaucoup plus vieux qu'il ne l'est en effet. On le dit bon homme, mais excessivement bigot, et sous le gouvernement des Jésuites. Un certain Abbé

the industry of Lucca and Leghorn, and continued my journey through Sienna to Rome, where I arrived

Abbé Nicolini, fameux bel esprit, et tyran de la Crusca et bavard impitoyable, lui a fait son cour, et l'a accompagné partout avec autant de soin qu'il avoit suivi le Duc de York. Il est fallu de fort peu que ces deux Sosies ne se soient rencontrés aux Bains de Pise.

17.]—Les deux MM. Damer, fils de Lord Milton, et petits-fils du Duc de Dorset, sont arrivés. Ils sont tous les deux fort jeunes, mais sans gouverneur. C'est une mode qui commence à passer. Le gouverneur est toujours à charge, et rarement utile; et quant à la dépense il lui seroit difficile d'épargner à son élève le quart de ses propres honoraires.

18.]—Nous sommes allés avec l'Abbé Pilori pour voir la Bibliothèque Magliabecchiana, trésor amassé par ce fameux bibliothécaire des grands Ducs, qu'ils ont depuis rendu publique. Elle consiste en 40 à 50 mille volumes, rassemblés dans un assez beau vase. Il est singulier qu'un particulier d'une fortune des plus médiocres ait pu rassembler un trésor digne des plus grands princes. Mais que ne pouvoit une vie très longue dont tous les momens n'avoient qu'un objet unique? Magliabecchi étoit, pour parler ainsi, la Mémoire personalisée: un esprit qui ne pouvoit jamais travailler de lui-même, mais qui auroit été un Indice parlant des plus utiles à un homme de génie, occupé de quelque branche de littérature. J'ai vu dans cette bibliothèque une preuve combien la vie entière de cet homme étoit consacrée aux sciences. C'est son commerce épistolaire qui remplit centaines de volumes. On y lit les noms les plus célèbres de l'Europe, et le nombre entier des correspondans monte à plus de trois mille deux cens. Je sens qu'ils n'ont pas été contemporains, mais il y a encore de quoi remplir tous les instans d'une vie ordinaire. Les Réponses de Magliabecchi sont en très petit nombre. On comprend facilement qu'il n'en pouvoit pas conserver beaucoup de copies; mais on ne soutient point une telle correspondance sans en remplir exactement les devoirs. Peut-être qu'un habile homme pourroit

arrived in the beginning of October. 2. My temper is not very susceptible of enthusiasm, and the

faire dans ce repertoire immense un choix judicieux qui enrichiroit l'histoire littéraire du siècle passé. La bibliothèque est plutôt utile que curieuse. Elle se distingue bien plus par les livres imprimés, que par les MSS. qui sont presque tous à St. Laurent. Il y a cependant un beau Recueil des Mathématiciens Grecs, dont il y en a plusieurs qui n'ont jamais été publiés; une collection nombreuse des premières éditions du quinzième siècle, et un livre imprimé à Venise dans le seizième, qui est très précieux par sa rareté et par son sujet. C'est la Collection des Lois du Royaume de Jérusalem, qui sont passées dans le Royaume de Chypre sous la Maison de Lusignan, et qui paroissent s'y être conservées sous le gouvernement des Vénétiens. Ce livre est en Italien, et ne peut être par conséquent qu'une traduction. J'y ai vu la confirmation d'une circonstance racontée par tous les historiens, que Godefroi de Bouillon n'avoit jamais voulu se faire couronner pour ne pas porter une couronne d'or, dans les lieux même où son Dieu en avoit porté une d'épines. Ce livre a été ignoré de tous les savans. On croit même que Muratori ne le connoissoit pas. Il pourroit servir pour l'histoire des Croisades. De là nous sommes allés à l'église de Santa Croce. L'architecture n'a rien de considérable pour l'architecture: mais ce n'a pas été sans un respect secret que j'ai considéré les tombeaux de Galilée, et de Michel Ange, du restaurateur des arts, et de celui de la philosophie: génies vraiment puissans et originaux. Ils ont illustré leur patrie mieux que les conquérans et les politiques. Les Tartares ont eu un Jenghiz Khan, et les Goths un Alaric, mais nous détournons nos yeux des déserts ensanglantés de la Scythie pour les fixer avec plaisir sur Athènes et sur Florence.

Florence, Août 29, 1764.]—Nous sommes allés en corps avec le Chevalier Mann, pour faire visite au Maréchal Botta, qui est arrivé aujourd'hui de Vienne, en dix jours. C'est une course un peu forte pour un vieillard qui a soixante dix-sept ans, mais il paroît encore vert et vigoureux. Il nous a reçu poliment, mais il n'a parlé

the enthusiasm which I do not feel, I have ever scorned to affect. But, at the distance of twenty-five

parlé qu'au chevalier. C'est un homme singulier, qui s'est élevé aux plus grands emplois à force de bévues. Il a eu des ambassades brillantes, et des commandemens d'armées. Aujourdhui il est feld-maréchal, colonel d'un régiment d'infanterie, chef de la régence de Toscane, et vicaire-général de l'empire en Italie. On se plaint beaucoup de sa hauteur et de son avarice. Il se refuse aux dépenses les plus nécessaires pour envoyer beaucoup d'argent à Vienne, et dans sept ou huit ans, qu'il a gouverné la Toscane, il n'a rien fait pour le bien du pays. On compare cette conduite à celle de son prédécesseur le Comte de Richecourt, qui a dignement représenté son prince; qui a conclu un concordat très-avantageux avec la cour de Rome, supprimé l'inquisition, borné le nombre et la richesse des couvens par une loi de *mortmain*, qui a fait de grand chemin à Bologne, &c. &c.

Florence, Septembre 1, 1764.]—Le Chevalier Mann, comme à l'ordinaire. J'y ai vu un Baron Prussien, dont je ne sais pas le nom. Il y a quatre ou cinque ans qu'il voyage. Il a été en Angleterre, et parle très bon Anglois. Il me paroît joli garçon, et ne manque point de sens. J'ai causé avec lui sur son roi. Il est permis d'être curieux sur le compte d'un pareil homme. Je vois qu'il l'admire plus qu'il ne l'aime. A-t-il tort? Un de ses oncles s'est fait hacher en pièces pour ne pas essuyer les reproches durs et inévitables de son maître de ce qu'il n'avoit pas fait l'impossible. Le Roi de Prusse se pique de se connoître en physionomie, science qu'il estime, et qui doit plaire aux rois, parcequ'il semble leur donner les connoissances intentives d'un Etre supérieur. Le roi méprise tout homme qui paroît intimidé en sa présence. Mais ne distingueroit-il point entre le courtisan qui tremble devant un roi, et l'homme qui sent la supériorité d'un grand homme?

Pise, Septembre 24, 1764.]—J'ai trouvé à Pise mon parent le commandant Acton, avec son neveu, qui nous ont comblé de politesses. Je plains beaucoup ce pauvre vieillard. A l'âge de

five years, I can neither forget nor express the strong emotions which agitated my mind as I first approached and entered the *eternal city*. After a sleepless night, I trod, with a lofty step, the ruins of the Forum; each memorable spot where Romulus *stood*, or Tully spoke, or Cæsar fell, was at once present to my eye; and several days of intoxication were lost or enjoyed before I could descend to a cool and minute investigation. My guide was Mr. Byers, a Scotch antiquary of experience and taste; but, in the daily labour of eighteen weeks, the powers of attention were sometimes fatigued, till I was myself qualified, in a last review, to select and study the capital works of ancient and modern art. Six weeks were borrowed for my tour of Naples, the most populous of cities, relative to its size, whose luxurious inhabitants seem to dwell on the confines of paradise and hell-fire. I was presented to the boy-king by our new envoy, Sir William Hamilton; who, wisely diverting his correspondence from the Secretary of State to the Royal Society and British Museum, has elucidated a country of such inestimable value to the naturalist and antiquarian. On my return, I fondly embraced, for the last time, the miracles of Rome; but I departed with-

soixante ans il se trouve abandonné de tous les Anglois pour avoir changé de religion; accablé d'infirmité, sans espérance de revoir son pays, il se fixe parmi un peuple dont il n'a jamais pu apprendre la langue. Dans l'univers entier il ne lui reste que son neveu, dont la réputation a beaucoup souffert du changement de son oncle, qu'on attribue à son manège.

out

out kissing the foot of Rezzonico, (Clement XIII.) who neither possessed the wit of his predecessor Lambertini, nor the virtues of his successor Ganganelli. 3. In my pilgrimage from Rome to Loretto, I again crossed the Apennine; from the coast of the Adriatic I traversed a fruitful and populous country, which could alone disprove the paradox of Montesquieu, that modern Italy is a desert. Without adopting the exclusive prejudice of the natives, I sincerely admire the paintings of the Bologna school. I hastened to escape from the sad solitude of Ferrara, which in the age of Cæsar was still more desolate. The spectacle of Venice afforded some hours of astonishment; the university of Padua is a dying taper; but Verona still boasts her amphitheatre, and his native Vicenza is adorned by the classic architecture of Palladio: the road of Lombardy and Piedmont (did Montesquieu find them without inhabitants?) led me back to Milan, Turin, and the passage of Mount Cenis, where I again crossed the Alps in my way to Lyons.

The use of foreign travel has been often debated as a general question; but the conclusion must be finally applied to the character and circumstances of each individual. With the education of boys, *where* or *how* they may pass over some juvenile years with the least mischief to themselves or others, I have no concern. But after supposing the previous and indispensable requisites of age, judgment, a competent knowledge of men and books, and a freedom from domestic prejudices, I

will briefly describe the qualifications which I deem most essential to a traveller. He should be endowed with an active, indefatigable vigour of mind and body, which can seize every mode of conveyance, and support, with a careless smile, every hardship of the road, the weather, or the inn. The benefits of foreign travel will correspond with the degrees of these qualifications; but, in this sketch, those to whom I am known will not accuse me of framing my own panegyric. It was at Rome, on the 15th of October 1764, as I sat musing amidst the ruins of the Capitol, while the bare-footed fryars were singing vespers in the Temple of Jupiter*, that the idea of writing the decline and fall of the city first started to my mind. But my original plan was circumscribed to the decay of the city rather than of the empire: and, though my reading and reflections began to point towards that object, some years elapsed, and several avocations intervened, before I was seriously engaged in the execution of that laborious work.

I had not totally renounced the southern provinces of France, but the letters which I found at Lyons were expressive of some impatience. Rome and Italy had satiated my curious appetite, and I was now ready to return to the peaceful retreat of my family and books. After a happy fortnight I reluctantly left Paris, embarked at Calais, again landed at Dover, after an interval of

* Now the church of the Zocolants, or Franciscan Friars. S.

two

two years and five months, and hastily drove through the summer dust and solitude of London. On the 25th of June 1765, I arrived at my father's house; and the five years and a half between my travels and my father's death (1770) are the portion of my life which I passed with the least enjoyment, and which I remember with the least satisfaction. Every spring I attended the monthly meeting and exercise of the militia at Southampton; and by the resignation of my father, and the death of Sir Thomas Worsley, I was successively promoted to the rank of major and lieutenant-colonel commandant; but I was each year more disgusted with the inn, the wine, the company, and the tiresome repetition of annual attendance and daily exercise. At home, the economy of the family and farm still maintained the same creditable appearance. My connection with Mrs. Gibbon was mellowed into a warm and solid attachment; my growing years abolished the distance that might yet remain between a parent and a son, and my behaviour satisfied my father, who was proud of the success, however imperfect in his own lifetime, of my literary talents. Our solitude was soon and often enlivened by the visit of the friend of my youth, Mr. Deyverdun, whose absence from Lausanne I had sincerely lamented. About three years after my first departure, he had emigrated from his native lake to the banks of the Oder in Germany. The *res angusta domi*, the waste of a decent patrimony, by an improvident father, obliged him, like many of his countrymen,

to confide in his own industry; and he was entrusted with the education of a young prince, the grandson of the Margrave of Schavedt, of the Royal Family of Prussia. Our friendship was never cooled, our correspondence was sometimes interrupted; but I rather wished than hoped to obtain Mr. Deyverdun for the companion of my Italian tour. An unhappy, though honourable passion, drove him from his German court; and the attractions of hope and curiosity were fortified by the expectation of my speedy return to England. During four successive summers he passed several weeks or months at Beriton, and our free conversations, on every topic that could interest the heart or understanding, would have reconciled me to a desert or a prison. In the winter months of London my sphere of knowledge and action was somewhat enlarged, by the many new acquaintance which I had contracted in the militia and abroad; and I must regret, as more than an acquaintance, Mr. Godfrey Clarke of Derbyshire, an amiable and worthy young man, who was snatched away by an untimely death. A weekly convivial meeting was established by myself and other travellers, under the name of the Roman Club.*

* The members were Lord Mountstuart, (now Marquis of Bute,) Colonel Edmonstone, Wm. Weddal, Rev. Mr. Palgrave, Earl of Berkley, Godfrey Clarke, (Member for Derbyshire,) Holroyd, (Lord Sheffield,) Major Ridley, Thomas Charles Bigge, Sir William Guize, Sir John Aubrey, the late Earl of Abingdon, Hon. Peregrine Bertie, Rev. Mr. Cleaver, Hon. John Damer, Hon. George Damer, (late Earl of Dorchester,) Sir Thomas Gascoygne, Sir John Hort, E. Gibbon.

The

The renewal, or perhaps the improvement, of my English life was embittered by the alteration of my own feelings. At the age of twenty-one I was, in my proper station of a youth, delivered from the yoke of education, and delighted with the comparative state of liberty and affluence. My filial obedience was natural and easy; and in the gay prospect of futurity, my ambition did not extend beyond the enjoyment of my books, my leisure, and my patrimonial estate, undisturbed by the cares of a family and the duties of a profession. But in the militia I was armed with power; in my travels, I was exempt from controul; and as I approached, as I gradually passed my thirtieth year, I began to feel the desire of being master in my own house. The most gentle authority will sometimes frown without reason, the most cheerful submission will sometimes murmur without cause; and such is the law of our imperfect nature, that we must either command or obey; that our personal liberty is supported by the obsequiousness of our own dependants. While so many of my acquaintance were married or in parliament, or advancing with a rapid step in the various roads of honour and fortune, I stood alone, immovable and insignificant; for after the monthly meeting of 1770, I had even withdrawn myself from the militia, by the resignation of an empty and barren commission. My temper is not susceptible of envy, and the view of successful merit has always excited my warmest applause. The miseries of a vacant life were never known to a man

man whose hours were insufficient for the inexhaustible pleasures of study. But I lamented that at the proper age I had not embraced the lucrative pursuits of the law or of trade, the chances of civil office or India adventure, or even the fat slumbers of the church; and my repentance became more lively as the loss of time was more irretrievable. Experience shewed me the use of grafting my private consequence on the importance of a great professional body; the benefits of those firm connections which are cemented by hope and interest, by gratitude and emulation, by the mutual exchange of services and favours. From the emoluments of a profession I might have derived an ample fortune, or a competent income, instead of being stinted to the same narrow allowance, to be increased only by an event which I sincerely deprecated. The progress and the knowledge of our domestic disorders aggravated my anxiety, and I began to apprehend that I might be left in my old age without the fruits either of industry or inheritance.

In the first summer after my return, whilst I enjoyed at Beriton the society of my friend Deyverdun, our daily conversations expatiated over the field of ancient and modern literature; and we freely discussed my studies, my first Essay, and my future projects. The Decline and Fall of Rome I still contemplated at an awful distance: but the two historical designs which had balanced my choice were submitted to his taste; and in the parallel between the Revolutions of Florence and Switzerland,

Switzerland, our common partiality for a country which was *his* by birth, and *mine* by adoption, inclined the scale in favour of the latter. According to the plan, which was soon conceived and digested, I embraced a period of two hundred years, from the association of the three peasants of the Alps to the plenitude and prosperity of the Helvetic body in the sixteenth century. I should have described the deliverance and victory of the Swiss, who have never shed the blood of their tyrants but in a field of battle; the laws and manners of the confederate states; the splendid trophies of the Austrian, Burgundian, and Italian wars; and the wisdom of a nation, who, after some sallies of martial adventure, has been content to guard the blessings of peace with the sword of freedom.

—— Manus hæc inimica tyrannis
Ense petit placidam sub libertate quietem,

My judgment, as well as my enthusiasm, was satisfied with the glorious theme; and the assistance of Deyverdun seemed to remove an insuperable obstacle. The French or Latin memorials, of which I was not ignorant, are inconsiderable in number and weight; but in the perfect acquaintance of my friend with the German language, I found the key of a more valuable collection. The most necessary books were procured; he translated, for my use, the folio volume of Schilling, a copious and contemporary relation of the war of Burgundy; we read and marked the most interesting parts of the great

great chronicle of Tschudi; and by his labour, or that of an inferior assistant, large extracts were made from the History of Lauffer and the Dictionary of Lew; yet such was the distance and delay, that two years elapsed in these preparatory steps; and it was late in the third summer (1767) before I entered, with these slender materials, on the more agreeable task of composition. A specimen of my History, the first book, was read the following winter in a literary society of foreigners in London; and as the author was unknown, I listened, without observation, to the free strictures, and unfavourable sentence, of my judges.* The momentary sensation was painful; but their condemnation was ratified by my cooler thoughts. I delivered my

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

From Mr. Hume *to* Mr. 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

my imperfect sheets to the flames,* and for ever renounced a design in which some expense, much labour, and more time, had been so vainly consumed. I cannot regret the loss of a slight and superficial essay; for such the work must have been in the hands of a stranger, uninformed by the scholars and statesmen, and remote from the libraries and archives of the Swiss republics. My ancient habits, and the presence of Deyverdun, encouraged me to write in French for the continent of Europe; but I was conscious myself that my style, above prose and below poetry, degenerated into a verbose and turgid declamation. Perhaps I may

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 coloured, 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.

* 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. Mr. Hume's opinion, expressed in the letter in the last note, perhaps may justify the publication of it. S.

impute

impute the failure to the injudicious choice of a foreign language. Perhaps I may suspect that the language itself is ill adapted to sustain the vigour and dignity of an important narrative. But if France, so rich in literary merit, had produced a great original historian, his genius would have formed and fixed the idiom to the proper tone, the peculiar mode of historical eloquence.

It was in search of some liberal and lucrative employment that my friend Deyverdun had visited England. His remittances from home were scanty and precarious. My purse was always open, but it was often empty; and I bitterly felt the want of riches and power, which might have enabled me to correct the errors of his fortune. His wishes and qualifications solicited the station of the travelling governor of some wealthy pupil; but every vacancy provoked so many eager candidates, that for a long time I struggled without success; nor was it till after much application that I could even place him as a clerk in the office of the secretary of state. In a residence of several years he never acquired the just pronunciation and familiar use of the English tongue, but he read our most difficult authors with ease and taste: his critical knowledge of our language and poetry was such as few foreigners have possessed; and few of our countrymen could enjoy the theatre of Shakespeare and Garrick with more exquisite feeling and discernment. The consciousness of his own strength, and the assurance of my aid, emboldened him to imitate the example of Dr. Maty, whose *Journal Brittannique*

tannique was esteemed and regretted; and to improve his model, by uniting with the transactions of literature a philosophic view of the arts and manners of the British nation. Our Journal for the year 1767, under the title of *Mémoires Littéraires de la Grande Bretagne*, was soon finished and sent to the press. For the first article, Lord Lyttelton's History of Henry II, I must own myself responsible; but the public has ratified my judgment of that voluminous work, in which sense and learning are not illuminated by a ray of genius. The next specimen was the choice of my friend, *the Bath Guide*, a light and whimsical performance, of local, and even verbal, pleasantry. I started at the attempt: he smiled at my fears: his courage was justified by success; and a master of both languages will applaud the curious felicity with which he has transfused into French prose the spirit, and even the humour, of the English verse. It is not my wish to deny how deeply I was interested in these Memoirs, of which I need not surely be ashamed; but at the distance of more than twenty years, it would be impossible for me to ascertain the respective shares of the two associates. A long and intimate communication of ideas had cast our sentiments and style in the same mould. In our social labours we composed and corrected by turns; and the praise which I might honestly bestow, would fall perhaps on some article or passage most properly my own. A second volume (for the year 1768) was published of these Memoirs. I will presume to say, that their merit was superior

to

to their reputation; but it is not less true, that they were productive of more reputation than emolument. They introduced my friend to the protection, and myself to the acquaintance, of the Earl of Chesterfield, whose age and infirmities secluded him from the world; and of Mr. David Hume, who was under-secretary to the office in which Deyverdun was more humbly employed. The former accepted a dedication, (April 12th, 1769,) and reserved the author for the future education of his successor: the latter enriched the Journal with a reply to Mr. Walpole's Historical Doubts, which he afterwards shaped into the form of a note. The materials of the third volume were almost completed, when I recommended Deyverdun as governor to Sir Richard Worsley, a youth, the son of my old lieutenant-colonel, who was lately deceased. They set forwards on their travels; nor did they return to England till some time after my father's death.

My next publication was an accidental sally of love and resentment; of my reverence for modest genius, and my aversion for insolent pedantry. The sixth book of the Æneid is the most pleasing and perfect composition of Latin poetry. The descent of Æneas and the Sybil to the infernal regions, to the world of spirits, expands an awful and boundless prospect, from the nocturnal gloom of the Cumæan grot,

Ibant obscuri solâ sub nocte per umbram,

to the meridian brightness of the Elysian fields;

Largior

Largior hic campos æther ĕt lumine vestit
Purpureo ————

from the dreams of simple Nature, to the dreams, alas! of Egyptian theology, and the philosophy of the Greeks. But the final dismission of the hero through the ivory gate, whence

Falsa ad cœlum mittunt insomnia manes,

seems to dissolve the whole enchantment, and leaves the reader in a state of cold and anxious scepticism. This most lame and impotent conclusion has been variously imputed to the taste or irreligion of Virgil; but, according to the more elaborate interpretation of Bishop Warburton, the descent to hell is not a false, but a mimic scene; which represents the initiation of Æneas, in the character of a law-giver, to the Eleusinian mysteries. This hypothesis, a singular chapter in the Divine Legation of Moses, had been admitted by many as true; it was praised by all as ingenious; nor had it been exposed, in a space of thirty years, to a fair and critical discussion. The learning and the abilities of the author had raised him to a just eminence; but he reigned the dictator and tyrant of the world of literature. The real merit of Warburton was degraded by the pride and presumption with which he pronounced his infallible decrees; in his polemic writings he lashed his antagonists without mercy or moderation; and his servile flatterers, (see the base and malignant Essay on the *Delicacy of Friendship*,*) exalting the

* By Hurd, afterwards Bishop of Worcester.

master critic far above Aristotle and Longinus, assaulted every modest dissenter who refused to consult the oracle, and to adore the idol. In a land of liberty, such despotism must provoke a general opposition, and the zeal of opposition is seldom candid or impartial. A late professor of Oxford, (Dr. Lowth,) in a pointed and polished epistle, (August 31st, 1765,) defended himself, and attacked the Bishop; and, whatsoever might be the merits of an insignificant controversy, his victory was clearly established by the silent confusion of Warburton and his slaves. *I* too, without any private offence, was ambitious of breaking a lance against the giant's shield; and in the beginning of the year 1770, my Critical Observations on the Sixth Book of the Æneid were sent, without my name, to the press. In this short Essay, my first English publication, I aimed my strokes against the person and the hypothesis of Bishop Warburton. I proved, at least to my own satisfaction, *that* the ancient lawgivers did not invent the mysteries, and *that* Æneas was never invested with the office of lawgiver: *that* there is not any argument, any circumstance, which can melt a fable into allegory, or remove the scene from the Lake Avernus to the Temple of Ceres: *that* such a wild supposition is equally injurious to the poet and the man: *that* if Virgil was not initiated he could not, if he were he would not, reveal the secrets of the initiation: *that* the anathema of Horace (*vetabo qui Cereris sacrum vulgarit, &c.*) at once attests his own ignorance and the innocence of his friend. As the Bishop of Gloucester and his

his party maintained a discreet silence, my critical disquisition was soon lost among the pamphlets of the day; but the public coldness was overbalanced to my feelings by the weighty approbation of the last and best editor of Virgil, Professor Heyne of Gottingen, who acquiesces in my confutation, and styles the unknown author, *doctus - - - et elegantissimus Britannus*. But I cannot resist the temptation of transcribing the favourable judgment of Mr. Hayley, himself a poet and a scholar: "An intricate hypothesis, twisted into a long and laboured chain of quotation and argument, the Dissertation on the Sixth Book of Virgil, remained some time unrefuted. - - - - At length, a superior, but anonymous, critic arose, who, in one of the most judicious and spirited essays that our nation has produced, on a point of classical literature, completely overturned this ill-founded edifice, and exposed the arrogance and futility of its assuming architect." He even condescends to justify an acrimony of style, which had been gently blamed by the more unbiassed German; "*Paullo acrius quam velis - - - - perstrinxit.*"* But I cannot forgive myself the contemptuous treatment of a man who, with all his faults, was entitled to my esteem;† and

* 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."

† The Divine Legation of Moses is a monument, already crumbling in the dust, of the vigour and weakness of the human

 mind.

and I can less forgive, in a personal attack, the cowardly concealment of my name and character.

In the fifteen years between my Essay on the Study of Literature and the first volume of the Decline and Fall, (1761—1776,) this criticism on Warburton, and some articles in the Journal, were my sole publications. It is more especially incumbent on me to mark the employment, or to confess the waste of time, from my travels to my father's death, an interval in which I was not diverted by any professional duties from the labours and pleasures of a studious life. 1. As soon as I was released from the fruitless task of the Swiss revolutions, (1768,) I began gradually to advance from the wish to the hope, from the hope to the design, from the design to the execution, of my historical work, of whose limits and extent I had yet a very inadequate notion. The Classics, as low as Tacitus, the younger Pliny, and Juvenal, were my old and familiar companions. I insensibly plunged into the ocean of the Augustan history; and in the descending series I investigated, with my pen almost always in my hand, the original records, both Greek and Latin, from Dion Cassius to Ammianus Marcellinus, from the reign of Trajan to the last age of the Western Cæsars. The sub-

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.

sidiary

sidiary rays of medals, and inscriptions of geography and chronology, were thrown on their proper objects; and I applied the collections of Tillemont, whose inimitable accuracy almost assumes the character of genius, to fix and arrange within my reach the loose and scattered atoms of historical information. Through the darkness of the middle ages I explored my way in the Annals and Antiquities of Italy of the learned Muratori; and diligently compared them with the parallel or transverse lines of Sigonius and Maffei, Baronius and Pagi, till I almost grasped the ruins of Rome in the fourteenth century, without suspecting that this final chapter must be attained by the labour of six quartos and twenty years. Among the books which I purchased, the Theodosian Code, with the commentary of James Godefroy, must be gratefully remembered, I used it (and much I used it) as a work of history, rather than of jurisprudence: but in every light it may be considered as a full and capacious repository of the political state of the empire in the fourth and fifth centuries. As I believed, and as I still believe, that the propagation of the Gospel, and the triumph of the church, are inseparably connected with the decline of the Roman monarchy, I weighed the causes and effects of the revolution, and contrasted the narratives and apologies of the Christians themselves, with the glances of candour or enmity which the Pagans have cast on the rising sects. The Jewish and Heathen testimonies, as they are collected and illustrated by Dr. Lardner, directed, without superseding,

seding, my search of the originals; and in an ample dissertation on the miraculous darkness of the passion, I privately drew my conclusions from the silence of an unbelieving age. I have assembled the preparatory studies, directly or indirectly relative to my history; but, in strict equity, they must be spread beyond this period of my life, over the two summers (1771 and 1772) that elapsed between my father's death and my settlement in London. 2. In a free conversation with books and men, it would be endless to enumerate the names and characters of all who are introduced to our acquaintance; but in this general acquaintance we may select the degrees of friendship and esteem. According to the wise maxim, *Multum legere potius quam multa*, I reviewed, again and again, the immortal works of the French and English, the Latin and Italian classics. My Greek studies (though less assiduous than I designed) maintained and extended my knowledge of that incomparable idiom. Homer and Xenophon were still my favourite authors; and I had almost prepared for the press an Essay on the Cyropœdia, which, in my own judgment, is not unhappily laboured. After a certain age, the new publications of merit are the sole food of the many; and the most austere student will be often tempted to break the line, for the sake of indulging his own curiosity, and of providing the topics of fashionable currency. A more respectable motive may be assigned for the third perusal of Blackstone's Commentaries, and a copious and critical abstract of that English work

was

was my first serious production in my native language. 3. My literary leisure was much less complete and independent than it might appear to the eye of a stranger. In the hurry of London I was destitute of books; in the solitude of Hampshire I was not master of my time. My quiet was gradually disturbed by our domestic anxiety, and I should be ashamed of my unfeeling philosophy, had I found much time or taste for study in the last fatal summer (1770) of my father's decay and dissolution.

The disembodying of the militia at the close of the war (1763) had restored the Major (a new Cincinnatus) to a life of agriculture. His labours were useful, his pleasures innocent, his wishes moderate; and my father *seemed* to enjoy the state of happiness which is celebrated by poets and philosophers, as the most agreeable to nature, and the least accessible to fortune.

> Beatus ille, qui procul negotiis
> (Ut prisca gens mortalium)
> Paterna rura bobus exercet suis,
> Solutus omni fœnore.* HOR. *Epod.* ii.

But the last indispensable condition, the freedom from debt, was wanting to my father's felicity; and the vanities of his youth were severely punished by the solicitude and sorrow of his declining age. The first mortgage, on my return

* 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.

from Lausanne, (1758,) had afforded him a partial and transient relief. The annual demand of interest and allowance was a heavy deduction from his income; the militia was a source of expense, the farm in his hands was not a profitable adventure, he was loaded with the costs and damages of an obsolete law-suit; and each year multiplied the number, and exhausted the patience, of his creditors. Under these painful circumstances, I consented to an additional mortgage, to the sale of Putney, and to every sacrifice that could alleviate his distress. But he was no longer capable of a rational effort, and his reluctant delays postponed not the evils themselves, but the remedies of those evils (*remedia malorum potius quam mala differebat.*) The pangs of shame, tenderness, and self-reproach, incessantly preyed on his vitals; his constitution was broken; he lost his strength and his sight: the rapid progress of a dropsy admonished him of his end, and he sunk into the grave on the 10th of November, 1770, in the sixty-fourth year of his age. A family-tradition insinuates that Mr. William Law had drawn his pupil in the light and inconstant character of *Flatus*, who is ever confident, and ever disappointed in the chace of happiness. But these constitutional failings were happily compensated by the virtues of the head and heart, by the warmest sentiments of honour and humanity. His graceful person, polite address, gentle manners, and unaffected cheerfulness, recommended him to the favour of every company; and in the change of times and opinions, his liberal spirit had long

long since delivered him from the zeal and prejudice of a Tory education. I submitted to the order of Nature; and my grief was soothed by the conscious satisfaction that I had discharged all the duties of filial piety.

As soon as I had paid the last solemn duties to my father, and obtained, from time and reason, a tolerable composure of mind, I began to form a plan of an independent life, most adapted to my circumstances and inclination. Yet so intricate was the net, my efforts were so awkward and feeble, that nearly two years (November 1770—October 1772) were suffered to elapse before I could disentangle myself from the management of the farm, and transfer my residence from Beriton to a house in London. During this interval I continued to divide my year between town and the country; but my new situation was brightened by hope; my stay in London was prolonged into the summer; and the uniformity of the summer was occasionally broken by visits and excursions at a distance from home. The gratification of my desires (they were not immoderate) has been seldom disappointed by the want of money or credit; my pride was never insulted by the visit of an importunate tradesman; and my transient anxiety for the past or future has been dispelled by the studious or social occupation of the present hour. My conscience does not accuse me of any act of extravagance or injustice, and the remnant of my estate affords an ample and honourable provision for

for my declining age. I shall not expatiate on my economical affairs, which cannot be instructive or amusing to the reader. It is a rule of prudence, as well as of politeness, to reserve such confidence for the ear of a private friend, without exposing our situation to the envy or pity of strangers; for envy is productive of hatred, and pity borders too nearly on contempt. Yet I may believe, and even assert, that in circumstances more indigent or more wealthy, I should never have accomplished the task, or acquired the fame, of an historian; that my spirit would have been broken by poverty and contempt, and that my industry might have been relaxed in the labour and luxury of a superfluous fortune.

I had now attained the first of earthly blessings, independence: I was the absolute master of my hours and actions: nor was I deceived in the hope that the establishment of my library in town would allow me to divide the day between study and society. Each year the circle of my acquaintance, the number of my dead and living companions, was enlarged. To a lover of books, the shops and sales of London present irresistible temptations; and the manufacture of my history required a various and growing stock of materials. The militia, my travels, the House of Commons, the fame of an author contributed to multiply my connections: I was chosen a member of the fashionable clubs; and, before I left England in 1783, there were few persons of any eminence in the literary or political world

world to whom I was a stranger.* It would most assuredly be in my power to amuse the reader with a gallery of portraits and a collection of anecdotes. But I have always condemned the practice of transforming a private memorial into a vehicle of satire or praise. By my own choice I passed in town the greatest part of the year: but whenever I was desirous of breathing the air of the country, I possessed an hospitable retreat at Sheffield-place in Sussex, in the family of my valuable friend Mr. Holroyd, whose character, under the name of Lord Sheffield, has since been more conspicuous to the public.

No sooner was I settled in my house and library, than I undertook the composition of the first volume of my history. At the outset all was dark and doubtful; even the title of the work, the true æra of the Decline and Fall of the Empire, the limits of the introduction, the division of the chapters, and the order of the narrative; and I was often tempted to cast away the labour of seven years. The style of an author should be the

* From the mixed, though polite company of Boodle's, White's, and Brooks's, I must honourably 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 Beauclerc, 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.

image

image of his mind, but the choice and command of language is the fruit of exercise. Many experiments were made before I could hit the middle tone between a dull chronicle and a rhetorical declamation: three times did I compose the first chapter, and twice the second and third, before I was tolerably satisfied with their effect. In the remainder of the way I advanced with a more equal and easy pace; but the fifteenth and sixteenth chapters have been reduced by three successive revisals, from a large volume to their present size; and they might still be compressed, without any loss of facts or sentiments. An opposite fault may be imputed to the concise and superficial narrative of the first reigns from Commodus to Alexander; a fault of which I have never heard, except from Mr. Hume in his last journey to London. Such an oracle might have been consulted and obeyed with rational devotion; but I was soon disgusted with the modest practice of reading the manuscript to my friends. Of such friends some will praise from politeness, and some will criticise from vanity. The author himself is the best judge of his own performance; no one has so deeply meditated on the subject; no one is so sincerely interested in the event.

By the friendship of Mr. (now Lord) Eliot, who had married my first cousin, I was returned at the general election for the borough of Leskeard. I took my seat at the beginning of the memorable contest between Great Britain and America, and supported, with many a sincere and silent vote, he

the rights, though not, perhaps, the interest, of the mother-country. After a fleeting illusive hope, prudence condemned me to acquiesce in the humble station of a mute. I was not armed by Nature and education with the intrepid energy of mind and voice,

Vincentem strepitus, et natum rebus agendis.

Timidity was fortified by pride, and even the success of my pen discouraged the trial of my voice.* But I assisted at the debates of a free assembly; I listened to the attack and defence of eloquence and reason; I had a near prospect of the characters, views, and passions of the first men of the age. The cause of government was ably vindicated by *Lord North*, a statesman of spotless integrity, a consummate master of debate, who could wield, with equal dexterity, the arms of reason and of ridicule. He was seated on the Treasury-bench between his Attorney and Solicitor General, the two pillars of the law and state, *magis pares quam similes;* and the minister might indulge in a short

* 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 candour. Depuis huit ans il a assisté aux déliberations 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. S.

slumber,

slumber, whilst he was upholden on either hand by the majestic sense of *Thurlow*, and the skilful eloquence of *Wedderburne*. From the adverse side of the house an ardent and powerful opposition was supported, by the lively declamation of *Barré*, the legal acuteness of *Dunning*, the profuse and philosophic fancy of *Burke*, and the argumentative vehemence of *Fox*, who, in the conduct of a party, approved himself equal to the conduct of an empire. By such men every operation of peace and war, every principle of justice or policy, every question of authority and freedom, was attacked and defended; and the subject of the momentous contest was the union or separation of Great Britain and America. The eight sessions that I sat in parliament were a school of civil prudence, the first and most essential virtue of an historian.

The volume of my History, which had been somewhat delayed by the novelty and tumult of a first session, was now ready for the press. After the perilous adventure had been declined by my friend Mr. Elmsly, I agreed, upon easy terms, with Mr. Thomas Cadell, a respectable bookseller, and Mr. William Strahan, an eminent printer; and they undertook the care and risk of the publication, which derived more credit from the name of the shop than from that of the author. The last revisal of the proofs was submitted to my vigilance; and many blemishes of style, which had been invisible in the manuscript, were discovered and corrected in the printed sheet. So moderate were

our

our hopes, that the original impression had been stinted to five hundred, till the number was doubled by the prophetic taste of Mr. Strahan. During this awful interval I was neither elated by the ambition of fame, nor depressed by the apprehension of contempt. My diligence and accuracy were attested by my own conscience. History is the most popular species of writing, since it can adapt itself to the highest or the lowest capacity. I had chosen an illustrious subject. Rome is familiar to the school-boy and the statesman; and my narrative was deduced from the last period of classical reading. I had likewise flattered myself, that an age of light and liberty would receive, without scandal, an inquiry into the human *causes* of the progress and establishment of Christianity.

I am at a loss how to describe the success of the work, without betraying the vanity of the writer. The first impression was exhausted in a few days; a second and third edition were scarcely adequate to the demand; and the bookseller's property was twice invaded by the pirates of Dublin. My book was on every table, and almost on every toilette; the historian was crowned by the taste or fashion of the day; nor was the general voice disturbed by the barking of any *profane* critic. The favour of mankind is most freely bestowed on a new acquaintance of any original merit; and the mutual surprize of the public and their favourite is productive of those warm sensibilities, which at a second meeting can no longer be rekindled. If I listened

listened to the music of praise, I was more seriously satisfied with the approbation of my judges. The candour of Dr. Robertson embraced his disciple. A letter from Mr. Hume overpaid the labour of ten years; but I have never presumed to accept a place in the triumvirate of British historians.

That curious and original letter will amuse the reader, and his gratitude should shield my free communication from the reproach of vanity.

Edinburgh, 18th March, 1776.

"DEAR SIR,

"As I ran through your volume of history with great avidity and impatience, I cannot forbear discovering somewhat of the same impatience in returning you thanks for your agreeable present, and expressing the satisfaction which the performance has given me. Whether I consider the dignity of your style, the depth of your matter, or the extensiveness of your learning, I must regard the work as equally the object of esteem; and I own that if I had not previously had the happiness of your personal acquaintance, such a performance from an Englishman in our age would have given me some surprize. You may smile at this sentiment, but as it seems to me that your countrymen, for almost a whole generation, have given themselves up to barbarous and absurd faction, and have totally neglected all polite letters, I no longer expected any valuable production ever to come from them. I know it will give you pleasure (as it

it did me) to find that all the men of letters in this place concur in their admiration of your work, and in their anxious desire of your continuing it.

" When I heard of your undertaking, (which was some time ago,) I own I was a little curious to see how you would extricate yourself from the subject of your two last chapters. I think you have observed a very prudent temperament; but it was impossible to treat the subject so as not to give grounds of suspicion against you, and you may expect that a clamour will arise. This, if any thing, will retard your success with the public; for in every other respect your work is calculated to be popular. But among many other marks of decline, the prevalence of superstition in England prognosticates the fall of philosophy and decay of taste; and though nobody be more capable than you to revive them, you will probably find a struggle in your first advances.

" I see you entertain a great doubt with regard to the authenticity of the poems of Ossian. You are certainly right in so doing. It is indeed strange that any men of sense could have imagined it possible, that above twenty thousand verses, along with numberless historical facts, could have been preserved by oral tradition during fifty generations, by the rudest, perhaps, of all the European nations, the most necessitous, the most turbulent, and the most unsettled. Where a supposition is so contrary to common sense, any positive evidence of it ought never to be regarded. Men run with great avidity to give their evidence in favour of

what flatters their passions and their national prejudices. You are therefore over and above indulgent to us in speaking of the matter with hesitation.

"I must inform you that we are all very anxious to hear that you have fully collected the materials for your second volume, and that you are even considerably advanced in the composition of it. I speak this more in the name of my friends than in my own, as I cannot expect to live so long as to see the publication of it. Your ensuing volume will be more delicate than the preceding, but I trust in your prudence for extricating you from the difficulties; and, in all events, you have courage to despise the clamour of bigots.

I am, with great regard,
Dear Sir,
Your most obedient, and most humble servant,
DAVID HUME."

Some weeks afterwards I had the melancholy pleasure of seeing Mr. Hume in his passage through London; his body feeble, his mind firm. On the 25th of August of the same year (1776) he died, at Edinburgh, the death of a philosopher.

My second excursion to Paris was determined by the pressing invitation of M. and Madame Necker, who had visited England in the preceding summer. On my arrival I found M. Necker Director-general of the finances, in the first bloom of power and popularity. His private fortune enabled

enabled him to support a liberal establishment; and his wife, whose talents and virtues I had long admired, was admirably qualified to preside in the conversation of her table and drawing-room. As their friend, I was introduced to the best company of both sexes; to the foreign ministers of all nations; and to the first names and characters of France, who distinguished me by such marks of civility and kindness, as gratitude will not suffer me to forget, and modesty will not allow me to enumerate. The fashionable suppers often broke into the morning hours; yet I occasionally consulted the Royal Library, and that of the Abbey of St. Germain, and in the free use of their books at home, I had always reason to praise the liberality of those institutions. The society of men of letters I neither courted nor declined; but I was happy in the acquaintance of M. de Buffon, who united with a sublime genius the most amiable simplicity of mind and manners. At the table of my old friend, M. de Forcemagne, I was involved in a dispute with the Abbé de Mably; and his jealous irascible spirit revenged itself on a work which he was incapable of reading in the original.

As I might be partial in my own cause, I shall transcribe the words of an unknown critic, observing only, that this dispute had been preceded by another on the English constitution, at the house of the Countess de Froulay, an old Jansenist lady.

"Vous étiez chez M. de Forcemagne, mon cher Théodon, le jour que M. l'Abbé de Mably et M.

Gibbon y dinèrent en grande compagnie. La conversation roula presque entièrement sur l'histoire. L'Abbé, étant un profond politique, la tourna sur l'administration, quand on fut au dessert; et comme par caractère, par humeur, par l'habitude d'admirer Tite Live, il ne prise que le système républicain, il se mit à vanter l'excellence des républiques; bien persuadé que le savant Anglois l'approuveroit en tout, et admireroit la profondeur de génie qui avoit fait deviner tous ces avantages à un François. Mais M. Gibbon, instruit par l'expérience des inconvéniens d'un gouvernement populaire, ne fut point du tout de son avis, et il prit généreusement la défense du gouvernement monarchique. L'Abbé voulut le convaincre par Tite Live, et par quelques argumens tirés de Plutarque en faveur des Spartiates. M. Gibbon, doué de la mémoire la plus heureuse, et ayant tous les faits présens à la pensée, domina bientôt la conversation; l'Abbé se fâcha, il s'emporta, il dit des choses dures; l'Anglois, conservant le phlegme de son pays, prenoit ses avantages, et pressoit l'Abbé avec d'autant plus de succès que la colère le troubloit de plus en plus. La conversation s'échauffoit, et M. de Forcemagne la rompit en se levant de table, et en passant dans le salon, où personne ne fut tenté de la renouer." *Supplément de la Manière d'écrire l'Histoire,* p. 125, &c.*

Nearly

* 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*,

Nearly two years had elapsed between the publication of my first and the commencement of my second volume; and the causes must be assigned of this long delay. 1. After a short holiday, I indulged my curiosity in some studies of a very different nature, a course of anatomy, which was demonstrated by Doctor Hunter, and some lessons of chemistry, which were delivered by Mr. Higgins. The principles of these sciences, and a taste for books of natural history, contributed to multiply my ideas and images; and the anatomist and chemist may sometimes track me in their own snow. 2. I dived, perhaps too deeply, into the mud of the Arian controversy; and many days of reading, thinking, and writing were consumed in the pursuit of a phantom. 3. It is difficult to arrange, with order and perspicuity, the various

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 Reynal, 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 des 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.)

transactions of the age of Constantine; and so much was I displeased with the first essay, that I committed to the flames above fifty sheets. 4. The six months of Paris and pleasure must be deducted from the account. But when I resumed my task I felt my improvement; I was now master of my style and subject, and while the measure of my daily performance was enlarged, I discovered less reason to cancel or correct. It has always been my practice to cast a long paragraph in a single mould, to try it by my ear, to deposit it in my memory, but to suspend the action of the pen till I had given the last polish to my work. Shall I add, that I never found my mind more vigorous, nor my composition more happy, than in the winter hurry of society and parliament?

Had I believed that the majority of English readers were so fondly attached even to the name and shadow of Christianity; had I foreseen that the pious, the timid, and the prudent, would feel, or affect to feel, with such exquisite sensibility; I might, perhaps, have softened the two invidious chapters, which would create many enemies, and conciliate few friends. But the shaft was shot, the alarm was sounded, and I could only rejoice, that if the voice of our priests was clamorous and bitter, their hands were disarmed from the powers of persecution. I adhered to the wise resolution of trusting myself and my writings to the candour of the public, till Mr. Davies of Oxford presumed to attack, not the faith, but the fidelity, of the historian. *My Vindication*, expressive of less anger than contempt,

contempt, amused for a moment the busy and idle metropolis; and the most rational part of the laity, and even of the clergy, appear to have been satisfied of my innocence and accuracy. I would not print this Vindication in quarto, lest it should be bound and preserved with the history itself. At the distance of twelve years, I calmly affirm my judgment of Davies, Chelsum, &c. A victory over such antagonists was a sufficient humiliation. They however, were rewarded in this world. Poor Chelsum was indeed neglected; and I dare not boast the making Dr. Watson a bishop; he is a prelate of a large mind and liberal spirit:* but I enjoyed the pleasure of giving a royal pension to Mr. Davies, and of collating Dr. Apthorpe to an archiepiscopal living. Their success encouraged the zeal of Taylor the Arian,† and Milner the Methodist,‡ with many others, whom it would be difficult to remember, and tedious to rehearse. The list of my ad-

* See Appendix, Letters, dated 2d and 4th Nov. 1776; and Jan. 14th, 1779.

† 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.

‡ 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.

versaries, however, was graced with the more respectable names of Dr. Priestley, Sir David Dalrymple, and Dr. White; and every polemic, of either university, discharged his sermon or pamphlet against the impenetrable silence of the Roman historian. In his History of the Corruptions of Christianity, Dr. Priestley threw down his two gauntlets to Bishop Hurd and Mr. Gibbon. I declined the challenge in a letter, exhorting my opponent to enlighten the world by his philosophical discoveries,* and to remember that the merit of his predecessor Servetus is now reduced to a single passage, which indicates the smaller circulation of the blood through the lungs, from and to the heart.† Instead of listening to this friendly advice, the dauntless philosopher of Birmingham continued to fire away his double battery against those who believed too little, and those who believed too much. *From my* replies he has nothing to hope or fear: but his Socinian shield has repeatedly been pierced by the mighty spear of Horsley, and his trumpet of sedition may at length awaken the magistrates of a free country.

The profession and rank of Sir David Dalrymple (now a Lord of Session) has given a more decent colour to his style. But he scrutinized each separate passage of the two chapters with the dry minuteness of a special pleader; and as he was al-

* See Correspondence with Dr. Priestley. Appendix, Letters dated 23d Jan. to 25th Feb. 1783.

† Astruc de la Structure du Cœur, tom. i. 77, 79.

ways

ways solicitous to make, he may have succeeded sometimes in finding, a flaw. In his Annals of Scotland, he has shewn himself a diligent collector and an accurate critic.

I have praised, and I still praise, the eloquent sermons which were preached in St. Mary's pulpit at Oxford by Dr. White. If he assaulted me with some degree of illiberal acrimony, in such a place, and before such an audience, he was obliged to speak the language of the country. I smiled at a passage in one of his private letters to Mr. Badcock; "The part where we encounter Gibbon must be brilliant and striking."

In a sermon preached before the university of Cambridge, Dr. Edwards complimented a work, "which can only perish with the language itself;" and esteems the author a formidable enemy. He is, indeed, astonished that more learning and ingenuity has not been shewn in the defence of Israel; that the prelates and dignitaries of the church (alas, good man!) did not vie with each other, whose stone should sink the deepest in the forehead of this Goliah.

"But the force of truth will oblige us to confess, that in the attacks which have been levelled against our sceptical historian, we can discover but slender traces of profound and exquisite erudition, of solid criticism and accurate investigation; but we are too frequently disgusted by vague and inconclusive reasoning; by unseasonable banter and senseless witticisms; by imbittered bigotry and enthusiastic jargon; by futile cavils and illiberal invectives.

invectives. Proud and elated by the weakness of his antagonists, he condescends not to handle the sword of controversy."*

Let me frankly own that I was startled at the first discharge of ecclesiastical ordnance; but as soon as I found that this empty noise was mischievous only in the intention, my fear was converted into indignation; and every feeling of indignation or curiosity has long since subsided in pure and placid indifference.

The prosecution of my history was soon afterwards checked by another controversy of a very different kind. At the request of the Lord Chancellor,† and of Lord Weymouth, then Secretary of State, I vindicated, against the French manifesto, the justice of the British arms. The whole correspondence of Lord Stormont, our late ambassador at Paris, was submitted to my inspection, and the *Mémoire Justificatif*, which I composed in French, was first approved by the Cabinet Ministers, and then delivered as a state paper to the courts of Europe. The style and manner are praised by Beaumarchais himself, who, in his private quarrel, attempted a reply; but he flatters me, by ascribing the memoir to Lord Stormont; and the grossness of his invective betrays the loss of temper and of wit; he acknowledged,‡ that *le style ne seroit pas sans grace, ni la logique sans justesse*, &c. if the

* Monthly Review, Oct. 1790.

† See Letter to and from Lord Thurlow, in Appendix.

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

facts

facts were true which he undertakes to disprove. For these facts my credit is not pledged; I spoke as a lawyer from my brief, but the veracity of Beaumarchais may be estimated from the assertion that France, by the treaty of Paris (1763), was limited to a certain number of ships of war. On the application of the Duke of Choiseul, he was obliged to retract this daring falsehood.

Among the honourable connections which I had formed, I may justly be proud of the friendship of Mr. Wedderburne, at that time Attorney General, who now illustrates the title of Lord Loughborough, and the office of Chief Justice of the Common Pleas. By his strong recommendation, and the favourable disposition of Lord North, I was appointed one of the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations; and my private income was enlarged by a clear addition of between seven and eight hundred pounds a-year. The fancy of an hostile orator may paint, in the strong colours of ridicule, "the perpetual virtual adjournment, and the unbroken sitting vacation of the Board of Trade."* But it must be allowed that our duty

* 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.

was

was not intolerably severe, and that I enjoyed many days and weeks of repose, without being called away from my library to the office. My acceptance of a place provoked some of the leaders of opposition, with whom I had lived in habits of intimacy;* and I was most unjustly accused of deserting a party, in which I had never inlisted.† The

* It has always appeared to me, that nothing could be more unjustifiable than the manner in which some persons allowed themselves to speak of Mr. Gibbon's acceptance of an office at the Board of Trade. I can conceive that he may carelessly have used strong expressions in respect to some, or all parties; but he never meant that such expressions should be taken literally; and I know, beyond all possibility of question, that he was so far from being "in a state of savage hostility towards Lord North," as it is savagely expressed by Mr. Whitaker, that he always loved and esteemed him. I saw Mr. Gibbon constantly at this time, and was well acquainted with all his political opinions. And although he was not perfectly satisfied with *every* measure, yet he uniformly supported all the *principal ones* regarding the American war; and considered himself, and, indeed, was a friend to Administration to the very period of his accepting office. He liked the brilliant society of a club, the most distinguished members of which were notorious for their opposition to Government, and might be led, in some degree, to join in their language; but Mr. Gibbon had little, I had almost said no political acrimony in his character. If the opposition of that or any other time could claim for their own, every person who was not perfectly satisfied with all the measures of Government, their party would unquestionably have been more formidable. S.

† *From* EDWARD GIBBON, Esq. *to* EDWARD ELLIOT, Esq. *of Port Elliot (afterwards* LORD ELLIOT.*)*

DEAR SIR, 2d July, 1779.

Yesterday I received a very interesting communication from my

The aspect of the next session of parliament was

my friend the Attorney General,* whose kind and honourable 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 connections 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, (Charles Fox,) 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 honour.

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

* Alexander Wedderburne, since created Lord Loughborough, Earl of Roslin, and Lord Chancellor.

of

was stormy and perilous; county meetings, petitions, and committees of correspondence, announced the public discontent; and instead of voting with a triumphant majority, the friends of government were often exposed to a struggle, and sometimes to a defeat. The House of Commons adopted Mr. Dunning's motion, "That the influence of the Crown had increased, was increasing, and ought to be diminished:" and Mr. Burke's bill of reform was framed with skill, introduced with eloquence, and supported by numbers. Our late president, the American Secretary of State, very narrowly escaped the sentence of proscription; but the unfortunate Board of Trade was abolished in the committee by a small majority (207 to 199) of eight votes. The storm, however, blew over for a time; a large defection of country gentlemen eluded the sanguine hopes of the patriots: the Lords of Trade were revived; administration recovered their strength and spirit; and the flames of London, which were kindled by a mischievous madman, admonished all thinking men of the danger of an appeal to the people. In the premature dissolution which followed this session of parliament I lost my seat. Mr. Elliot was now deeply engaged in the measures of opposition, and

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.

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the electors of Leskeard* are commonly of the same opinion as Mr. Elliot.

In this interval of my senatorial life, I published the second and third volumes of the Decline and Fall. My ecclesiastical history still breathed the same spirit of freedom; but protestant zeal is more indifferent to the characters and controversies of the fourth and fifth centuries. My obstinate silence had damped the ardour of the polemics. Dr. Watson, the most candid of my adversaries, assured me that he had no thoughts of renewing the attack, and my impartial balance of the virtues and vices of Julian was generally praised. This truce was interrupted only by some animadversions of the Catholics of Italy, and by some angry letters from Mr. Travis, who made me personally responsible for condemning, with the best critics, the spurious text of the three heavenly witnesses.

The piety or prudence of my Italian translator has provided an antidote against the poison of his original. The 5th and 7th volumes are armed with five letters from an anonymous divine to his friends, Foothead and Kirk, two English students at Rome; and this meritorious service is commended by Monsignor Stonor, a prelate of the same nation, who discovers much venom in the *fluid* and nervous style of Gibbon. The critical essay at the end of the third volume was furnished by the Abbate Nicola Spedalieri, whose zeal has

* The borough which Mr. Gibbon had represented in parliament.

gradually

gradually swelled to a more solid confutation in two quarto volumes.—Shall I be excused for not having read them?

The brutal insolence of Mr. Travis's challenge can only be excused by the absence of learning, judgment, and humanity; and to that excuse he has the fairest or foulest pretension. Compared with Archdeacon Travis, Chelsum and Davies assume the title of respectable enemies.

The bigoted advocate of popes and monks may be turned over even to the bigots of Oxford; and the wretched Travis still smarts under the lash of the merciless Porson. I consider Mr. Porson's answer to Archdeacon Travis as the most acute and accurate piece of criticism which has appeared since the days of Bentley. His strictures are founded in argument, enriched with learning, and enlivened with wit; and his adversary neither deserves nor finds any quarter at his hands. The evidence of the three heavenly witnesses would now be rejected in any court of justice: but prejudice is blind, authority is deaf, and our vulgar bibles will ever be polluted by this spurious text, "*sedet æternumque sedebit.*" The more learned ecclesiastics will indeed have the secret satisfaction of reprobating in the closet what they read in the church.

I perceived, and without surprise, the coldness and even prejudice of the town; nor could a whisper escape my ear, that, in the judgment of many readers, my continuation was much inferior to the original attempts. An author who cannot ascend will

will always appear to sink: envy was now prepared for my reception, and the zeal of my religious, was fortified by the motive of my political, enemies. Bishop Newton, in writing his own life, was at full liberty to declare how much he himself and two eminent brethren were disgusted by Mr. Gibbon's prolixity, tediousness, and affectation. But the old man should not have indulged his zeal in a false and feeble charge against the historian,* who had

* *Extract from* Mr. 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.

Pp. 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

had faithfully and even cautiously rendered Dr. Burnet's meaning by the alternative of sleep or repose.

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.

None

pose. That philosophic divine supposes, that, in the period between death and the resurrection, human souls exist without a body, endowed with internal consciousness, but destitute of all active or passive connection with the external world. "Secundum communem dictionem sacræ scripturæ,

None of the attacks from ecclesiastical antagonists were more malignant and illiberal that some strictures published in the English Review, October, 1788, &c. and afterwards reprinted in a separate volume, with the signature of John Whitaker, in 1791. I had mentioned them to Mr. Gibbon, when first published, but so far was he from supposing them worth his notice, that he did not even desire they should be sent to him, and he actually did not see them till his late visit to England a few months before his death. If Mr. Whitaker had only pointed his bitterness against Mr. Gibbon's *opinions*, perhaps no inquiry would have been made into the possible source of his collected virulence, and deliberate malignity.

I have in my possession very amicable letters from the Rev. Mr. Whitaker to Mr. Gibbon, written some time after he had read the offensive 15th and 16th chapters of the Decline and Fall. When Mr. Gibbon came to England, in 1787, he read Whitaker's Mary Queen of Scots, and I have heard him VERY *incautiously* express his opinion of it. Some *good natured friend* mentioned it to Mr. Whitaker. It must be an extraordinary degree of resentment that could induce any person, of a liberal mind, to scrape together defamatory stories, true or false, and blend them with the defence of the most benign religion, whose precepts inculcate the very opposite practice. Religion receives her greatest injuries from those champions of the church who, under the pretence of vindicating the Gospel, outrageously violate both the spirit and the letter of it.

Mr. Whitaker affects principally to review the fourth, fifth, and sixth volumes, but he has allotted the first month's review to an attack on the first three volumes, or rather on the first, which had been published twelve years and a half before it occurred to him that a review of it was necessary. S.

mors dicitur somnus, et morientes dicuntur *obdormire*, quod innuere mihi videtur statum mortis esse statum quietis, silentii, et ἀεργασιας." (*De Statú Mortuorum*, ch. v. p. 98.)

I was however encouraged by some domestic and foreign testimonies of applause; and the second and third volumes insensibly rose in sale and reputation to a level with the first. But the public is seldom wrong; and I am inclined to believe that, especially in the beginning, they are more prolix and less entertaining than the first: my efforts had not been relaxed by success, and I had rather deviated into the opposite fault of minute and superfluous diligence. On the Continent, my name and writings were slowly diffused: a French translation of the first volume had disappointed the booksellers of Paris; and a passage in the third was construed as a personal reflection on the reigning monarch.*

Before I could apply for a seat at the general election the list was already full; but Lord North's promise was sincere, his recommendation was effectual, and I was soon chosen on a vacancy for the borough of Lymington, in Hampshire. In

* 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.

the

the first session of the new parliament, administration stood their ground; their final overthrow was reserved for the second. The American war had once been the favourite of the country: the pride of England was irritated by the resistance of her colonies, and the executive power was driven by national clamour into the most vigorous and coercive measures. But the length of a fruitless contest, the loss of armies, the accumulation of debt and taxes, and the hostile confederacy of France, Spain, and Holland, indisposed the public to the American war, and the persons by whom it was conducted; the representatives of the people followed, at a slow distance, the changes of their opinion; and the ministers, who refused to bend, were broken by the tempest. As soon as Lord North had lost, or was about to lose, a majority in the House of Commons, he surrendered his office, and retired to a private station, with the tranquil assurance of a clear conscience and a cheerful temper: the old fabric was dissolved, and the posts of government were occupied by the victorious and veteran troops of opposition. The lords of trade were not immediately dismissed, but the board itself was abolished by Mr. Burke's bill, which decency had compelled the patriots to revive; and I was stripped of a convenient salary, after having enjoyed it about three years.

So flexible is the title of my History, that the final æra might be fixed at my own choice; and I long hesitated whether I should be content with the three volumes, the fall of the Western em-

pire, which fulfilled my first engagement with the public. In this interval of suspense, nearly a twelvemonth, I returned by a natural impulse to the Greek authors of antiquity; I read with new pleasure the Iliad and the Odyssey, the Histories of Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon, a large portion of the tragic and comic theatre of Athens, and many interesting dialogues of the Socratic school. Yet in the luxury of freedom I began to wish for the daily task, the active pursuit, which gave a value to every book, and an object to every inquiry: the preface of a new edition announced my design, and I dropped without reluctance from the age of Plato to that of Justinian. The original texts of Procopius and Agathias supplied the events and even the characters of his reign: but a laborious winter was devoted to the Codes, the Pandects, and the modern interpreters, before I presumed to form an abstract of the civil law. My skill was improved by practice, my diligence perhaps was quickened by the loss of office; and, excepting the last chapter, I had finished the fourth volume before I sought a retreat on the banks of the Leman Lake.

It is not the purpose of this narrative to expatiate on the public or secret history of the times: the schism which followed the death of the Marquis of Rockingham, the appointment of the Earl of Shelburne, the resignation of Mr. Fox, and his famous coalition with Lord North. But I may assert, with some degree of assurance, that in their political conflict those great antagonists had never felt

felt any personal animosity to each other, that their reconciliation was easy and sincere, and that their friendship has never been clouded by the shadow of suspicion or jealousy. The most violent or venal of their respective followers embraced this fair occasion of revolt, but their alliance still commanded a majority in the House of Commons; the peace was censured, Lord Shelburne resigned, and the two friends knelt on the same cushion to take the oath of secretary of state. From a principle of gratitude I adhered to the coalition: my vote was counted in the day of battle, but I was overlooked in the division of the spoil. There were many claimants more deserving and importunate than myself: the board of trade could not be restored; and, while the list of places was curtailed, the number of candidates was doubled. An easy dismission to a secure seat at the board of customs or excise was promised on the first vacancy: but the chance was distant and doubtful; nor could I solicit with much ardour an ignoble servitude, which would have robbed me of the most valuable of my studious hours:* at the same time the tumult of

* About the same time, it being in contemplation to send a secretary of embassy to Paris, Mr. Gibbon was a competitor for that office. (See Letter to and from Lord Thurlow.) The credit of being distinguished, and stopped by government when he was leaving England, the salary of £1200 a-year, the society of Paris, and the hope of a future provision for life, disposed him to renounce, though with much reluctance, an agreeable scheme on the point of execution; to engage, without experience, in a scene of business which he never liked; to give himself a master, or at

of London, and the attendance on parliament, were grown more irksome; and, without some additional income, I could not long or prudently maintain the style of expense to which I was accustomed.

From my early acquaintance with Lausanne I had always cherished a secret wish, that the school of my youth might become the retreat of my declining age. A moderate fortune would secure the blessings of ease, leisure, and independence: the country, the people, the manners, the language, were congenial to my taste; and I might indulge the hope of passing some years in the domestic society of a friend. After travelling with several English,* Mr. Deyverdun was now settled at home, in a pleasant habitation, the gift of his deceased aunt: we had long been separated, we had long been silent; yet in my first letter I exposed, with the most perfect confidence, my situation, my sentiments, and my designs. His immediate answer was a warm and joyful acceptance: the picture of our future life provoked my impatience; and the terms of arrangement were short and simple, as he possessed the property, and

least a principal, of an unknown, perhaps an unamiable character: to which might be added, the danger of the recal of the ambassador, or the change of ministry. Mr. Anthony Storer was preferred. Mr. Gibbon was somewhat indignant at the preference; but he never knew that it was the act of his friend Mr. Fox, contrary to the solicitations of Mr. Craufurd, and other of his friends. S.

* Sir Richard Worsley, Lord Chesterfield, Broderick Lord Midleton, and Mr. Hume, brother to Sir Abraham.

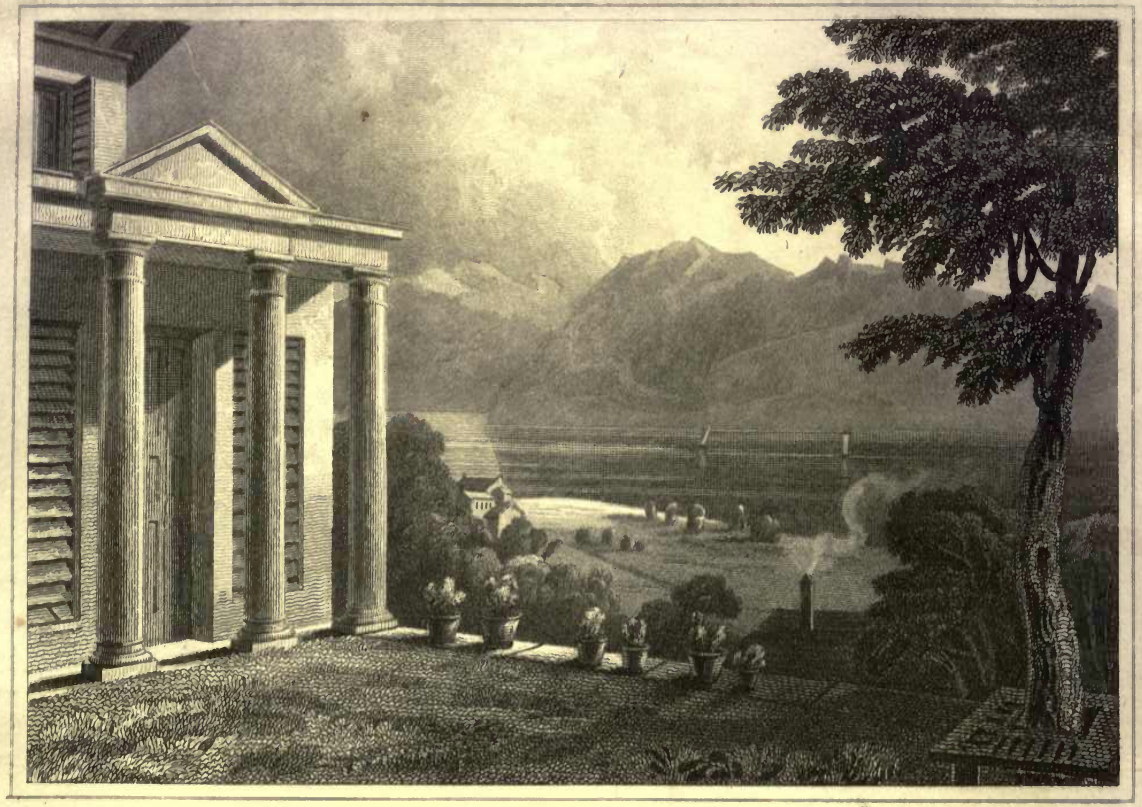
I undertook

I undertook the expense of our common house. Before I could break my English chain, it was incumbent on me to struggle with the feelings of my heart, the indolence of my temper, and the opinion of the world, which unanimously condemned this voluntary banishment. In the disposal of my effects, the library, a sacred deposit, was alone excepted. As my post-chaise moved over Westminster Bridge, I bad a long farewel to the "fumum et opes strepitumque Romæ." My journey by the direct road through France was not attended with any accident, and I arrived at Lausanne nearly twenty years after my second departure. Within less than three months the coalition struck on some hidden rocks: had I remained on board, I should have perished in the general shipwreck.

Since my establishment at Lausanne, more than seven years have elapsed; and if every day has not been equally soft and serene, not a day, not a moment, has occurred in which I have repented of my choice. During my absence, a long portion of human life, many changes had happened: my elder acquaintance had left the stage; virgins were ripened into matrons, and children were grown to the age of manhood. But the same manners were transmitted from one generation to another: my friend alone was an inestimable treasure; my name was not totally forgotten, and all were ambitious to welcome the arrival of a stranger and the return of a fellow-citizen. The first winter was given to a general embrace, without any nice discrimination

of

of persons and characters. After a more regular settlement, a more accurate survey, I discovered three solid and permanent benefits of my new situation. 1. My personal freedom had been somewhat impaired by the House of Commons and the Board of Trade; but I was now delivered from the chain of duty and dependence, from the hopes and fears of political adventure: my sober mind was no longer intoxicated by the fumes of party, and I rejoiced in my escape, as often as I read of the midnight debates which preceded the dissolution of parliament. 2. My English economy had been that of a solitary bachelor, who might afford some occasional dinners. In Switzerland I enjoyed at every meal, at every hour, the free and pleasant conversation of the friend of my youth; and my daily table was always provided for the reception of one or two extraordinary guests. Our importance in society is less a positive than a relative weight: in London I was lost in the crowd; I ranked with the first families of Lausanne, and my style of prudent expense enabled me to maintain a fair balance of reciprocal civilities. 3. Instead of a small house between a street and a stable-yard, I began to occupy a spacious and convenient mansion, connected on the north side with the city, and open on the south to a beautiful and boundless horizon. A garden of four acres had been laid out by the taste of Mr. Deyverdun: from the garden a rich scenery of meadows and vineyards descends to the Leman Lake, and the prospect far beyond the Lake is crowned by the stupendous mountains of



C.Heath. direxit.

THE PAVILION & TERRACE AT LAUSANNE,

From whence the magnificent & beautiful View described by Mr. Gibbon in his Memoirs & Letters.

of Savoy. My books and my acquaintance had been first united in London; but this happy position of my library in town and country was finally reserved for Lausanne. Possessed of every comfort in this triple alliance, I could not be tempted to change my habitation with the changes of the seasons.

My friends had been kindly apprehensive that I should not be able to exist in a Swiss town at the foot of the Alps, after having so long conversed with the first men of the first cities of the world. Such lofty connections may attract the curious, and gratify the vain; but I am too modest, or too proud, to rate my own value by that of my associates; and whatsoever may be the fame of learning or genius, experience has shewn me that the cheaper qualifications of politeness and good sense are of more useful currency in the commerce of life. By many, conversation is esteemed as a theatre or a school: but, after the morning has been occupied by the labours of the library, I wish to unbend rather than to exercise my mind; and in the interval between tea and supper I am far from disdaining the innocent amusement of a game at cards. Lausanne is peopled by a numerous gentry, whose companionable idleness is seldom disturbed by the pursuits of avarice or ambition: the women, though confined to a domestic education, are endowed for the most part with more taste and knowledge than their husbands and brothers: but the decent freedom of both sexes is equally remote from the extremes of simplicity and refinement.

I shall

I shall add as a misfortune rather than a merit, that the situation and beauty of the Pays de Vaud, the long habits of the English, the medical reputation of Dr. Tissot, and the fashion of viewing the mountains and *Glaciers*, have opened us on all sides to the incursions of foreigners. The visits of Mr. and Madame Necker, of Prince Henry of Prussia, and of Mr. Fox, may form some pleasing exceptions; but, in general, Lausanne has appeared most agreeable in my eyes, when we have been abandoned to our own society. I had frequently seen Mr. Necker, in the summer of 1784, at a country house near Lausanne, where he composed his Treatise on the Administration of the Finances. I have since, in October 1790, visited him in his present residence, the castle and barony of Copet, near Geneva. Of the merits and measures of that statesman various opinions may be entertained; but all impartial men must agree in their esteem of his integrity and patriotism.

In the month of August 1784, Prince Henry of Prussia, in his way to Paris, passed three days at Lausanne. His military conduct has been praised by professional men; his character has been vilified by the wit and malice of a demon;* but I was flattered by his affability, and entertained by his conversation.

In his tour to Switzerland (September 1788) Mr. Fox gave me two days of free and private society.† He seemed to feel, and even to envy, the

* Mémoire Secret de la Cour de Berlin, par Mirabeau.

† See Letter in the Continuation, October 1, 1788.

happiness

happiness of my situation; while I admired the powers of a superior man, as they are blended in his attractive character with the softness and simplicity of a child. Perhaps no human being was ever more perfectly exempt from the taint of malevolence, vanity, or falsehood.

My transmigration from London to Lausanne could not be effected without interrupting the course of my historical labours. The hurry of my departure, the joy of my arrival, the delay of my tools, suspended their progress; and a full twelvemonth was lost before I could resume the thread of regular and daily industry. A number of books most requisite and least common had been previously selected; the academical library of Lausanne, which I could use as my own, contained at least the fathers and councils; and I have derived some occasional succour from the public collections of Berne and Geneva. The fourth volume was soon terminated, by an abstract of the controversies of the Incarnation, which the learned Dr. Prideaux was apprehensive of exposing to profane eyes. It had been the original design of the learned Dean Prideaux to write the history of the ruin of the Eastern Church. In this work it would have been necessary, not only to unravel all those controversies which the Christians made about the hypostatical union, but also to unfold all the niceties and subtle notions which each sect entertained concerning it. The pious historian was apprehensive of exposing that incomprehensible mystery to the cavils and objections of unbelievers; and

and he durst not, "seeing the nature of this book, venture it abroad in so wanton and lewd an age."*

In the fifth and sixth volumes the revolutions of the empire and the world are most rapid, various, and instructive; and the Greek or Roman historians are checked by the hostile narratives of the barbarians of the East and the West.†

It was not till after many designs, and many trials, that I preferred, as I still prefer, the method of grouping my picture by nations; and the seeming neglect of chronological order is surely compensated by the superior merits of interest and perspicuity. The style of the first volume is, in my opinion, somewhat crude and elaborate; in the second and third it is ripened into ease, correctness, and numbers; but in the three last I may have been seduced by the facility of my pen, and the constant habit of speaking one language and writing another may have infused some mixture of Gallic idioms. Happily for my eyes, I have always closed my studies with the day, and commonly with the morning; and a long, but temperate, labour has been accomplished, without fatiguing either the mind or body; but when I computed the remainder of my time and my task, it was apparent

* See Preface to the Life of Mahomet, p. 10, 11.

† 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."

that,

that, according to the season of publication, the delay of a month would be productive of that of year. I was now straining for the goal, and in the last winter many evenings were borrowed from the social pleasures of Lausanne. I could now wish that a pause, an interval, had been allowed for a serious revisal.

I have presumed to mark the moment of conception: I shall now commemorate the hour of my final deliverance. It was on the day, or rather night, of the 27th of June 1787, between the hours of eleven and twelve, that I wrote the last lines of the last page, in a summer-house in my garden. After laying down my pen, I took several turns in a *berceau*, or covered walk of acacias, which commands a prospect of the country, the lake, and the mountains. The air was temperate, the sky was serene, the silver orb of the moon was reflected from the waters, and all nature was silent. I will not dissemble the first emotions of joy on recovery of my freedom, and, perhaps, the establishment of my fame. But my pride was soon humbled, and a sober melancholy was spread over my mind, by the idea that I had taken an everlasting leave of an old and agreeable companion, and that whatsoever might be the future date of my History, the life of the historian must be short and precarious. I will add two facts, which have seldom occurred in the composition of six, or at least of five, quartos. 1. My first rough manuscript, without any intermediate copy, has been sent to the press. 2. Not a sheet has been seen by

by any human eyes, excepting those of the author and the printer: the faults and the merits are exclusively my own.*

I cannot help recollecting a much more extraordinary fact, which is affirmed of himself by Retif de la Bretorme, a voluminous and original writer of French novels. He laboured, and may still labour, in the humble office of corrector to a printing-house; but this office enabled him to transport an entire volume from his mind to the press; and his work was given to the public without ever having been written by the pen.

After a quiet residence of four years, during which I had never moved ten miles from Lausanne, it was not without some reluctance and terror that I undertook, in a journey of two hundred leagues, to cross the mountains and the sea. Yet this formidable adventure was achieved without danger or fatigue; and at the end of a fortnight I found myself in Lord Sheffield's house and library, safe, happy, and at home. The character of my friend (Mr. Holroyd) had recommended him to a seat in parliament for Coventry, the command of a regi-

* *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 1, 1782—ended June 1784.
The Vth Volume - - - - -	begun July 1784 — ended May 1, 1786.
The VIth Volume - - - - -	begun May 18, 1786—ended June 27, 1787.

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

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ment of light dragoons, and an Irish peerage. The sense and spirit of his political writings have decided the public opinion on the great questions of our commercial interest with America and Ireland.*

The sale of his Observations on the American States was diffusive, their effect beneficial; the Navigation Act, the palladium of Britain, was defended, and perhaps saved, by his pen; and he proves, by the weight of fact and argument, that the mother-country may survive and flourish after the loss of America. My friend has never cultivated the arts of composition; but his materials are copious and correct, and he leaves on his paper the clear impression of an active and vigorous mind. His "Observations on the Trade, Manufactures, and present State of Ireland," were intended to guide the industry, to correct the prejudices, and to assuage the passions of a country which seemed to forget that she could be free and prosperous only by a friendly connection with Great Britain. The concluding observations are written with so much ease and spirit, that they may be read by those who are the least interested in the subject.

He fell† (in 1784) with the unpopular coalition; but his merit has been acknowledged at the last

* Observations on the Commerce of the American States, by John Lord Sheffield, the 6th edition, London, 1784, in 8vo.

† It is not obvious from whence he fell; he never held nor desired any office of emolument whatever, unless his military commissions, and the command of a regiment of light dragoons, which he raised himself, and which was disbanded on the peace in 1783, should be deemed such.

general election, 1790, by the honourable invitation and free choice of the city of Bristol.* During the whole time of my residence in England, I was entertained at Sheffield-Place and in Downing-Street, by his hospitable kindness; and the most pleasant period was that which I passed in the domestic society of the family. In the larger circle of the metropolis I observed the country and the inhabitants with the knowledge, and without the prejudices, of an Englishman; but I rejoiced in the apparent increase of wealth and prosperity, which might be fairly divided between the spirit of the nation and the wisdom of the minister. All party-resentment was now lost in oblivion; since I was no man's rival, no man was my enemy. I felt the dignity of independence, and as I asked no more, I was satisfied with the general civilities of the world. The house in London which I frequented with most pleasure and assiduity was that of Lord North. After the loss of power and of sight, he was still happy in himself and his friends, and my public tribute of gratitude and esteem could no longer be suspected of any interested motive. Before my departure from England, I was present at the august spectacle of Mr. Hastings's trial in Westminster Hall. It is not my province to absolve or condemn the Governor of India;† but Mr. Sheridan's elo-

* See a Letter from Mr. Gibbon to Lord Sheffield, Lausanne, August 7, 1790.

† He considered the *persecution* of that highly respectable person to have arisen from party views. S.

quence

quence commanded my applause; nor could I hear without emotion the personal compliment which he paid me in the presence of the British nation.*

From this display of genius, which blazed four successive days, I shall stoop to a very mechanical circumstance. As I was waiting in the manager's box, I had the curiosity to inquire of the short-hand writer, how many words a ready and rapid orator might pronounce in an hour? From 7000 to 7500 was his answer. The medium of 7200 will afford 120 words in a minute, and two words in each second. But this computation will only apply to the English language.

As the publication of my three last volumes was the principal object, so it was the first care of my English journey. The previous arrangements with the bookseller and the printer were settled in my passage through London, and the proofs, which I returned more correct, were transmitted every post from the press to Sheffield-Place. The length of the operation, and the leisure of the country, allowed some time to review my manuscript. Several rare and useful books, the Assises de Jerusalem, Ramusius de Bello C. P^aro^, the Greek Acts of the Synod of Florence, the Statuta Urbis Romæ, &c. were procured, and I introduced in their proper places the supplements which they afforded.

* He said the facts that made up the volume of narrative, were unparelleled 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.

The impression of the fourth volume had consumed three months. Our common interest required that we should move with a quicker pace; and Mr. Strahan fulfilled his engagement, which few printers could sustain, of delivering every week three thousand copies of nine sheets. The day of publication was, however, delayed, that it might coincide with the fifty-first anniversary of my own birth-day; the double festival was celebrated by a cheerful literary dinner at Mr. Cadell's house; and I seemed to blush while they read an elegant compliment from Mr. Hayley,* whose poetical talents had more than once been employed in the praise of

* 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,
Defaced 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!

of his friend. Before Mr. Hayley inscribed with my name his epistles on history, I was not acquainted with that amiable man and elegant poet. He afterwards thanked me in verse for my second and third volumes;* and in the summer of 1781, the

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,
Not Envy make her spoil!
ENGLAND, exult! and view not now
With jealous glance each nation's brow,
Where History'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 raised;
For thy renown a SHAKESPEARE blazed,
Lord of the drama's sphere!
In different fields to equal praise
See History 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!

* SONNET *to* EDWARD GIBBON, Esq.
On the Publication of his Second and Third Volumes, 1781.

With proud delight th' imperial founder gazed
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:

the Roman Eagle* (a proud title) accepted the invitation of the English Sparrow, who chirped in the

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.

* *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 in 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 towers,
In which they build their warmest bowers,
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

the groves of Eartham, near Chichester. As most of the former purchasers were naturally desirous of completing their sets, the sale of the quarto edition was quick and easy; and an octavo size was printed to satisfy at a cheaper rate the public demand. The conclusion of my work was generally read, and variously judged. The style has been exposed to much academical criticism; a religious clamour was revived, and the reproach of indecency has been loudly echoed by the rigid censors of morals. I never could understand the clamour that has been raised against the indecency of my three last volumes. 1. An equal degree of freedom in the former part, especially in the first volume, had passed without reproach. 2. I am justified in painting the manners of the times; the vices of Theodora form an essential feature in the reign and character of Justinian; and the most naked tale in my history is told by the Rev. Mr. Joseph Warton, an instructor of youth. (Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope, p. 322—324.) 3. My English text is chaste, and all licentious passages are left in

> Some molted feather he lets fall,
> And swear 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.

the obscurity of a learned language. *Le Latin dans ses mots brave l'honnêteté*, says the correct Boileau, in a country and idiom more scrupulous than our own. Yet, upon the whole, the History of the Decline and Fall seems to have struck root, both at home and abroad, and may, perhaps, a hundred years hence still continue to be abused. I am less flattered by Mr. Porson's high encomium on the style and spirit of my history, than I am satisfied with his honourable testimony to my attention, diligence, and accuracy; those humble virtues, which religious zeal had most audaciously denied. The sweetness of his praise is tempered by a reasonable mixture of acid.* As the book may not be common in England, I shall transcribe my own character from the Bibliotheca Historica of Meuselius,† a learned and laborious German. "Summis ævi nostri historicis Gibbonus sine dubio adnumerandus est. Inter Capitolii ruinas stans primum hujus operis scribendi consilium cepit. Florentissimos vitæ annos colligendo et laborando eidem impendit. Enatum inde monumentum ære perennius, licet passim appareant sinistrè dicta, minus perfecta, veritati non satis consentanea. Videmus quidem ubique fere studium scrutandi veritatemque scribendi maximum: tamen sine Tillemontio duce ubi scilicet hujus historia finitur sæpius noster titubat atque hallucinatur. Quod vel maxime fit, ubi de rebus Ecclesiasticis vel de juris prudentiâ Romanâ (tom. iv.) tradit, et in aliis locis. Attamen

* See his preface, page 28. 32.

† Vol. iv. part 1. page 342. 344.

nævi

nævi hujus generis haud impediunt quo minus operis summam et οικονομιαν præclarè dispositam, delectum rerum sapientissimum, argutum quoque interdum, dictionemque seu stylum historico æque ac philosopho dignissimum, et vix à quoque alio Anglo, Humio ac Robertsono haud exceptis (*præreptum?*), vehementer laudemus, atque sæculo nostro de hujusmodi historiâ gratulemur..... Gibbonus adversarios cum in tum extra patriam nactus est, quia propagationem religionis Christianæ, non, ut vulgo fieri solet, aut more Theologorum, sed ut Historicum et Philosophum decet, exposuerat."

The French, Italian, and German translations, have been executed with various success; but, instead of patronizing, I should willingly suppress such imperfect copies, which injure the character, while they propagate the name of the author. The first volume had been feebly, though faithfully, translated into French by M. Le Clerc de Septchenes, a young gentleman of a studious character and liberal fortune. After his decease the work was continued by two manufacturers of Paris, MM. Desmuniers and Cantwell: but the former is now an active member of the National Assembly, and the undertaking languishes in the hands of his associate. The superior merit of the interpreter, or his language, inclines me to prefer the Italian version: but I wish that it were in my power to read the German, which is praised by the best judges. The Irish pirates are at once my friends and my enemies. But I cannot be displeased with the two numerous and correct impressions

pressions which have been published for the use of the continent at Basil in Switzerland.* The conquests of our language and literature are not confined to Europe alone, and a writer who succeeds in London, is speedily read on the banks of the Delaware and the Ganges.

In the preface of the fourth volume, while I gloried in the name of an Englishman, I announced my approaching return to the neighbourhood of the Lake of Lausanne. This last trial confirmed my assurance that I had wisely chosen for my own happiness; nor did I once, in a year's visit, entertain a wish of settling in my native country. Britain is the free and fortunate island; but where is the spot in which I could unite the comforts and beauties of my establishment at Lausanne? The tumult of London astonished my eyes and ears; the amusements of public places were no longer adequate to the trouble; the clubs and assemblies were filled with new faces and young men; and our best society, our long and late dinners, would soon have been prejudicial to my health. Without any share in the political wheel, I must be idle and insignificant: yet the most splendid temptations would not have enticed me to engage a second time in the servitude of parliament or office. At Tunbridge, some weeks after the publication of my History, I reluctantly

* 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.

quitted

quitted Lord and Lady Sheffield, and, with a young Swiss friend,* whom I had introduced to the English world, I pursued the road of Dover and Lausanne. My habitation was embellished in my absence, and the last division of books, which followed my steps, increased my chosen library to the number of between six and seven thousand volumes. My seraglio was ample, my choice was free, my appetite was keen. After a full repast on Homer and Aristophanes, I involved myself in the philosophic maze of the writings of Plato, of which the dramatic is, perhaps, more interesting than the argumentative part: but I stepped aside into every path of inquiry which reading or reflection accidentally opened.

Alas! the joy of my return, and my studious ardour, were soon damped by the melancholy state of my friend Mr. Deyverdun. His health and spirits had long suffered a gradual decline, a succession of apoplectic fits announced his dissolution, and before he expired, those who loved him could not wish for the continuance of his life. The voice of reason might congratulate his deliverance, but the feelings of nature and friendship could be subdued only by time: his amiable character was still alive in my remembrance; each room, each walk, was imprinted with our common footsteps; and I should blush at my own philosophy, if a long interval of study had not preceded and followed the death of my friend. By his last will he left to me the option of purchasing his house and

* M. Wilhelm de Severy.

gardens

garden, or of possessing them during my life, on the payment either of a stipulated price, or of an easy retribution to his kinsman and heir. I should probably have been tempted by the dæmon of property, if some legal difficulties had not been started against my title; a contest would have been vexatious, doubtful, and invidious; and the heir most gratefully subscribed an agreement, which rendered my life-possession more perfect, and his future condition more advantageous.* Yet I had often revolved the judicious lines in which Pope answers the objections of his long-sighted friend:

> Pity to build without or child or wife;
> Why, you'll enjoy it only all your life:
> Well, if the use be mine, does it concern one,
> Whether the name belong to Pope or Vernon?

The certainty of my tenure has allowed me to lay out a considerable sum in improvements and alterations: they have been executed with skill and taste; and few men of letters, perhaps, in Europe, are so desirably lodged as myself. But I feel, and with the decline of years I shall more painfully feel, that I am alone in paradise. Among the circle of my acquaintance at Lausanne, I have gradually acquired the solid and tender friendship of a respectable family;† the four persons of whom it is composed are all endowed with the virtues best adapted to their age and situation;

* See Mr. Gibbon's Letters, 14th of July, August, 7th Sept. 9th Sept. 1789.

† The family of de Severy.

and

and I am encouraged to love the parents as a brother, and the children as a father. Every day we seek and find the opportunities of meeting: yet even this valuable connection cannot supply the loss of domestic society.

Within the last two or three years our tranquillity has been clouded by the disorders of France; many families at Lausanne were alarmed and affected by the terrors of an impending bankruptcy; but the revolution, or rather the dissolution of the kingdom, has been heard and felt in the adjacent lands.

I beg leave to subscribe my assent to Mr. Burke's creed on the revolution of France. I admire his eloquence, I approve his politics, I adore his chivalry, and I can almost excuse his reverence for church establishments. I have sometimes thought of writing a dialogue of the dead, in which Lucian, Erasmus, and Voltaire should mutually acknowledge the danger of exposing an old superstition to the contempt of the blind and fanatic multitude.

A swarm of emigrants of both sexes, who escaped from the public ruin, has been attracted by the vicinity, the manners, and the language of Lausanne; and our narrow habitations in town and country, are now occupied by the first names and titles of the departed monarchy.* These noble fugitives are entitled to our pity; they may claim our esteem, but they cannot, in their present state

* See Mr. Gibbon's Letters, 15th Dec. 1789, ditto 1790, 5th Oct. 1792, 13th Oct. 1792, 20th Oct. 1792, 10th Nov. 1792.

of

of mind and fortune, much contribute to our amusement. Instead of looking down as calm and idle spectators on the theatre of Europe, our domestic harmony is somewhat embittered by the infusion of party spirit: our ladies and gentlemen assume the character of self-taught politicians; and the sober dictates of wisdom and experience are silenced by the clamour of the triumphant *democrates*. The fanatic missionaries of sedition have scattered the seeds of discontent in our cities and villages, which have flourished above two hundred and fifty years, without fearing the approach of war or feeling the weight of government. Many individuals, and some communities, appear to be infected with the Gallic phrenzy, the wild theories of equal and boundless freedom; but I trust that the body of the people will be faithful to their sovereign and to themselves; and I am satisfied that the failure or success of a revolt would equally terminate in the ruin of the country. While the aristocracy of Berne protects the happiness, it is superfluous to inquire whether it be founded in the rights, of man: the economy of the state is liberally supplied without the aid of taxes; and the magistrates *must* reign with prudence and equity, since they are unarmed in the midst of an armed nation.

The revenue of Berne, excepting some small duties, is derived from church lands, tithes, feudal rights, and interest of money. The republic has nearly 500,000l. sterling in the English funds, and the amount of their treasure is unknown to the citizens themselves. For myself (may the omen

omen be averted!) I can only declare, that the first stroke of a rebel drum would be the signal of my immediate departure.

When I contemplate the common lot of mortality, I must acknowledge that I have drawn a high prize in the lottery of life. The far greater part of the globe is overspread with barbarism or slavery: in the civilized world, the most numerous class is condemned to ignorance and poverty; and the double fortune of my birth in a free and enlightened country, in an honourable and wealthy family, is the lucky chance of an unit against millions. The general probability is about three to one, that a new-born infant will not live to complete his fiftieth year.* I have now passed that age, and may fairly estimate the present value of my existence in the three-fold division of mind, body, and estate.

1. The first and indispensable requisite of happiness is a clear conscience, unsullied by the reproach or remembrance of an unworthy action.

> —— Hic murus aheneus esto,
> Nil conscire sibi, nullâ pallescere culpâ.

I am endowed with a cheerful temper, a moderate sensibility, and a natural disposition to repose rather than to activity: some mischievous appetites and habits have perhaps been corrected by philosophy or time. The love of study, a

* 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!

passion

passion which derives fresh vigour from enjoyment, supplies each day, each hour, with a perpetual source of independent and rational pleasure; and I am not sensible of any decay of the mental faculties. The original soil has been highly improved by cultivation; but it may be questioned, whether some flowers of fancy, some grateful errors, have not been eradicated with the weeds of prejudice. 2. Since I have escaped from the long perils of my childhood, the serious advice of a physician has seldom been requisite. "The madness of superfluous health" I have never known, but my tender constitution has been fortified by time, and the inestimable gift of the sound and peaceful slumbers of infancy may be imputed both to the mind and body. 3. I have already described the merits of my society and situation; but these enjoyments would be tasteless or bitter if their possession were not assured by an annual and adequate supply. According to the scale of Switzerland, I am a rich man; and I am indeed rich, since my income is superior to my expense, and my expense is equal to my wishes. My friend Lord Sheffield has kindly relieved me from the cares to which my taste and temper are most adverse: shall I add, that since the failure of my first wishes, I have never entertained any serious thoughts of a matrimonial connection?

I am disgusted with the affectation of men of letters, who complain that they have renounced a substance for a shadow, and that their fame (which sometimes is no insupportable weight) affords a poor

poor compensation for envy, censure, and persecution.* My own experience, at least, has taught me a very different lesson; twenty happy years have been animated by the labour of my history, and its success has given me a name, a rank, a character, in the world, to which I should not otherwise have been entitled. The freedom of my writings has indeed provoked an implacable tribe; but, as I was safe from the stings, I was soon accustomed to the buzzing of the hornets: my nerves are not tremblingly alive, and my literary temper is so happily framed, that I am less sensible of pain than of pleasure. The rational pride of an author may be offended, rather than flattered, by vague indiscriminate praise; but he cannot, he should not, be indifferent to the fair testimonies of private and public esteem. Even his moral sympathy may be gratified by the idea, that now, in the present hour, he is imparting some degree of amusement or knowledge to his friends in a distant land; that one day his mind will be familiar to the grandchildren of those who are yet unborn.† I cannot

* 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.

† 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

cannot boast of the friendship or favour of princes; the patronage of English literature has long since been devolved on our booksellers, and the measure of their liberality is the least ambiguous test of our common success. Perhaps the golden mediocrity of my fortune has contributed to fortify my application.

The present is a fleeting moment, the past is no more; and our prospect of futurity is dark and doubtful. This day may *possibly* be my last: but the laws of probability, so true in general, so fallacious in particular, still allow about fifteen years.* I shall soon enter into the period which, as the most agreeable of his long life, was selected by the judgment and experience of the sage Fon-

fancy with the hopes of charming ages yet to come. Foretel me that some tender maid, whose grandmother 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 honour by those who never knew nor saw me, and whom I shall neither know nor see." Book xiii. chap. 1.

* 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?

tenelle.

tenelle. His choice is approved by the eloquent historian of nature, who fixes our moral happiness to the mature season in which our passions are supposed to be calmed, our duties fulfilled, our ambition satisfied, our fame and fortune established on a solid basis.* In private conversation, that great and amiable man added the weight of his own experience; and this autumnal felicity might be exemplified in the lives of Voltaire, Hume, and many other men of letters. I am far more inclined to embrace than to dispute this comfortable doctrine. I will not suppose any premature decay of the mind or body; but I must reluctantly observe that two causes, the abbreviation of time, and the failure of hope, will always tinge with a browner shade the evening of life.†

* See Buffon.

† The proportion of a part to the whole is the only standard by which we can measure the length of our existence. At the age of twenty, one year is a tenth, perhaps, of the time which has elapsed within our consciousness and memory: at the age of fifty it is no more than the fortieth, and this relative value continues to decrease till the last sands are shaken by the hand of death. This reasoning may seem metaphysical; but on a trial it will be found satisfactory and just. The warm desires, the long expectations of youth are founded on the ignorance of themselves and of the world: they are gradually damped by time and experience, by disappointment and possession; and after the middle season the crowd must be content to remain at the foot of the mountain; while the few who have climbed the summit aspire to descend or expect to fall. In old age the consolation of hope is reserved for the tenderness of parents who commence a new life in their children; the faith of enthusiasts, who sing Hallelujahs above the clouds; and the vanity of authors, who presume the immortality of their name and writings.

WHEN I first undertook to prepare Mr. Gibbon's Memoirs for the press, I supposed that it would be necessary to introduce some continuation of them, from the time when they cease, namely, soon after his return to Switzerland in the year 1788; but the examination of his correspondence with me suggested, that the best continuation would be the publication of his letters from that time to his death. I shall thus give more satisfaction, by employing the language of Mr. Gibbon, instead of my own; and the public will see him in a new and admirable light, as a writer of letters. By the insertion of a few occasional sentences, I shall obviate the disadvantages that are apt to arise from an interrupted narration. A prejudiced or a fastidious critic may condemn, perhaps, some parts of the letters as trivial; but many readers, I flatter myself, will be gratified by discovering even in these, my friend's affectionate feelings, and his character in familiar life. His letters in general bear a strong resemblance to the style and turn of his conversation; the characteristics of which were vivacity, elegance, and precision, with knowledge astonishingly extensive and correct. He never ceased to be instructive and entertaining; and in general there was a vein of pleasantry in his con-

versation which prevented its becoming languid, even during a residence of many months with a family in the country.

It has been supposed that he always arranged what he intended to say before he spoke; his quickness in conversation contradicts this notion: but it is very true, that before he sat down to write a note or letter, he completely arranged in his mind what he meant to express. He pursued the same method in respect to other composition; and he occasionally would walk several times about his apartment before he had rounded a period to his taste. He has pleasantly remarked to me, that it sometimes cost him many a turn before he could throw a sentiment into a form that gratified his own criticism. His systematic habit of arrangement in point of style, assisted, in his instance, by an excellent memory and correct judgment, is much to be recommended to those who aspire to perfection in writing.

Although the Memoirs extend beyond the time of Mr. Gibbon's return to Lausanne, I shall insert a few Letters, written immediately after his arrival there, and combine them so far as to include even the last note which he wrote a few days previously to his death. Some of them contain few incidents; but they connect and carry on the account either of his opinions or of his employment.

LETTERS

FROM

EDWARD GIBBON, Esq.

TO THE

RIGHT HON. LORD SHEFFIELD.

Lausanne, July 30, 1788.—Wednesday, 3 o'clock.

I HAVE but a moment to say, before the departure of the post, that after a very pleasant journey I arrived here about half an hour ago; that I am as well arranged as if I had never stirred from this place; and that dinner on the table is just announced. Severy I dropt at his country-house about two leagues off. I just saluted the family, who dine with me the day after to-morrow, and return to town for some days, I hope weeks, on my account. The son is an amiable and grateful youth; and even this journey has taught me to know and to love him still better. My satisfaction would be complete, had I not found a sad and serious alteration in poor Deyverdun: but thus our joys are chequered! I embrace all; and at this moment feel the last pang of our parting at Tunbridge. Convey this letter or information, without

delay, from Sheffield-Place to Bath. In a few days I shall write more amply to both places.

October 1, 1788.

After such an act of vigour as my first letter, composed, finished, and dispatched, within half an hour after my landing, while the dinner was smoking on the table, your knowledge of the animal must have taught you to expect a proportionable degree of relaxation; and you will be satisfied to hear, that, for many Wednesdays and Saturdays, I have consumed more time than would have sufficed for the epistle, in devising reasons for procrastinating it to the next post. At this very moment I begin so very late, as I am just going to dress, and dine in the country, that I can take only the benefit of the date, October the first, and must be content to seal and send my letter next Saturday.

October 4th.

Saturday is now arrived, and I much doubt whether I shall have time to finish. I rose, as usual, about seven; but as I knew I should have so much time, you know it would have been ridiculous to begin any thing before breakfast. When I returned from my breakfast-room to the library, unluckily I found on the table some new and interesting books, which instantly caught my attention; and without injuring my correspondent, I could safely bestow a single hour to gratify my curiosity. Some things which I found in them insensibly

insensibly led me to other books, and other inquiries; the morning has stolen away, and I shall be soon summoned to dress and dine with the two Severys, father and son, who are returned from the country on a disagreeable errand, an illness of Madame, from which she is however recovering. Such is the faithful picture of my mind and manners, and from a single day *disce omnes.* After having been so long chained to the oar, in a splendid galley indeed, I freely and fairly enjoy my liberty as I promised in my preface; range without control over the wide expanse of my library; converse, as my fancy prompts me, with poets and historians, philosophers and orators, of every age and language; and often indulge my meditations in the invention and arrangement of mighty works, which I shall probably never find time or application to execute. My garden, berceau, and pavilion often varied the scene of my studies; the beautiful weather which we have enjoyed exhilarated my spirits, and I again tasted the wisdom and happiness of my retirement, till that happiness was interrupted by a very serious calamity, which took from me for above a fortnight all thoughts of study, of amusement, and even of correspondence. I mentioned in my first letter the uneasiness I felt at poor Deyverdun's declining health, how much the pleasure of my life was embittered by the sight of a suffering and languid friend. The joy of our meeting appeared at first to revive him; and, though not satisfied, I began to think, at least to hope, that he was every day gaining ground; when,

when, alas! one morning I was suddenly recalled from my berceau to the house, with the dreadful intelligence of an apoplectic stroke; I found him senseless: the best assistance was instantly collected; and he had the aid of the genius and experience of Mr. Tissot, and of the assiduous care of another physician, who for some time scarcely quitted his bedside either night or day. While I was in momentary dread of a relapse, with a confession from his physicians that such a relapse must be fatal, you will feel that I was much more to be pitied than my friend. At length, art or nature triumphed over the enemy of life. I was soon assured that all immediate danger was past; and now for many days I have had the satisfaction of seeing him recover, though by slow degrees, his health and strength, his sleep and appetite. He now walks about the garden, and receives his particular friends, but has not yet gone abroad. His future health will depend very much upon his own prudence: but, at all events, this has been a very serious warning; and the slightest indisposition will hereafter assume a very formidable aspect. But let us turn from this melancholy subject. The Man of the People escaped from the tumult, the bloody tumult of the Westminster election, to the lakes and mountains of Switzerland, and I was informed that he was arrived at the Lyon d'Or. I sent a compliment; he answered it person, and settled at my house for the remainder of the day. I have eat and drank, and conversed and sat up all night with Fox in England;

land; but it never has happened, perhaps it never can happen again, that I should enjoy him as I did that day, alone, from ten in the morning till ten at night. Poor Deyverdun, before his accident, wanted spirits to appear, and has regretted it since. Our conversation never flagged a moment; and he seemed thoroughly pleased with the place and with his company. We had little politics; though he gave me, in a few words, such a character of Pitt, as one great man should give of another his rival: much of books, from my own, on which he flattered me very pleasantly, to Homer and the Arabian Nights: much about the country, my garden, (which he understands far better than I do,) and, upon the whole, I think he envies me, and would do so were he a minister. The next morning I gave him a guide to walk him about the town and country, and invited some company to meet him at dinner. The following day he continued his journey to Berne and Zurich, and I have heard of him by various means. The people gaze on him as a prodigy, but he shews little inclination to converse with them. * * * *

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* * * * * * * * * * * Our friend Douglas* has been curious, attentive, agreeable;

*Lord Glenbervie.

and

and in every place where he has resided some days, he has left acquaintance who esteem and regret him: I never knew so clear and general an impression.

After this long letter I have yet many things to say, though none of any pressing consequence. I hope you are not idle in the deliverance of Beriton, though the late events and edicts in France begin to reconcile me to the possession of dirty acres. What think you of Necker and the States General? Are not the public expectations too sanguine? Adieu. I will write soon to my lady separately, though I have not any particular subject for her ear. Ever yours.

Lausanne, Nov. 29, 1788.

As I have no correspondents but yourself, I should have been reduced to the stale and stupid communications of the newspapers, if you had not dispatched me an excellent sketch of the extraordinary state of things. In so new a case the *salus populi* must be the first law; and any extraordinary acts of the two remaining branches of the legislature must be excused by necessity, and ratified by general consent. Till things are settled I expect a regular journal.

From kingdoms I descend to farms. * * * * * * * *. Adieu.

Lausanne, Dec. 13, 1788.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *. Of public affairs I can only hear with curiosity and wonder; careless as you may think me,

me, I feel myself deeply interested. You must now write often; make Miss Firth copy any curious fragments; and stir up any of my well-informed acquaintance, Batt, Douglas, Adam, perhaps Lord Loughborough, to correspond with me; I *will* answer them.

We are now cold and gay at Lausanne. The Severys came to town yesterday. I saw a good deal of Lords Malmsbury and Beauchamp, and their ladies; Ellis, of the Rolliad, was with them; I like him much: I gave them a dinner.

Adieu for the present. Deyverdun is not worse.

Lausanne, April 25, 1789.

Before your letter, which I received yesterday, I was in the anxious situation of a king, who hourly expects a courier from his general, with the news of a decisive engagement. I had abstained from writing, for fear of dropping a word, or betraying a feeling, which might render you too cautious or too bold. On the famous 8th of April, between twelve and two, I reflected that the business was determined; and each succeeding day I computed the speedy approach of your messenger, with favourable or melancholy tidings. When I broke the seal, I expected to read, "What a damned unlucky fellow you are! Nothing tolerable was offered, and I indignantly withdrew the estate." I *did* remember the fate of poor Lenborough, and I was afraid of your magnanimity, &c. It is whimsical enough, but it is human nature, that I now begin to think of the deep-rooted foundations

dations of land, and the airy fabric of the funds. I not only consent, but even wish, to have eight or ten thousand pounds on a good mortgage. The pipe of wine you sent to me was seized, and would have been confiscated, if the government of Berne had not treated me with the most flattering and distinguished civility: they not only released the wine, but they paid out of their own pocket the shares to which the bailiff and the informer were entitled by law. I should not forget that the bailiff refused to accept of his part. Poor Deyverdun's constitution is quite broken; he has had two or three attacks, not so violent as the first: every time the door is hastily opened, I expect to hear of some fatal accident: the best or worst hopes of the physicians are only that he may linger some time longer; but, if he lives till the summer, they propose sending him to some mineral waters at Aix, in Savoy. You will be glad to hear that I am now assured of possessing, during my life, this delightful house and garden. The act has been lately executed in the best form, and the handsomest manner. I know not what to say of your miracles at home; we rejoice in the king's recovery, and its ministerial consequences; and I cannot be insensible to the hope, at least the chance, of seeing in this country a first lord of trade, or secretary at war. In your answer, which I shall impatiently expect, you will give me a full and true account of your designs, which by this time must have dropt, or be determined at least, for the present year. If you come, it is high time that

we

we should look out for a house—a task much less easy than you may possibly imagine. Among new books, I recommend to you the Count de Mirabeau's great work, "Sur la Monarchie Prussienne;" it is in your own way, and gives a very just and complete idea of that wonderful machine. His "Correspondence Secrète" is diabolically good. Adieu. Ever yours.

Lausanne, June 13, 1789.

You are in truth a wise, active, indefatigable, and inestimable friend; and as our virtues are often connected with our failings, if you were more tame and placid, you would be perhaps of less use and value. A very important and difficult transaction seems to be nearly terminated with success and mutual satisfaction: we seem to run before the wind with a prosperous gale; and, unless we should strike on some secret rocks which I do not foresee, shall, on or before the 31st July, enter the harbour of Content; though I cannot pursue the metaphor by adding we shall *land*, since our operation is of a very opposite tendency. I could not easily forgive myself for shutting you up in a dark room with parchments and attornies, did I not reflect that this probably is the last material trouble that you will ever have on my account; and that after the labours and delays of twenty years, I shall at last attain what I have always sighed for, a clear and competent income, above my wants, and equal to my wishes. In this contemplation you will be sufficiently rewarded. I hope

hope ***** will be content with our title-deeds, for I cannot furnish another shred of parchment. Mrs. Gibbon's jointure is secured on the Beriton estate, and her legal consent is requisite for the sale. Again and again I must repeat my hope that she is perfectly satisfied, and that the close of her life may not be embittered by suspicion, or fear, or discontent. What new security does she prefer,—the funds, the mortgage, or your land? At all events she must be made easy. I wrote to her again some time ago, and begged that if she were too weak to write, she would desire Mrs. Gould or Mrs. Holroyd to give me a line concerning her state of health. To this no answer; I am afraid she is displeased.

Now for the disposal of the money: I approve of the 8000*l.* mortgage on Beriton; and honour your prudence in not shewing, by the comparison of the rent and interest, how foolish it is to purchase land. * * * * * * * *
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There is a chance of my drawing a considerable sum into this country, for an arrangement which you yourself must approve, but which I have not time to explain at present. For the sake of dispatching, by this evening's post, an answer to your letter which arrived this morning, I confine myself to the *needful*, but in the course of a few days I will send a more familiar epistle. Adieu. Ever yours.

Lausanne,

Lausanne, July 14, 1789.

Poor Deyverdun is no more: he expired Saturday the 4th instant; and in his unfortunate situation, death could only be viewed by himself, and by his friends in the light of a consummation devoutly to be wished. Since September he has had a dozen apoplectic strokes, more or less violent: in the intervals between them his strength gradually decayed; every principle of life was exhausted; and had he continued to drag a miserable existence, he must probably have survived the loss of his faculties. Of all misfortunes this was what he himself most apprehended: but his reason was clear and calm to the last; he beheld his approaching dissolution with the firmness of a philosopher. I fancied that time and reflection had prepared me for the event: but the habits of three-and-thirty years friendship are not so easily broken. The first days, and more especially the first nights, were indeed painful. Last Wednesday and Saturday it would not have been in my power to write. I must now recollect myself, since it is necessary for me not only to impart the news, but to ask your opinion in a very serious and doubtful question, which must be decided without loss of time. I shall state the facts, but as I am on the spot, and as new lights may occur, I do not promise implicit obedience.

Had my poor friend died without a will, a female *first* cousin settled somewhere in the north of Germany, and whom I believe he had never seen, would have been his heir at law. In the

next degree he had several cousins; and one of these, an old companion, by name Mr. de Montagny, he has chosen for his heir. As this house and garden was the best and clearest part of poor Deyverdun's fortune; as there is a heavy duty or fine (what they call *lods*) on every change of property out of the legal descent; as Montagny has a small estate and a large family, it was necessary to make some provision in his favour. The will therefore leaves me the option of enjoying this place during my life, on paying the sum of 250*l.* (I reckon in English money) at present, and an annual rent of 30*l.*; or else, of purchasing the house and garden for a sum which, including the duty, will amount to 2500*l.* If I value the rent of 30*l.* at twelve years purchase, I may acquire my enjoyment for life at about the rate of 600*l.*; and the remaining 1900*l.* will be the difference between that tenure and absolute perpetual property. As you have never accused me of too much zeal for the interest of posterity, you will easily guess which scale at first preponderated. I deeply felt the advantage of acquiring, for the smaller sum, every possible enjoyment, as long as I myself should be capable of enjoying: I rejected, with scorn, the idea of giving 1900*l.* for ideal posthumous property; and I deemed it of little moment whose name, after my death, should be inscribed on my house and garden at Lausanne. How often did I repeat to myself the philosophical lines of Pope, which seem to determine the question:

Pray

Pray Heaven, cries Swift, it last as you go on;
I wish to God this house had been your own.
Pity to build without or son or wife:
Why, you'll enjoy it *only* all your life.
Well, if the use be mine, does it concern one,
Whether the name belong to Pope or Vernon?

In this state of self-satisfaction I was not much disturbed by all my real or nominal friends, who exhort me to prefer the right of purchase: among such friends, some are careless and some are ignorant; and the judgment of those, who are able and willing to form an opinion, is often biassed by some selfish or social affection, by some visible or invisible interest. But my own reflections have gradually and forcibly driven me from my first propensity; and these reflections I will now proceed to enumerate:

1. I can make this purchase with ease and prudence. As I have had the pleasure of *not* hearing from you very lately, I flatter myself that you advance on a carpet road, and that almost by the receipt of this letter (July 31st) the acres of Beriton will be transmuted into sixteen thousand pounds: if the payment be not absolutely completed by that day, ****** will not scruple, I suppose, depositing the 2600*l.* at Gosling's, to meet my draught. Should he hesitate, I can desire Darrel to sell *quantum sufficit* of my short annuities. As soon as the new settlement of my affairs is made, I shall be able, after deducting this sum, to square my expense to my income, &c.

2. On mature consideration, I am perhaps less

selfish and less philosophical than I appear at first sight: indeed, were I not so, it would now be in my power to turn my fortune into life-annuities, and let the Devil take the hindmost. I feel, (perhaps it is foolish,) but I feel that this little paradise will please me still more when it is absolutely my own; and that I shall be encouraged in every improvement of use or beauty, by the prospect that, after my departure, it will be enjoyed by some person of my own choice. I sometimes reflect with pleasure that my writings will survive me; and that idea is at least as vain and chimerical.

3. The heir, Mr. de Montagny, is an old acquaintance. My situation of a life-holder is rather new and singular in this country: the laws have not provided for many nice cases which may arise between the landlord and tenant: some I can foresee, others have been suggested, many more I might feel when it would be too late. His right of property might plague and confine me; he might forbid my lending to a friend, inspect my conduct, check my improvements, call for securities, repairs, &c. But if I purchase, I walk on my own terrace fierce and erect, the free master of one of the most delicious spots on the globe.

Should I ever migrate homewards, (you stare, but such an event is less improbable than I could have thought it two years ago,) this place would be disputed by strangers and natives.

Weigh these reasons, and send me without delay a rational explicit opinion, to which I shall pay such

such regard as the nature of circumstances will allow. But, alas! when all is determined, I shall possess this house, by whatsoever tenure, without friendship or domestic society. I did not imagine, six years ago, that a plan of life so congenial to my wishes, would so speedily vanish. I cannot write upon any other subject. Adieu, your's ever.

Lausanne, August 1789.

After receiving and dispatching the power of attorney, last Wednesday, I opened, with some palpitation, the unexpected missive which arrived this morning. The perusal of the contents spoiled my breakfast. They are disagreeable in themselves, alarming in their consequences, and peculiarly unpleasant at the present moment, when I hoped to have formed and secured the arrangements of my future life. I do not perfectly understand what are these deeds which are so inflexibly required; the wills and marriage-settlements I have sufficiently answered. But your arguments do not convince ****, and I have very little hope from the Lenborough search. What will be the event? If his objections are only the result of legal scrupulosity, surely they might be removed, and every chink might be filled, by a general bond of indemnity, in which I boldly ask you to join, as it will be a substantial important act of friendship, without any possible risk to yourself or your successors. Should he still remain obdurate, I must believe what I already suspect, that **** repents of his purchase, and wishes to

elude the conclusion. Our case would be then hopeless, *ibi omnis effusus labor*, and the estate would be returned on our hands with the taint of a bad title. The refusal of mortgage does not please me; but surely our offer shews some confidence in the goodness of my title. If he will not take eight thousand pounds at *four per cent.* we must look out elsewhere; new doubts and delays will arise, and I am persuaded that you will not place an implicit confidence in any attorney. I know not as yet your opinion about my Lausanne purchase. If you are against it, the present position of affairs gives you great advantage, &c. &c. The Severys are all well; an uncommon circumstance for the four persons of the family at once. They are now at Mex, a country-house six miles from hence, which I visit to-morrow for two or three days. They often come to town, and we shall contrive to pass a part of the autumn together at Rolle. I want to change the scene; and beautiful as the garden and prospect must appear to every eye, I feel that the state of my own mind casts a gloom over them; every spot, every walk, every bench, recals the memory of those hours, of those conversations, which will return no more. But I tear myself from the subject. I could not help writing to-day, though I do not find I have said any thing very material. As you must be conscious that you have agitated me, you will not postpone any agreeable, or even *decisive* intelligence. I almost hesitate, whether I shall run over to England, to consult with you on the spot, and to fly from poor

Deyverdun's

Deyverdun's shade, which meets me at every turn. I did not expect to have felt his loss so sharply. But six hundred miles! Why are we so far off?

Once more, What is the difficulty of the title? Will men of sense, in a sensible country, never get rid of the tyranny of lawyers? more oppressive and ridiculous than even the old yoke of the clergy. Is not a term of seventy or eighty years, nearly twenty in my own person, sufficient to prove our legal possession? Will not the records of fines and recoveries attest that *I* am free from any bar of entails and settlements? Consult some sage of the law, whether their present demand be necessary and legal. If your ground be firm, force them to execute the agreement or forfeit the deposit. But if, as I much fear, they have a right, and a wish, to elude the consummation, would it not be better to release them at once, than to be hung up for five years, as in the case of Lovegrove, which cost me in the end four or five thousand pounds? You are bold, you are wise; consult, resolve, act. In my penultimate letter I dropped a strange hint, that a migration homeward was not impossible. I know not what to say; my mind is all afloat; yet you will not reproach me with caprice or inconstancy. How many years did you damn my scheme of retiring to Lausanne? I executed that plan; I found as much happiness as is compatible with human nature, and during four years (1783—1787) I never breathed a sigh of repentance. On my return from England the scene was changed: I found only a faint semblance

of Deyverdun, and that semblance was each day fading from my sight. I have passed an anxious year, but my anxiety is now at an end, and the prospect before me is a melancholy solitude. I am still deeply rooted in this country; the possession of this paradise, the friendship of the Severys, a mode of society suited to my taste, and the enormous trouble and *expense* of a migration. Yet in England (when the present clouds are dispelled) I could form a very comfortable establishment in London, or rather at Bath; and I have a very noble country-seat at about ten miles from East Grinstead in Sussex.* That spot is dearer to me than the rest of the three kingdoms; and I have sometimes wondered how two men, so opposite in their tempers and pursuits, should have imbibed so long and lively a propensity for each other. Sir Stanier Porten is just dead. He has left his widow with a moderate pension, and two children, my nearest relations: the eldest, Charlotte, is about Louisa's age, and also a most amiable sensible young creature. I have conceived a romantic idea of educating and adopting her; as we descend into the vale of years our infirmities require some domestic female society: Charlotte would be the comfort of my age, and I could reward her care and tenderness with a decent fortune. A thousand difficulties oppose the execution of the plan, which I have never opened but to you; yet it would be less impracticable in England than in Switzerland.

* Alluding to Sheffield-Place.

Adieu.



C.Heath direxit.

SHEFFIELD PLACE.

Adieu. I am wounded; pour some oil into my wounds: yet I am less unhappy since I have thrown my mind upon paper.

Are you not amazed at the French revolution? They have the power, will they have the moderation, to establish a good constitution? Adieu, ever yours.

Lausanne, Sept. 9, 1789.

Within an hour after the reception of your last, I drew my pen for the purpose of a reply, and my exordium ran in the following words: "I find by experience, that it is much more rational, as well as easy, to answer a letter of real business by the return of the post." This important truth is again verified by my own example. After writing three pages I was called away by a very rational motive, and the post departed before I could return to the conclusion. A second delay was coloured by some decent pretence. Three weeks have slipped away, and I now force myself on a task, which I should have dispatched without an effort on the first summons. My only excuse is, that I had little to write about English business, and that I could write nothing definitive about my Swiss affairs. And first, as Aristotle says of the first,

1. I was indeed in low spirits when I sent what you so justly style my dismal letter; but I do assure you, that my own feelings contributed much more to sink me, than any events or terrors relative to the sale of Beriton. But I again hope and trust, from your consolatory epistle, that, &c. &c.

2. My Swiss transaction has suffered a great alteration,

alteration. I shall not become the proprietor of my house and garden at Lausanne, and I relinquish the phantom with more regret than you could easily imagine. But I have been determined by a difficulty, which at first appeared of little moment, but which has gradually swelled to an alarming magnitude. There is a law in this country, as well as in some provinces of France, which is styled *le droit de retrait*, *le retrait lignagere*, (Lord Loughborough must have heard of it,) by which the relations of the deceased are entitled to redeem a house or estate at the price for which it has been sold; and as the sum fixed by poor Deyverdun is much below its known value, a crowd of competitors are beginning to start. The best opinions (for they are divided) are in my favour, that I am not subject to *le droit de retrait*, since I take not as a purchaser, but as a legatee. But the words of the will are somewhat ambiguous, the event of law is always uncertain, the administration of justice at Berne (the last appeal) depends too much on favour and intrigue; and it is very doubtful whether I could revert to the life-holding, after having chosen and lost the property. These considerations engaged me to open a negociation with Mr. de Montagny, through the medium of my friend the judge; and as he most ardently wishes to keep the house, he consented, though with some reluctance, to my proposals. Yesterday he signed a covenant in the most regular and binding form, by which he allows my power of transferring my interest, interprets

prets in the most ample sense my right of making alterations, and expressly renounces all claim, as landlord, of visiting or inspecting the premises. I have promised to lend him twelve thousand livres, (between seven and eight hundred pounds,) secured on the house and land. The mortgage is four times its value; the interest of four pounds per cent. will be annually discharged by the rent of thirty guineas. So that I am now tranquil on that score for the remainder of my days. I hope that time will gradually reconcile me to the place which I have inhabited with my poor friend; for in spite of the *cream* of London, I am still persuaded that no other place is so well adapted to my taste and habits of studious and social life.

Far from delighting in the whirl of a metropolis, my only complaint against Lausanne is the great number of strangers, always of English, and now of French, by whom we are infested in summer. Yet we have escaped the superlatively great ones, the Count d'Artois, the Polignacs, &c. who slip by us to Turin. What a scene is France! While the Assembly is voting abstract propositions, Paris is an independent republic; the provinces have neither authority nor freedom, and poor Necker declares that credit is no more, and that the people refuse to pay taxes. Yet I think you must be seduced by the abolition of tithes. If Eden goes to Paris you may have some curious information. Give me some account of Mr. and Mrs. Douglas. Do they live with Lord North? I hope they do. When will parliament be dissolved? Are you still Coventry-mad? I embrace my Lady, the sprightly Maria,

Maria, and the smiling Louisa.* Alas! alas! you will never come to Switzerland. Adieu, ever yours.

Lausanne, Sept. 25th, 1789.

Alas! what perils do environ
The man who meddles with cold iron.

Alas! what delays and difficulties do attend the man who meddles with legal and landed business! Yet if it be only to disappoint your expectation, I am not so very nervous at this new provoking obstacle. I had totally forgotten the deed in question, which was contrived in the last year of my father's life, to tie his hands and regulate the disorder of his affairs; and which might have been so easily cancelled by Sir Stanier, who had not the smallest interest in it, either for himself or his family. The amicable suit, which is now become necessary, must, I think, be short and unambiguous, yet I cannot help dreading the crotchets, that lurk under the chancellor's great wig; and at all events, I foresee some additional delay and expense. The golden pill of the two thousand eight hundred pounds has soothed my discontent; and if it be safely lodged with the Goslings, I agree with you, in considering it as an unequivocal pledge of a fair and willing purchaser. It is indeed chiefly in that light I now rejoice in so large a deposit, which is no longer necessary in its full extent. You are apprised by my last letter

* Maria Josepha Holroyd, eldest daughter of Lord Sheffield, married Sir John Thomas Stanley, of Alderley in Cheshire, Baronet; and Louisa Dorothea Holroyd married Lieutenant-General William Henry Clinton, eldest son of General Sir Henry Clinton, K. B.

that

that I have reduced myself to the life-enjoyment of the house and garden. And, in spite of my feelings, I am every day more convinced that I have chosen the safer side. I believe my cause to have been good, but it was doubtful. Law in this country is not so expensive as in England, but it is more troublesome; I must have gone to Berne, have solicited my judges in person; a vile custom! the event was uncertain; and during at least two years, I should have been in a state of suspense and anxiety; till the conclusion of which it would have been madness to have attempted any alteration or improvement. According to my present arrangement I shall want no more than eleven hundred pounds of the two thousand, and I suppose you will direct Gosling to lay out the remainder in India bonds, that it may not lie quite dead, while I am accountable to * * * * for the interest. The elderly lady in a male habit, who informed me that Yorkshire is a register county, is a certain judge, one Sir William Blackstone, whose name you may possibly have heard. After stating the danger of purchasers and creditors, with regard to the title of estates on which they lay out or lend their money, he thus continues: "In Scotland every act and event regarding the transmission of property is regularly entered on record; and some of our own provincial divisions, particularly the extended county of York and the populous county of Middlesex, have prevailed with the legislature to erect such registers in their respective districts." (Blackstone's Commentaries, vol.

vol. ii. p. 343, edition of 1774, in quarto.) If I am mistaken, it is in pretty good company; but I suspect that we are all right, and that the register is confined to one or two ridings. As we have, alas! two or three months before us, I should hope that your prudent sagacity will discover some sound land, in case you should not have time to arrange another mortgage. I now write in a hurry, as I am just setting out for Rolle, where I shall be settled with cook and servants in a pleasant apartment, till the middle of November. The Severys have a house there, where they pass the autumn. I am not sorry to vary the scene for a few weeks, and I wish to be absent while some alterations are making in my house at Lausanne. I wish the change of air may be of service to Severy the father, but we do not at all like his present state of health. How completely, alas, how completely! could I now lodge you: but your firm resolve of making me a visit seems to have vanished like a dream. Next summer you will not find five hundred pounds for a rational friendly expedition; and should parliament be dissolved, you will perhaps find five thousand for ———. I cannot think of it with patience. Pray take serious strenuous measures for sending me a pipe of excellent Madeira in cask, with some dozens of Malmsey Madeira. It should be consigned to Messrs. Romberg Voituriers at Ostend, and I must have timely notice of its march. We have so much to say about France, that I suppose we shall never say any thing. That country is now in a state of dissolution. Adieu.

Lausanne, December 15th, 1789.

You have often reason to accuse my strange silence and neglect in the most important of *my own* affairs; for I will presume to assert, that in a business of yours of equal consequence, you should not find me cold or careless. But on the present occasion my silence is, perhaps, the highest compliment I ever paid you. You remember the answer of Philip of Macedon: "Philip may sleep, while he knows that Parmenio is awake." I expected, and, to say the truth, I wished that my Parmenio would have decided and acted, without expecting my dilatory answer, and in his decision I should have acquiesced with implicit confidence. But since you will have my opinion, let us consider the present state of my affairs. In the course of my life I have often known, and sometimes felt, the difficulty of getting money, but I now find myself involved in a more singular distress, the difficulty of placing it, and if it continues much longer, I shall almost wish for my land again.

I perfectly agree with you, that it is bad management to purchase in the funds when they do not yield four pounds per cent. * * * *
* * * * * * * * *

Some of this money I can place safely, by means of my banker here; and I shall possess, what I have always desired, a command of cash, which I cannot abuse to my prejudice, since I have it in my power to supply with my pen any extraordinary or fanciful indulgence of expense. And so much, much

much indeed, for pecuniary matters. What would you have me say of the affairs of France? We are too near, and too remote, to form an accurate judgment of that wonderful scene. The abuses of the court and government called aloud for reformation; and it has happened, as it will always happen, that an innocent well-disposed Prince has paid the forfeit of the sins of his predecessors; of the ambition of Lewis the Fourteenth, of the profusion of Lewis the Fifteenth. The French nation had a glorious opportunity, but they have abused, and may lose their advantages. If they had been content with a liberal translation of our system, if they had respected the prerogatives of the crown, and the privileges of the nobles, they might have raised a solid fabric on the only true foundation, the natural aristocracy of a great country. How different is the prospect! Their King brought a captive to Paris, after his palace had been stained with the blood of his guards; the nobles in exile; the clergy plundered in a way which strikes at the root of all property; the capital an independent republic; the union of the provinces dissolved; the flames of discord kindled by the worst of men, (in that light I consider Mirabeau;) and the honestest of the Assembly, a set of wild visionaries, (like our Dr. Price,) who gravely debate, and dream about the establishment of a pure and perfect democracy of five-and-twenty millions, the virtues of the golden age, and the primitive rights and equality of mankind, which would lead, in fair reasoning, to an equal partition of

of lands and money. How many years must elapse before France can recover any vigour, or resume her station among the Powers of Europe! As yet, there is no symptom of a great man, a Richelieu or a Cromwell, arising, either to restore the monarchy, or to lead the commonwealth. The weight of Paris, more deeply engaged in the funds than *all* the rest of the kingdom, will long delay a bankruptcy; and if it should happen, it will be, both in the cause and the effect, a measure of weakness, rather than of strength. You send me to Chamberry, to see a Prince and an Archbishop. Alas! we have exiles enough here, with the Marshal de Castries and the Duke de Guignes at their head; and this inundation of strangers, which used to be confined to the summer, will now stagnate all the winter. The only ones whom I have seen with pleasure are Mr. Mounier, the late President of the National Assembly, and the Count de Lally; they have both dined with me. Mounier, who is a serious dry politician, is returned to Dauphiné. Lally is an amiable man of the world, and a poet: he passes the winter here. You know how much I prefer a quiet select society to a crowd of names and titles, and that I always seek conversation with a view to amusement, rather than information. What happy countries are England and Switzerland, if they know and preserve their happiness!

I have a thousand things to say to my Lady, Maria, and Louisa, but I can add only a short postscript about the Madeira. Good Madeira is now become essential to my health and reputation.

May your hogshead prove as good as the last; may it not be intercepted by the rebels or the Austrians. What a scene again in that country! Happy England! Happy Switzerland! I again repeat, adieu.

Lausanne, January 27th, 1790.

Your two last epistles, of the 7th and 11th instant were somewhat delayed on the road; they arrived within two days of each other, the last this morning (the 27th;) so that I answer by the first, or at least by the second post. Upon the whole, your French method, though sometimes more rapid, appears to me less sure and steady than the old German highway, &c. * * * * * But enough of this. A new and brighter prospect seems to be breaking upon us, and few events of *that kind* have ever given me more pleasure than your successful negociation and ****'s satisfactory answer. The agreement is, indeed, equally convenient for both parties: no time or expense will be wasted in scrutinizing the title of the estate; the interest will be secured by the clause of five per cent. and I lament with you, that no larger sum than eight thousand pounds can be placed on Beriton, without asking (what might be somewhat impudent) a collateral security, &c. &c. * * But I wish you to choose and execute one or the other of these arrangements with sage discretion and absolute power. I shorten my letter, that I may dispatch it by this post. I see the time, and I shall rejoice to see it at the end of twenty

twenty years, when my cares will be at an end, and our friendly pages will be no longer sullied with the repetition of dirty land and vile money; when we may expatiate on the politics of the world and our personal sentiments. Without expecting your answer of business, I mean to write soon in a purer style, and I wish to lay open to my friend the state of my mind, which (exclusive of all worldly concerns) is not perfectly at ease. In the mean while, I must add two or three short articles. I am astonished at Elmsley's silence, and the immobility of your picture. Mine should have departed long since, could I have found a sure opportunity, &c. &c. Adieu, yours.

Lausanne, May 15th, 1790.

Since the first origin *(ab ovo)* of our connection and correspondence, so long an interval of silence has not intervened, as far as I remember, between us.

From my silence you conclude that the moral complaint, which I had insinuated in my last, is either insignificant or fanciful. The conclusion is rash. But the complaint in question is of the nature of a slow lingering disease, which is not attended with any immediate danger. As I have not leisure to expatiate, take the idea in three words: "Since the loss of poor Deyverdun, I am *alone;* and even in Paradise, solitude is painful to a social mind. When I was a dozen years younger, I *scarcely* felt the weight of a single existence amidst the crowds of London, of parliament, of clubs; but it will press more heavily upon me in this tran-

quil land, in the decline of life, and with the increase of infirmities. Some expedient, even the most desperate, must be embraced, to secure the domestic society of a male or female companion. But I am not in a hurry; there is time for reflection and advice." During this winter such finer feelings have been suspended by the grosser evil of bodily pain. On the ninth of February I was seized by such a fit of the gout as I had never known, though I must be thankful that its dire effects have been confined to the feet and knees, without ascending to the more noble parts. With some vicissitudes of better and worse, I have groaned between two and three months; the debility has survived the pain, and though now easy, I am carried about in my chair, without any power, and with a very distant chance of supporting myself, from the extreme weakness and contraction of the joints of my knees. Yet I am happy in a skilful physician, and kind assiduous friends: every evening, during more than three months, has been enlivened (excepting when I have been forced to refuse them) by some cheerful visits, and very often by a chosen party of both sexes. How different is such society from the solitary evenings which I have passed in the tumult of London! It is not worth while fighting about a shadow, but should I ever return to England, Bath, not the metropolis, would be my last retreat.

Your portrait is at last arrived in perfect condition, and now occupies a conspicuous place over the chimney-glass in my library. It is the object of general admiration; good judges (the few) applaud the

the work; the name of Reynolds opens the eyes and mouths of the many; and were I not afraid of making you vain, I would inform you that the original is not allowed to be more than five-and-thirty. In spite of private reluctance and public discontent, I have honourably dismissed *myself*.* I shall arrive at Sir Joshua's before the end of the month; he will give me a look, and perhaps a touch; and you will be indebted to the president one guinea for the carriage. Do not be nervous, I am not rolled up; had I been so, you might have gazed on my charms four months ago. I want some account of yourself, of my Lady, (shall we never directly correspond?) of Louisa, and of Maria. How has the latter since her launch supported a quiet winter in Sussex? I so much rejoice in your divorce from that b—— Kitty Coventry, that I care not what marriage you contract. A great city would suit your dignity, and the duties which would kill me in the first session, would supply your activity with a constant fund of amusement. But tread softly and surely; the ice is deceitful, the water is deep, and you may be soused over head and ears before you are aware. Why did not you or Elmsley send me the African pamphlet† by the post? it would not have cost much. You have such a knack of turning a nation, that I am afraid you will triumph (perhaps by the force of argument) over justice and humanity. But do you not expect to

* His portrait.

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

work at Belzebub's sugar plantations in the infernal regions, under the tender government of a negro-driver? I should suppose both my Lady and Miss Firth very angry with you.

As to the bill for prints, which has been too long neglected, why will you not exercise the power, which I have never revoked, over all my cash at the Goslings? The Severy family has passed a very favourable winter; the young man is impatient to hear from a family which he places above all others: yet he will generously write next week, and send you a drawing of the alterations in the house. Do not raise your ideas; you know *I* am satisfied with convenience in architecture, and some elegance in furniture. I admire the coolness with which you ask me to epistolize Reynell and Elmsley, as if a letter were so easy and pleasant a task; it appears less so to me every day.

1790.

Your indignation will melt into pity, when you hear that for several weeks past I have been again confined to my chamber and my chair. Yet I must hasten, generously hasten, to exculpate the gout, my old enemy, from the curses which you already pour on his head. He is not the cause of this disorder, although the consequences have been somewhat similar. I am satisfied that this effort of nature has saved me from a very dangerous, perhaps a fatal, crisis; and I listen to the flattering hope that it may tend to keep the gout at a more respectful distance, &c. &c. &c.

The

The whole sheet has been filled with dry selfish business; but I must and will reserve some lines of the cover for a little friendly conversation. I passed four days at the castle of Copet with Necker; and could have wished to have shewn him, as a warning to any aspiring youth possessed with the demon of ambition. With all the means of private happiness in his power, he is the most miserable of human beings: the past, the present, and the future, are equally odious to him. When I suggested some domestic amusements of books, building, &c. he answered, with a deep tone of despair, " Dans l'état où je suis, je ne puis sentir que le coup de vent qui m'a abbatu." How different from the conscious cheerfulness with which our poor friend Lord North supported his fall! Madame Necker maintains more external composure, *mais le Diable n'y perd rien.* It is true that Necker wished to be carried into the closet, like old Pitt, on the shoulders of the people; and that he has been ruined by the democracy which he had raised. I believe him to be an able financier, and know him to be an honest man; too honest, perhaps, for a minister. His rival Calonne passed through Lausanne, in his way from Turin; and was soon followed by the Prince of Condé, with his son and grandson; but I was too much indisposed to see them. They have, or have had, some wild projects of a counter-revolution: horses have been bought, men levied: and the Canton of Berne has too much countenanced such foolish attempts, which must end in the ruin of the party. Burke's

book is a most admirable medicine against the French disease, which has made too much progress even in this happy country. I admire his eloquence, I approve his politics, I adore his chivalry, and I can forgive even his superstition. The primitive church, which I have treated with some freedom, was itself at that time an innovation, and I was attached to the old Pagan establishment. The French spread so many lies about the sentiments of the English nation, that I wish the most considerable men of all parties and descriptions would join in some public act, declaring themselves satisfied with, and resolved to support our present constitution. Such a declaration would have a wonderful effect in Europe; and, were I thought worthy, I myself would be proud to subscribe it. I have a great mind to send you something of a sketch, such as all thinking men might adopt.

I have intelligence of the approach of my Madeira. I accept with equal pleasure the second pipe, now in the Torrid Zone. Send me some pleasant details of your domestic state, of Maria, &c. If my Lady thinks that my silence is a mark of indifference, my Lady is a goose. I *must* have you all at Lausanne next summer.

Lausanne, August 7, 1790.

I answer at once your two letters; and I should probably have taken earlier notice of the first, had I not been in daily expectation of the second. I must begin on the subject of what really interests me the most, your glorious election for Bristol.

Most

Most sincerely do I congratulate your exchange of a cursed expensive jilt, who deserted you for a rich Jew, for an honourable connection with a chaste and virtuous matron, who will probably be as constant as she is disinterested.* In the whole range of election from Caithness to St. Ives, I much doubt whether there be a single choice so truly honourable to the member and the constituents. The second commercial city invites, from a distant province, an independent gentleman, known only by his active spirit, and his writings on the subject of trade; and names him, without intrigue or expense, for her representative: even the voice of party is silenced, while factions strive which shall applaud the most.

You are now sure, for seven years to come, of never wanting food; I mean business: what a crowd of suitors or complainants will besiege your door! what a load of letters and memorials will be heaped on your table! I much question whether even you will not sometimes exclaim, *Ohe! jam satis est!* but that is your affair. Of the excursion to Coventry I cannot decide, but I hear it is pretty generally blamed: but, however, I love gratitude to an old friend; and shall not be very angry if you damned them with a farewell to all eternity.

* Lord Sheffield continued to represent the city of Bristol, until he was removed to the British House of Peers, in 1802. He can never sufficiently acknowledge the liberality and kindness which he experienced, during the whole period, from the citizens of Bristol. He was not suffered to incur the least expense, not even for the printing of an advertisement. S.

But

But I cannot repress my indignation at the use of those foolish, obsolete, odious words, Whig and Tory. In the American war they might have some meaning; and then your Lordship was a Tory, although you supposed yourself a Whig: since the coalition, all general principles have been confounded; and if there ever was an opposition to men, not measures, it is the present. Luckily both the leaders are great men; and, whatever happens, the country must fall upon its legs. What a strange mist of peace and war seems to hang over the ocean! We can perceive nothing but secrecy and vigour; but those are excellent qualities to perceive in a minister. From yourself and politics I now return to my private concerns, which I shall methodically consider under the three great articles of mind, body, and estate.

1. I am not absolutely displeased at your firing so hastily at the hint, a tremendous hint, in my last letter. But the danger is not so serious or imminent as you seem to suspect; and I give you my word, that, before I take the slightest step which can bind me either in law, conscience, or honour, I will faithfully communicate, and we will freely discuss, the whole state of the business. But at present there is not any thing to communicate or discuss; I do assure you that I have not any particular object in view: I am not in love with any of the hyænas of Lausanne, though there are some who keep their claws tolerably well pared. Sometimes, in a solitary mood, I have fancied myself married to one or another of those whose society and

and conversation are the most pleasing to me; but when I have painted in my fancy all the probable consequences of such an union, I have started from my dream, rejoiced in my escape, and ejaculated a thanksgiving that I was still in possession of my natural freedom. Yet I feel, and shall continue to feel, that domestic solitude, however it may be alleviated by the world, by study, and even by friendship, is a comfortless state, which will grow more painful as I descend in the vale of years. At present my situation is very tolerable; and if at dinner-time, or at my return home in the evening, I sometimes sigh for a companion, there are many hours, and many occasions, in which I enjoy the superior blessing of being sole master of my own house. But your plan, though less dangerous, is still more absurd than mine: such a couple as you describe could not be found; and, if found, would not answer my purpose; their rank and position would be awkward and ambiguous to myself and my acquaintance; and the agreement of three persons of three characters would be still more impracticable. My plan of Charlotte Porten is undoubtedly the more desirable; and she might either remain a spinster, (the case is not without example,) or marry some Swiss of my choice, who would increase and enliven our society; and both would have the strongest motives for kind and dutiful behaviour. But the mother has been indirectly sounded, and will not hear of such a proposal for some years. On my side, I would not take her, but as a piece of soft wax which I could model to the

the language and manners of the country: I must therefore be patient.

Young Severy's letter, which may be now in your hands, and which, for these three or four last posts, has furnished my indolence with a new pretence for delay, has already informed you of the means and circumstances of my resurrection. Tedious indeed was my confinement, since I was not able to move from my house or chair, from the ninth of February to the first of July, very nearly five months. The first weeks were accompanied with more pain than I have ever known in the gout, with anxious days and sleepless nights; and when that pain subsided, it left a weakness in my knees which seemed to have no end. My confinement was however softened by books, by the possession of every comfort and convenience, by a succession each evening of agreeable company, and by a flow of equal spirits and general good health. During the last weeks I descended to the ground floor, poor Deyverdun's apartment, and constructed a chair like Merlin's, in which I could wheel myself in the house and on the terrace. My patience has been universally admired; yet how many thousands have passed those five months less easily than myself. I remember making a remark perfectly simple, and perfectly true: "At present, (I said to Madame de Severy,) I am not positively miserable, and I may reasonably hope a daily or weekly improvement, till sooner or later in the summer I shall recover new limbs, and new pleasures, which I do not now possess: have any of you

you such a prospect?" The prediction has been accomplished, and I have arrived to my present condition of strength, or rather of feebleness: I now can walk with tolerable ease in my garden and smooth places; but on the rough pavement of the town I use, and perhaps shall use, a sedan chair. The Pyrmont waters have performed wonders; and my physician (not Tissot, but a very sensible man) allows me to hope, that the term of the interval will be in proportion to that of the fit.

Have you read in the English papers, that the government of Berne is overturned, and that we are divided into three democratical *leagues?* true as what I have read in the French papers, that the English have cut off Pitt's head, and abolished the House of Lords. The people of this country are happy; and in spite of some miscreants, and more foreign emissaries, they are sensible of their happiness.

Finally—Inform my Lady, that I am indignant at a false and heretical assertion in her last letter to Severy, " that friends at a distance cannot love each other, if they do not write." I love her better than any woman in the world; indeed I do; and yet I do not write. And she herself—but I am calm. We have now nearly one hundred French exiles, some of them worth being acquainted with; particularly a Count de Schomberg, who is become almost my friend; he is a man of the world, of letters, and of sufficient age, since in 1753, he succeeded to Marshal Saxe's regiment of dragoons. As to the rest, I entertain them, and they

they flatter me: but I wish we were reduced to our Lausanne society. Poor France! the state is dissolved, the nation is mad! Adieu.

Lausanne, April 9, 1791.

First, of my health: it is now tolerably restored, my legs are still weak, but the animal in general is in a sound and lively condition; and we have great hopes from the fine weather and the Pyrmont waters. I most sincerely wished for the presence of Maria, to embellish a ball which I gave the 29th of last month to all the best company, natives and foreigners, of Lausanne, with the aid of the Severys, especially of the mother and son, who directed the economy, and performed the honours of the *fête*. It opened about seven in the evening; the assembly of men and women was pleased and pleasing, the music good, the illumination splendid, the refreshments profuse: at twelve, one hundred and thirty persons sat down to a very good supper: at two, I stole away to bed, in a snug corner; and I was informed at breakfast, that the remains of the veteran and young troops, with Severy and his sister at their head, had concluded the last dance about a quarter before seven. This magnificent entertainment has gained me great credit: and the expense was more reasonable than you can easily imagine. This was an extraordinary event, but I give frequent dinners; and in the summer I have an assembly every Sunday evening. What a wicked wretch! says my Lady.

I cannot

I cannot pity you for the accumulation of business, as you ought not to pity *me*, if I complained of the tranquillity of Lausanne; we suffer or enjoy the effects of our own choice. Perhaps you will mutter something, of our not being born for ourselves, of public spirit, (I have formerly read of such a thing,) of private friendship, for which I give you full and ample credit, &c. But your parliamentary operations, at least, will probably expire in the month of June; and I shall refuse to sign the Newhaven conveyance, unless I am satisfied that you will execute the Lausanne visit this summer. On the 15th of June, suppose Lord, Lady, Maria, and maid, (poor Louisa!) in a post coach, with Etienne on horseback, set out from Downing-street, or Sheffield-place, cross the channel from Brighton to Dieppe, visit the National Assembly, buy caps at Paris, examine the ruins of Versailles, and arrive at Lausanne, without danger or fatigue, the second week in July; you will be lodged pleasantly and comfortably, and will not perhaps despise my situation. A couple of months will roll, alas! too hastily away: you will all be amused by new scenes, new people; and whenever Maria and you, with Severy, mount on horseback to visit the country, the glaciers, &c. my Lady and myself shall form a very quiet tête-à-tête at home. In September, if you are tired, you may return by a direct or indirect way; but I only desire that you will not make the plan impracticable, by grasping at too much. In return, I promise you a visit of three or four months in the autumn of

of ninety-two: you and my booksellers are now my principal attractions in England. You had some right to growl at hearing of my supplement in the papers: but Cadell's indiscretion was founded on a hint which I had thrown out in a letter, and which in all probability will never be executed. Yet I am not totally idle. Adieu.

Lausanne, May 18, 1791.

I write a short letter, on small paper, to inform you, that the various deeds, which arrived safe and in good condition, have this morning been sealed, signed, and delivered, in the presence of respectable and well-known English witnesses. To have read the aforesaid acts, would have been difficult; to have understood them, impracticable. I therefore signed them with my eyes shut, and in that implicit confidence, which we freemen and Britons are humbly content to yield to our lawyers and ministers. I hope however, most seriously hope, that every thing has been carefully examined, and that I am not totally ruined. It is not without much impatience that I expect an account of the payment and investment of the purchase-money. It was my intention to have added a new edition of my will: but I have an unexpected call to go to Geneva to-morrow with the Severys, and must defer that business a few days till after my return. On my return I may possibly find a letter from you, and will write more fully in answer: my posthumous work,* contained in a single sheet,

* Mr. Gibbon's Will.

will

will not ruin you in postage. In the mean while let me desire you either never to talk of Lausanne, or to execute the journey this summer: after the dispatch of public and *private* business, there can be no real obstacle but in yourself. Pray do not go to war with Russia; it is very foolish. I am quite angry with Pitt. Adieu.

Lausanne, May 31, 1791.

At length I see a ray of sunshine breaking from a dark cloud. Your epistle of the 13th arrived this morning, the 25th instant, the day after my return from Geneva; it has been communicated to Severy. We now believe that you intend a visit to Lausanne this summer, and we hope that you will execute that intention. If you are a man of honour, you shall find me one; and, on the day of your arrival at Lausanne, I will ratify my engagement of visiting the British isle before the end of the year 1792, excepting only the fair and foul exception of the gout. You rejoice me, by proposing the addition of dear Louisa; it was not without a bitter pang that I threw her overboard, to lighten the vessel and secure the voyage: I was fearful of the governess, a second carriage, and a long train of difficulty and expense, which might have ended in blowing up the whole scheme. But if you can bodkin the sweet creature into the coach, she will find an easy welcome at Lausanne. The first arrangements which I must make before your arrival, may be altered by your own taste, on a survey of the premises, and you will all be com-

modiously and pleasantly lodged. You have heard a great deal of the beauty of my house, garden, and situation; but such are their intrinsic value, that, unless I am much deceived, they will bear the test even of exaggerated praise. From my knowledge of your lordship, I have always entertained some doubt how you would get through the society of a Lausanne winter; but I am satisfied that, exclusive of friendship, your summer visits to the banks of the Leman Lake will long be remembered as one of the most agreeable periods of your life; and that you will scarcely regret the amusement of a Sussex Committee of Navigation in the dog days. You ask for details: what details? a map of France and a post-book are easy and infallible guides. If the ladies are not afraid of the ocean, you are not ignorant of the passage from Brighton to Dieppe: Paris will then be in your direct road; and even allowing you to look at the Pandæmonium, the ruins of Versailles, &c. a fortnight diligently employed will clear you from Sheffield Place to Gibbon Castle. What can I say more?

As little have I to say on the subject of my worldly matters, which seem now, Jupiter be praised, to be drawing towards a final conclusion; since when people part with their money, they are indeed serious. I do not perfectly understand the ratio of the precise sum which you have poured into Gosling's reservoir, but suppose it will be explained in a general account.

You have been very dutiful in sending me, what I have

I have always desired, a cut Woodfall on a remarkable debate; a debate, indeed, most remarkable! Poor Burke is the most eloquent and rational madman that I ever knew. I love Fox's feelings, but I detest the political principles of the man, and of the party. Formerly, you detested them more strongly during the American war, than myself. I am half afraid that you are corrupted by your unfortunate connections. Should you admire the National Assembly, we shall have many an altercation, for I am as high an aristocrat as Burke himself; and he has truly observed, that it is impossible to debate with temper on the subject of that cursed revolution. In my last excursion to Geneva I frequently saw the Neckers, who by this time are returned to their summer residence at Copet. He is much restored in health and spirits, especially since the publication of his last book, which has probably reached England. Both parties, who agree in abusing him, agree likewise that he is a man of virtue and genius; but I much fear that the purest intentions have been productive of the most baneful consequences. Our military men, I mean the French, are leaving us every day for the camp of the Princes at Worms, and support what is called* representation. Their hopes are sanguine; I will not answer for their being well grounded: it is *certain*, however, that the emperor had an interview the 19th instant with the count of Artois at Mantua; and the aristocrats

* The words in the original letter are torn off by the seal.

talk in mysterious language of Spain, Sardinia, the Empire, four or five armies, &c. They will doubtless strike a blow this summer: may it not recoil on their own heads! Adieu. Embrace our female travellers. A short delay!

Lausanne, June 12, 1791.

I now begin to see you all in real motion, swimming from Brighton to Dieppe, according to my scheme, and afterwards treading the direct road, which you cannot well avoid, to the turbulent capital of the late kingdom of France. I know not what more to say, or what further instructions to send; they would indeed be useless, as you are travelling through a country which has been sometimes visited by Englishmen: only this let me say, that in the midst of anarchy the roads were never more secure than at present. As you will wish to assist at the National Assembly, you will act prudently in obtaining from the French in London a good recommendation to some leading member; Cazales, for instance, or the Abbé Maury. I soon expect from Elmsley a cargo of books; but you may bring me any new pamphlet of exquisite flavour, particularly the last works of John Lord Sheffield,* which the dog has always neglected to send. You will have time to write once more, and you must endeavour, as nearly as possible, to mark the day of your arrival. You may come either by Lyons and Geneva, by Dijon and les Rousses, or

* Observations on the Corn Laws.

by

by Dole and Pontarliere. The post will fail you on the edge of Switzerland, and must be supplied by hired horses. I wish you to make your last day's journey easy, so as to dine upon the road, and arrive by tea-time. The pulse of the counter-revolution beats high, but I cannot send you any certain facts. Adieu. I want to *hear* my lady abusing me for never writing. *All* the Severys are very impatient.

Notwithstanding the high premium, I do not absolutely wish you drowned. Besides all other cares, I must marry and propagate, which would give me a great deal of trouble.

Lausanne, July 1, 1791.

In obedience to your orders I direct a flying shot to Paris, though I have not any thing particular to add, excepting that our impatience is increased in the *inverse ratio* of time and space. Yet I almost doubt whether you have passed the sea. The news of the king of France's escape must have reached you before the 28th, the day of your departure, and the prospect of strange unknown disorder may well have suspended your firmest resolves. The royal animal is again caught, and all may probably be quiet. I was just going to exhort you to pass through Brussels and the confines of Germany; a fair Irishism, since if you read this, you are already at Paris. The only reasonable advice which now remains, is to obtain, by means of Lord Gower,* a sufficiency, or even super-

* Then British Ambassador at Paris.

fluity, of forcible passports, such as leave no room for cavil on a jealous frontier. The frequent intercourse with Paris has proved that the best and shortest road, instead of Besançon, is by Dijon, Dole, Les Rousses, and Nyon. Adieu. I warmly embrace the ladies. It would be idle now to talk of business.

IT has appeared from the foregoing Letters, that a visit from myself and my family, to Mr. Gibbon at Lausanne, had been for some time in agitation. This long-promised excursion took place in the month of June, 1791, and occasioned a considerable cessation of our correspondence. I landed at Dieppe immediately after the unfortunate Lewis XVI. was brought captive to Paris. During my stay in that capital, I had an opportunity of seeing the extraordinary ferment of men's minds, both in the National Assembly and in private societies, and also in my passage through France to Lausanne, where I recalled to my memory the interesting scenes I had witnessed, by frequent conversations with my deceased friend. I might have wished to record his opinions on the subject of the French Revolution, if he had not expressed them so well in the annexed Letters. He seemed to suppose, as some of his Letters hint, that I had a tendency to the new French opinions. Never was suspicion more unfounded; nor could it have been admitted into Mr. Gibbon's mind, but that his extreme friendship for me, and his utter abhorrence of these notions, made him anxious and jealous, even to an excess, that I should not entertain them. He was, however, soon undeceived; he found that I was

fully as averse to them as himself. I had from the first expressed an opinion, that such a change as was aimed at in France, would derange all the regular governments in Europe, hazard the internal quiet and dearest interests of this country, and probably end in bringing on mankind a much greater portion of misery, than the most sanguine reformer had ever promised to himself or others to produce of benefit, by the visionary schemes of liberty and equality, with which the ignorant and vulgar were misled and abused.

Mr. Gibbon at first, like many others, seemed pleased with the prospect of the reform of inveterate abuses; but he very soon discovered the mischief which was intended, the imbecility with which concessions were made, and the ruin which must arise, from the want of resolution or conduct, in the administration of France. He lived to reprobate, in the strongest terms possible, the folly of the first reformers, and the something worse than extravagance and ferocity of their successors. He saw the wild and mischievous tendency of those pretended reformers, which, while they professed nothing but amendment, really meant destruction to all social order; and so strongly was his opinion fixed, as to the danger of hasty innovation, that he became a warm and zealous advocate for every sort of old establishment, which he marked in various ways, sometimes rather ludicrously; and I recollect, in a circle where French affairs were the topic, and some Portuguese present, he, seemingly with seriousness, argued in favour of the Inquisition

tion at Lisbon, and said he would not, at the present moment, give up even that old establishment.

It may, perhaps, not be quite uninteresting to the readers of these Memoirs, to know, that I found Mr. Gibbon at Lausanne in possession of an excellent house; the view from which, and from the terrace, was so uncommonly beautiful, that even his own pen would with difficulty describe the scene which it commanded. This prospect comprehended every thing vast and magnificent, which could be furnished by the finest mountains among the Alps, the most extensive view of the Lake of Geneva, with a beautifully varied and cultivated country, adorned by numerous villas, and picturesque buildings, intermixed with beautiful masses of stately trees. Here my friend received us with an hospitality and kindness which I can never forget. The best apartments of the house were appropriated to our use; the choicest society of the place was sought for, to enliven our visit, and render every day of it cheerful and agreeable. It was impossible for any man to be more esteemed and admired than Mr. Gibbon was at Lausanne. The preference he had given to that place, in adopting it for a residence, rather than his own country, was felt and acknowledged by all the inhabitants; and he may have been said almost to have given the law to a set of as willing subjects as any man ever presided over. In return for the deference shewn to him, he mixed, without affectation, in all the society, I mean all the best society, that Lausanne afforded; he could indeed command

command it, and was, perhaps, for that reason the more partial to it; for he often declared that he liked society more as a relaxation from study, than as expecting to derive from it amusement or instruction; that to books he looked for improvement, not to living persons. But this I considered partly as an answer to my expressions of wonder, that a man who might choose the most various and most generally improved society in the world, namely, in England, should prefer the very limited circle of Lausanne, which he never deserted, but for an occasional visit to M. and Madame Necker. It must not, however, be understood, that in choosing Lausanne for his home, he was insensible to the value of a residence in England: he was not in possession of an income which corresponded with his notions of ease and comfort in his own country. In Switzerland, his fortune was ample. To this consideration of fortune may be added another, which also had its weight; from early youth Mr. Gibbon had contracted a partiality for foreign taste and foreign habits of life, which made him less a stranger abroad than he was, in some respects, in his native country. This arose, perhaps, from having been out of England from his sixteenth to his twenty-first year; yet, when I came to Lausanne, I found him apparently without relish for French society. During the stay I made with him he renewed his intercourse with the principal French who were at Lausanne; of whom there happened to be a considerable number distinguished for rank or talents; many indeed respectable for both.

both.* I was not absent from my friend's house, except during a short excursion that we made together to Mr. Necker's at Copet, and a tour to Geneva, Chamouny, over the Col de Balme, to Martigny, St. Maurice, and round the Lake by Vevay to Lausanne. In the social and singularly pleasant months that I passed with Mr. Gibbon, he enjoyed his usual cheerfulness, with good health. After he left England, in 1788, he had had a severe attack, mentioned in one of the foregoing letters, of an erisipelas, which at last settled in one of his legs, and left something of a dropsical tendency; for at this time I first perceived a considerable degree of swelling about the ancle.

In the beginning of October I quitted this delightful residence; and some time after my return to England, our correspondence recommenced.

* Marshal 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 Salm, Comte de Schomberg, Comte de Lally Tolendal, M. Mounier, Madame d'Aguesseau and family, M. de Malsherbes, &c. &c.

LETTERS

FROM

EDWARD GIBBON, Esq.

TO

LORD SHEFFIELD,

AND OTHERS.

Edward Gibbon, *Esq. to the Hon. Miss* Holroyd.

Lausanne, 9th Nov. 1791.

GULLIVER is made to say, in presenting his interpreter, " My tongue is in the mouth of my friend." Allow me to say, with proper expressions and excuses, " My pen is in the hand of my friend;" and the aforesaid friend begs leave thus to continue.*

I remember to have read somewhere in Rousseau, of a lover quitting very often his mistress, to have the pleasure of corresponding with her. Though not absolutely your lover, I am very much your admirer, and should be extremely tempted to follow the same example. The spirit and reason

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

which

which prevail in your conversation, appear to great advantage in your letters. The three which I have received from Berne, Coblentz, and Brussels have given me much real pleasure; first, as a proof that you are often thinking of me; secondly, as an evidence that you are capable of keeping a resolution; and thirdly, from their own intrinsic merit and entertainment. The style, without any allowance for haste or hurry, is perfectly correct; the manner is neither too light, nor too grave; the dimensions neither too long, nor too short: they are such, in a word, as I should like to receive from the daughter of my best friend. I attend your lively journal, through bad roads, and worse inns. Your description of men and manners conveys very satisfactory information; and I am particularly delighted with your remark concerning the irregular behaviour of the Rhine. But the Rhine, alas! after some temporary wanderings, will be content to flow in his old channel, while man—man is the greatest fool of the whole creation.

I direct this letter to Sheffield-Place, where I suppose you arrived in health and safety. I congratulate my Lady on her quiet establishment by her fire-side: and hope you will be able, after all your excursions, to support the climate and manners of Old England. Before this epistle reaches you, I hope to have received the two promised letters from Dover and Sheffield-Place. If they should not meet with a proper return, you will pity and forgive me. I have not yet heard from Lord Sheffield, who seems to have devolved on his daughter,

daughter, the task which she has so gloriously executed. I shall probably not write to him, till I have received his first letter of business from England; but with regard to my Lady, I have most excellent intentions.

I never could understand how two persons of such superior merit, as Miss Holroyd and Miss Lausanne, could have so little relish for one another, as they appeared to have in the beginning; and it was with great pleasure that I observed the degrees of their growing intimacy, and the mutual regret of their separation. Whatever you may imagine, your friends at Lausanne have been thinking as frequently of yourself and company, as you could possibly think of them; and you will be very ungrateful, if you do not seriously resolve to make them a second visit, under such name and title as you may judge most agreeable. None of the Severy family, except perhaps my secretary, are inclined to forget you; and I am continually asked for some account of your health, motions, and amusements. Since your departure, no great events have occurred. I have made a short excursion to Geneva and Copet, and found Mr. Necker in much better spirits than when you saw him. They pressed me to pass some weeks this winter in their house at Geneva; and I may possibly comply, at least, in part, with their invitation. The aspect of Lausanne is peaceful and placid; and you have no hopes of a revolution driving me out of this country. We hear nothing of the proceedings of the

the commission,* except by playing at cards every evening with Monsieur Fischer, who often speaks of Lord Sheffield with esteem and respect. There is no appearance of Rosset and La Motte being brought to a speedy trial, and they still remain in the castle of Chillon, which (according to the geography of the National Assembly) is washed by the sea. Our winter begins with great severity; and we shall not probably have many balls, which, as you may imagine, I lament much. Angletine does not consider two French words as a letter. Montrond sighs and blushes whenever Louisa's name is mentioned: Philippine wishes to converse with her on men and manners. The French ladies are settled in town for the winter, and they form, with Mrs. Trevor, a very agreeable addition to our society. It is now enlivened by a visit of the Chevalier de Boufflers, one of the most accomplished men in the *ci-devant* kingdom of France.

* 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, from whence they escaped. S.

As

As Mrs. Wood,* who has miscarried, is about to leave us, I must either cure or die; and, upon the whole, I believe the former will be most expedient. You will see her in London, with dear Corea, next winter. My rival magnificently presents me with an hogshead of Madeira; so that in honour I could not supplant him: yet I do assure you, from my heart, that another departure is much more painful to me. The apartment below† is shut up, and I know not when I shall again visit it with pleasure. Adieu. Believe me, one and all, most affectionately yours.

Edward Gibbon, Esq. to the Right Hon. Lord Sheffield.

Lausanne, December 28, 1791.

Alas! alas! the dæmon of procrastination has again possessed me. Three months have nearly rolled away since your departure; and seven letters, five from the most valuable Maria, and two from yourself, have extorted from me only a single epistle, which perhaps would never have been written, had I not used the permission of employing my own tongue and the hand of a secretary. Shall I tell you, that, for these last six weeks, the eve of every day has witnessed a *firm* resolution, and the day itself has furnished some ingenious delay? This morning, for instance, I determined to invade

* Madame de Silva.

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

you as soon as the breakfast things should be removed: they were removed; but I had something to read, to write, to meditate, and there was time enough before me. Hour after hour has stolen away, and I finally begin my letter at two o'clock, evidently too late for the post, as I must dress, dine, go abroad, &c. A foundation, however, *shall be* laid, which shall stare me in the face; and next Saturday I shall probably be roused by the awful reflection that it is the last day in the year.

After realizing this summer an event which I had long considered as a dream of fancy, I know not whether I should rejoice or grieve at your visit to Lausanne. While I possessed the family, the sentiment of pleasure highly predominated; when, just as we had subsided in a regular, easy, comfortable plan of life, the last trump sounded, and, without speaking of the pang of separation, you left me to one of the most gloomy, solitary months of October which I have ever passed. For yourself and daughters, however, you have contrived to snatch some of the most interesting scenes of this world. Paris, at such a moment, Switzerland, and the Rhine, Strasburg, Coblentz, have suggested a train of lively images and useful ideas, which will not be speedily erased. The mind of the young damsel, more especially, will be enlarged and enlightened in every sense. In four months she has lived many years; and she will much deceive and displease me, if she does not review and methodize her journal, in such a manner

ner as she is capable of performing, for the amusement of her particular friends. Another benefit which will redound from your recent view is, that every place, person, and object, about Lausanne, are now become familiar and interesting to you. In our future correspondence (do I dare pronounce the word correspondence?) I can talk to you as freely of every circumstance as if it were actually before your eyes. And first, of my own improvements.—All those venerable piles of ancient verdure which you *admired* have been eradicated in one fatal day. Your faithful substitutes, William de Severy and Levade, have never ceased to persecute me, till I signed their death-warrant. Their place is now supplied by a number of picturesque naked poles, the foster-fathers of as many twigs of Platanusses, which may afford a grateful but distant shade to the founder, or to his seris Nepotibus. In the mean while I must confess that the terrace appears broader, and that I discover a much larger quantity of snow than I should otherwise do. The workmen admire your ingenious plan for cutting out a new bedchamber and book-room; but, on mature consideration, we all unanimously prefer the old scheme of adding a third room on the terrace beyond the library, with two spacious windows, and a fire-place between. It will be larger (28 feet by 21,) and pleasanter, and warmer: the difference of expense will be much less considerable than I imagined: the door of communication with the library will be artfully buried in the wainscot; and, unless it be opened by my own choice,

may always remain a profound secret. Such is the design; but, as it will not be executed before next summer, you have time and liberty to state your objections. I am much colder about the staircase, but it may be finished, according to your idea, for thirty pounds; and I feel they will persuade me. Am I not a very rich man? When these alterations are completed, few authors of six volumes in quarto will be more agreeably lodged than myself. Lausanne is now full and lively; all our native families are returned from the country; and, praised be the Lord! we are infested with few foreigners, either French or English. Even our democrats are more reasonable or more discreet; it is agreed, to wave the subject of politics, and all seem happy and cordial. I have a grand dinner this week, a supper of thirty or forty people on Twelfth-day, &c.; some concerts have taken place, some balls are talked of; and even Maria would allow (yet it is ungenerous to say even Maria) that the winter scene at Lausanne is tolerably gay and active. I say nothing of the Severys, as Angletine has epistolized Maria last post. She has probably hinted that her brother meditates a short excursion to Turin: that worthy fellow Trevor has given him a pressing invitation to his own house. In the beginning of February I propose going to Geneva for three or four weeks. I shall lodge and eat with the Neckers; my mornings will be my own, and I shall spend my evenings in the society of the place, where I have many acquaintance. This short absence will agitate my stagnant

stagnant life, and restore me with fresh appetite to my house, my library, and my friends. Before that time (the end of February) what events may happen, or be ready to happen! The National Assembly (compared to which the former was a senate of heroes and demi-gods) seem resolved to attack Germany *avec quatre millions de bayonettes libres;* the army of the princes must soon either fight, or starve, or conquer. Will Sweden draw his sword? will Russia draw her purse? an empty purse! All is darkness and anarchy: neither party is strong enough to oppose a settlement; and I cannot see a possibility of an amicable arrangement, where there are no heads (in any sense of the word) who can answer for the multitude. Send me your ideas, and those of Lord Guildford, Lord Loughborough, Fox, &c.

Before I conclude, a word of my vexatious affairs.—Shall I never sail on the smooth stream of good security and half-yearly interest? will every body refuse my money? I had already written to Darrel and Gosling to obey your commands, and was in hopes that you had already made large and salutary evacuations. During your absence I never expected much effect from the cold indifference of agents; but you are now in England—you will be speedily in London: set all your setting-dogs to beat the field, hunt, inquire, why should you not advertise? Yet I am almost ashamed to complain of some stagnation of interest, when I am witness to the natural and acquired philosophy of so many French, who are reduced

from riches, not to indigence, but to absolute want and beggary. A Count Argout has just left us, who possessed ten thousand a-year in the island of St. Domingo; he is utterly burnt and ruined; and a brother, whom he tenderly loved, has been murdered by the negroes. These are real misfortunes. I have much revolved the plan of the Memoirs I once mentioned, and, as you do not think it ridiculous, I believe I shall make an attempt: if I can please myself, I am confident of not displeasing; but let this be a profound secret between us: people must not be prepared to laugh, they must be taken by surprise. Have you looked over your, or rather my, letters? Surely, in the course of the year, you may find a safe and cheap occasion of sending me a parcel; they may assist me. Adieu. I embrace my lady; send me a favourable account of her health. I kiss the Marmaille. By an amazing push of remorse and diligence I have finished my letter (three pages and a half) this same day since dinner; but I have not time to read it. Ever yours.

Half past Six.

To the same.

Lausanne, December 31, 1791.

To-morrow a new year, *multos et felices!*

I now most sincerely repent of my late repentance, and do almost swear never to renounce the amiable and useful practice of procrastination. Had I delayed, as I was strongly tempted, another post, your missive of the 13th, which did not reach

reach me till this morning, (three mails were due,) would have arrived in time, and I might have avoided this second Herculean labour. It will be, however, no more than an infant Hercules. The topics of conversation have been fully discussed, and I shall now confine myself to the needful of the new business. *Felix faustumque sit!* may no untoward accident disarrange your Yorkshire mortgage; the conclusion of which will place me in a clear and easy state, such as I have never known since the first hour of property. * * * *.

The three per cents are so high, and the country is in such a damned state of prosperity under that fellow Pitt, that it goes against me to purchase at such low interest. In my visit to England next autumn, or in the spring following, (alas! you *must* acquiesce in the alternative,) I hope to be armed with sufficient materials to draw a sum, which may be employed as taste or fancy shall dictate, in the improvement of my library, a service of plate, &c. I am not very sanguine, but surely this is no uncomfortable prospect. This pecuniary detail, which has not indeed been so unpleasant as it used formerly to be, has carried me farther than I expected. I rejoice in Lally's prosperity. Have you reconsidered my proposal of a declaration of constitutional principles from the heads of the party? I think a foolish address from a body of Whigs to the National Assembly renders it still more incumbent on you. Achieve my worldly concerns, *et eris mihi magnus Apollo.* Adieu, ever yours.

To the Same.

Lausanne, April 4th, 1792.

For fear you should abuse me, as usual, I will begin the attack, and scold at you, for not having yet sent me the long-expected intelligence of the completion of my mortgage. *Cospetto di Baccho!* for I must ease myself by swearing a little. What is the cause, the meaning, the pretence of this delay? Are the Yorkshire mortgagers inconstant in their wishes? Are the London lawyers constant in their procrastination? Is a letter on the road, to inform me that all is concluded, or to tell me that all is broken to pieces? Had the money been placed in the three per cents last May, besides the annual interest, it would have gained by the rise of stock nearly twenty per cent. Your lordship is a wise man, a successful writer, and an useful senator; you understand America and Ireland, corn and slaves; but your prejudice against the funds,* in which I am often tempted to join, makes you a little blind to their increasing value in the hands of our virtuous and excellent minister. But our regret is vain; one pull more and we reach the shore; and our future correspondence will be no longer tainted with business. Shall I then be more diligent and regular? I hope and believe so; for now that I have got over this article of worldly interest, my letter seems to be almost finished. *A propos* of letters, am I not a sad dog to forget my

* It would be more correct if he had only stated my preference of landed to all other property. S.

Lady

Lady and Maria? Alas! the dual number has been prejudicial to both. *How happy could I be with either, Were t'other dear charmer away!* I am like the ass of famous memory; I cannot tell which way to turn first, and there I stand mute and immovable. The Baronial and maternal dignity of my Lady, supported by twenty years friendship, may claim the preference. But the five incomparable letters of Maria!—Next week, however—Am I not ashamed to talk of next week?

I have most successfully, and most agreeably, executed my plan of spending the month of March at Geneva, in the Necker-house, and every circumstance that I had arranged turned out beyond my expectation; the freedom of the morning, the society of the table and drawing-room, from half an hour past two till six or seven; an evening assembly and card-party, in a round of the best company, and, excepting one day in the week, a private supper of free and friendly conversation. You would like Geneva better than Lausanne; there is much more information to be got among the men; but though I found some agreeable women, their manners and style of life are upon the whole, less easy and pleasant than our own. I was much pleased with Necker's brother, Mr. De Germany, a good-humoured, polite, sensible man, without the genius and fame of the statesman, but much more adapted for private and ordinary happiness. Madame de Stael is expected in a few weeks at Copet, where they receive her, and where, "to dumb forgetfulness a prey," she will have leisure to regret "the pleasing anxious being,"

being," which she enjoyed amidst the storms of Paris. But what can the poor creature do? her husband is in Sweden, her lover is no longer secretary at war, and her father's house is the only place where she can reside with the least degree of prudence and decency. Of that father I have really a much higher idea than I ever had before; in our domestic intimacy he cast away his gloom and reserve; I saw a great deal of his mind, and all that I saw is fair and worthy. He was overwhelmed by the hurricane, he mistook his way in the fog, but in such a perilous situation, I much doubt whether any mortal could have seen or stood. In the meanwhile, he is abused by all parties, and none of the French in Geneva will set their foot in his house. He remembers Lord Sheffield with esteem; his health is good, and he would be tranquil in his private life, were not his spirits continually wounded by the arrival of every letter and every newspaper. His sympathy is deeply interested by the fatal consequences of a revolution, in which he had acted so leading a part; and he feels as a friend for the danger of M. de Lessart, who may be guilty in the eyes of the Jacobins, or even of his judges, by those very actions and dispatches which would be most approved by all the lovers of his country. What a momentous event is the Emperor's death! In the forms of a new reign, and of the Imperial election, the democrats have at least gained time, if they knew how to use it. But the new monarch, though of a weak complexion, is of a martial temper; he loves the soldiers, and is beloved by them;

them; and the slow fluctuating politics of his uncle may be succeeded by a direct line of march to the gates of Strasbourg and Paris. It is the opinion of the master movers in France, (I know it most certainly,) that their troops will not fight, that the people have lost all sense of patriotism, and that on the first discharge of an Austrian cannon, the game is up. But what occasion for Austrians or Spaniards? the French are themselves their greatest enemies; four thousand Marseillois are marched against Arles and Avignon, the *troupes de ligne* are divided between the two parties, and the flame of civil war will soon extend over the southern provinces. You have heard of the unworthy treatment of the Swiss regiment of Ernest. The canton of Berne has bravely recalled them, with a stout letter to the King of France, which must be inserted in all the papers. I now come to the most unpleasant article, our home politics. Rosset and La Motte are condemned to fine and twenty years imprisonment in the fortress of Arbourg. We have not yet received their official sentence, nor is it believed that the proofs and proceedings against them will be published; an awkward circumstance, which it does not seem easy to justify. Some, (though none of note) are taken up, several are fled, many more are suspected and suspicious. All are silent, but it is the silence of fear and discontent; and the secret hatred which rankled against government begins to point against the few who are known to be well-affected. I never knew any place so much changed as Lausanne,

sanne, even since last year; and though you will not be much obliged to me for the motive, I begin very seriously to think of visiting Sheffield-Place by the month of September next. Yet here again I am frightened, by the dangers of a French, and the difficulties of a German, route. You must send me an account of the passage from Dieppe to Brighton, with an itinerary of the Rhine, distances, expenses, &c. As usual, I just save the post, nor have I time to read my letter, which, after wasting the morning in deliberation, has been struck off in a heat since dinner. The views of Sheffield-Place are just received; they are admired, and shall be framed. Severy has spent the carnival at Turin. Trevor is only the best man in the world.

To the Same.

Lausanne, May 30th, 1792.

After the receipt of your *penultimate*, eight days ago, I expected, with much impatience, the arrival of your next-promised epistle. It arrived this morning, but has not completely answered my expectations. I wanted, and I hoped for a full and fair picture of the present and probable aspect of your political world, with which, at this distance, I seem every day less satisfied. In the slave question you triumphed last session, in this you have been defeated. What is the cause of this alteration? If it proceeded only from an impulse of humanity, I cannot be displeased, even with an error; since it is very likely that my own vote (had

(had I possessed one) would have been added to the majority. But in this rage against slavery, in the numerous petitions against the slave trade, was there no leaven of new democratical principles? no wild ideas of the rights and natural equality of man? It is these, I fear. Some articles in newspapers, some pamphlets of the year, the Jockey Club, have fallen into my hands. I do not infer much from such publications; yet I have never known them of so black and malignant a cast. I shuddered at Grey's motion; disliked the half-support of Fox, admired the firmness of Pitt's declaration, and excused the usual intemperance of Burke. Surely such men as ****, ********, *******, have talents for mischief. I see a club of reform which contains some respectable names. Inform me of the professions, the principles, the plans, the resources, of these reformers. Will they heat the minds of the people? Does the French democracy gain no ground? Will the bulk of your party stand firm to their own interest, and that of their country? Will you not take some active measures to declare your sound opinions, and separate yourselves from your rotten members? If you allow them to perplex government, if you trifle with this solemn business, if you do not resist the spirit of innovation in the first attempt, if you admit the smallest and most specious change in our parliamentary system, you are lost. You will be driven from one step to another; from principles just in theory, to consequences most pernicious in practice; and your first concessions

cessions will be productive of every subsequent mischief, for which you will be answerable to your country and to posterity. Do not suffer yourselves to be lulled into a false security; remember the proud fabric of the French monarchy. Not four years ago it stood founded, as it might seem, on the rock of time, force, and opinion, supported by the triple aristocracy of the church, the nobility, and the parliaments. They are crumbled into dust; they are vanished from the earth. If this tremendous warning has no effect on the men of property in England; if it does not open every eye, and raise every arm, you will deserve your fate. If I am too precipitate, enlighten; if I am too desponding, encourage me.

My pen has run into this argument; for, as much a foreigner as you think me, on this momentous subject I feel myself an Englishman.

The pleasure of residing at Sheffield Place is, after all, the first and the ultimate object of my visit to my native country. But when or how will that visit be effected? Clouds and whirlwinds, Austrian Croats and Gallic cannibals, seem on every side to impede my passage. You appear to apprehend the perils or difficulties of the German road, and French peace is more sanguinary than civilized war. I must pass through, perhaps, a thousand republics or municipalities, which neither obey nor are obeyed. The strictness of passports, and the popular ferment, are much increased since last summer: aristocrate is in every mouth, lanterns hang in every street, and an hasty word, or a casual

a casual resemblance, may be fatal. Yet, on the other hand, it is probable that many English, men, women, and children, will traverse the country without any accident before next September; and I am sensible that many things appear more formidable at a distance than on a nearer approach. Without any absolute determination, we must see what the events of the next three or four months will produce. In the mean while, I shall expect with impatience your next letter: let it be speedy: my answer shall be prompt.

You will be glad, or sorry, to learn that my gloomy apprehensions are much abated, and that my departure, whenever it takes place, will be an act of choice, rather than of necessity. I do not pretend to affirm, that secret discontent, dark suspicion, private animosity, are very materially assuaged; but we have not experienced, nor do we now apprehend, any dangerous acts of violence, which may compel me to seek a refuge among the friendly Bears,* and to abandon my library to the mercy of the democrats. The firmness and vigour of government have crushed, at least for a time, the spirit of innovation; and I do not believe that the body of the people, especially the peasants, are disposed for a revolution. From France, praised be the dæmon of anarchy! the insurgents of the Pays de Vaud could not at present have much to hope; and should the *gardes nationales*, of which there is little appearance, attempt an incursion, the

* Berne.

country

country is armed and prepared, and they would be resisted with equal numbers and superior discipline. The Gallic wolves that prowled round Geneva are drawn away, some to the south and some to the north, and the late events in Flanders seem to have diffused a general contempt, as well as abhorrence, for the lawless savages, who fly before the enemy, hang their prisoners, and murder their officers. The brave and patient regiment of Ernest is expected home every day, and as Berne will take them into present pay, that veteran and regular corps will add to the security of our frontier.

I rejoice that we have so little to say on the subject of worldly affairs. This summer we are threatened with an inundation, besides many nameless English and Irish; but I am anxious for the Duchess of Devonshire and the Lady Elizabeth Foster, who are on their march. Lord Malmsbury, the *audacieux* Harris, will inform you that he has seen me: *him* I would have consented to keep.

One word more before we part; call upon Mr. John Nicholls, bookseller and printer, at Cicero's Head, Red-Lion-passage, Fleet-street, and ask him whether he did not, about the beginning of March, receive a very polite letter from Mr. Gibbon of Lausanne? To which, either as a man of business or a civil gentleman, he should have returned an answer. My application related to a domestic article in the Gentleman's Magazine of August 1788, (p. 698,) which had lately fallen into my hands, and concerning which I requested some farther lights.

lights. Mrs. Moss delivered the letters * into my hands, but I doubt whether they will be of much service to me; the work appears far more difficult in the execution than in the idea, and as I am now taking my leave for some time of the library, I shall not make much progress in the memoirs of P. P. till I am on English ground. But is it indeed true, that I shall eat any Sussex pheasants this autumn? The event is in the book of Fate, and I cannot unrol the leaves of September and October. Should I reach Sheffield-Place, I hope to find the whole family in a perfect state of existence, except a certain Maria Holroyd, my fair and *generous* correspondent, whose annihilation on proper terms I most fervently desire. I must receive a copious answer before the end of next month, June, and again call upon you for a map of your political world. The chancellor roars; does he break his chain? *Vale.*

To the Same.

Lausanne, August 23, 1792.

When I inform you, that the design of my English expedition is at last postponed till another year, you will not be much surprised. The public obstacles, the danger of one road, and the difficulties of another, would alone be sufficient to arrest so unwieldy and inactive a being; and these obstacles, on the side of France, are growing every

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

day more insuperable. On the other hand, the terrors which might have driven me from hence have, in a great measure, subsided; our state-prisoners are forgotten: the country begins to recover its old good humour and unsuspecting confidence, and the last revolution of Paris appears to have convinced almost every body of the fatal consequences of democratical principles, which lead by a path of flowers into the abyss of hell. I may therefore wait with patience and tranquillity till the Duke of Brunswick shall have opened the French road. But if I am not driven from Lausanne, you will ask, I hope with some indignation, whether I am not drawn to England, and more especially to Sheffield-Place? The desire of embracing you and yours is now the strongest, and must gradually become the sole, inducement that can force me from my library and garden, over seas and mountains. The English world will forget and be forgotten, and every year will deprive me of some acquaintance, who by courtesy are styled friends: Lord Guilford and Sir Joshua Reynolds! two of the men, and two of the houses in London, on whom I the most relied for the comforts of society.

September 12th, 1792.

Thus far had I written in the full confidence of finishing and sending my letter the next post; but six post-days have unaccountably slipped away, and were you not accustomed to my silence, you would almost begin to think me on the road. How dreadfully,

dreadfully, since my last date, has the French road been polluted with blood! and what horrid scenes may be acting at this moment, and may still be aggravated, till the Duke of Brunswick is master of Paris! On every rational principle of calculation he must succeed; yet sometimes, when my spirits are low, I dread the blind efforts of mad and desperate multitudes fighting on their own ground. A few days or weeks must decide the military operations of this year, and perhaps for ever; but on the fairest supposition, I cannot look forwards to any firm settlement, either of a legal or an absolute government. I cannot pretend to give you any Paris news. Should I inform you, as we believe, that *Lally is still among the cannibals*, you would possibly answer, that he is now sitting in the library at Sheffield. Madame de Stael, after miraculously escaping through pikes and poignards, has reached the castle of Copet, where I shall see her before the end of the week. If any thing can provoke the king of Sardinia and the Swiss, it must be the foul destruction of *his* cousin Madame de Lamballe, and of *their* regiment of guards. An extraordinary council is summoned at Berne, *but resentment may be checked by prudence.* In spite of Maria's laughter, I applaud your moderation, and sigh for a hearty union of all the sense and property of the country. The times require it; but your last political letter was a cordial to my spirits. The duchess of Devonshire rather dislikes a coalition: amiable creature! The Eliza is furious against you for not writing. We

shall lose them in a few days; but the motions of the Eliza and the duchess for Italy or England, are doubtful. Ladies Spencer and Duncannon certainly pass the Alps. I live with them. Adieu. Since I do not appear in person, I feel the absolute propriety of writing to my Lady and Maria; but there is far from the knowledge to the performance of a duty. Ever your's.

To the Same.

Lausanne, October 5th, 1792.

As our English newspapers must have informed you of the invasion of Savoy by the French, and as it is possible that you may have some trifling apprehensions of my *being killed and eaten by those cannibals*, it has appeared to me that a short extraordinary dispatch might not be unacceptable on this occasion. It is indeed true, that about ten days ago the French army of the South, under the command of M. de Montesquiou, (if any French army can be said to be under any command,) entered Savoy, and possessed themselves of Chamberry, Montmelian, and several other places. It has always been the practice of the king of Sardinia to abandon his transalpine dominions; but on this occasion the court of Turin appears to have been surprised by the strange eccentric motions of a democracy, which always acts from the passion of the moment; and their inferior troops have retreated, with some loss and disgrace, into the passes of the Alps. Mount Cenis is now impervious, and our English travellers who are bound for Italy, the

the duchess of Devonshire, Ancaster, &c. will be forced to explore a long circuitous road through the Tyrol. But the Chablais is yet intact, nor can our telescopes discover the tricolor banners on the other side of the lake. Our accounts of the French numbers seem to vary from fifteen to thirty thousand men; the regulars are few, but they are followed by a rabble rout, which must soon, however, melt away, as they will find no plunder, and scanty subsistence, in the poverty and barrenness of Savoy. *N. B.* I have just seen a letter from Mr. de Montesquiou, who boasts that at his first entrance into Savoy he had only twelve battalions. Our intelligence is far from correct.

The magistrates of Geneva were alarmed by this dangerous neighbourhood, and more especially by the well-known animosity of an exiled citizen, Claviere, who is one of the six ministers of the French Republic. It was carried by a small majority in the General Council, to call in the succour of three thousand Swiss, which is stipulated by ancient treaty. The strongest reason or pretence of the minority, was founded on the danger of provoking the French, and they seem to have been justified by the event: since the complaint of the French resident amounts to a declaration of war. The fortifications of Geneva are not contemptible, especially on the side of Savoy; and it is much doubted whether Mr. de Montesquiou is prepared for a regular siege; but the malecontents are numerous within the walls, and I question whether the spirit of the citizens will hold out against

a bombardment. In the mean while the diet has declared that the first cannon fired against Geneva will be considered as an act of hostility against the whole Helvetic body. Berne, as the nearest and most powerful canton, has taken the lead with great vigour and vigilance; the road is filled with the perpetual succession of troops and artillery; and, if some disaffection lurks in the towns, the peasants, especially the Germans, are inflamed with a strong desire of encountering the murderers of their countrymen. Mr. de Watteville, with whom you dined at my house last year, refused to accept the command of the Swiss succour of Geneva, till it was made his first instruction that he should never, in any case, surrender himself prisoner of war.

In this situation, you may suppose that we have some fears. I have great dependence, however, on the many chances in our favour, the valour of the Swiss, the return of the Piedmontese with their Austrian allies, eight or ten thousand men from the Milanese, a diversion from Spain, the great events (how slowly they proceed) on the side of Paris, the inconstancy and want of discipline of the French, and the near approach of the winter season. I am not nervous, but I will not be rash. It will be painful to abandon my house and library; but, if the danger should approach, I will retreat before it, first to Berne, and gradually to the North. Should I even be forced to take refuge in England, (a violent measure so late in the year,) you would perhaps receive me as kindly as you do the French priests —a noble act of hospitality! Could I have foreseen

seen this storm, I would have been there six weeks ago: but who can foresee the wild measures of the savages of Gaul? We thought ourselves perfectly out of the hurricane latitudes. Adieu. I am going to bed, and must rise early to visit the Neckers at Rolle, whither they have retired, from the frontier situation of Copet. Severy is on horseback, with his dragoons: his poor father is dangerously ill. It will be shocking if it should be found necessary to remove him. While we are in this very awkward crisis, I will write at least every week. Ever yours. Write instantly, and remember all my commissions.

To the Same.

I will keep my promise of sending you a weekly journal of our troubles, that, when the piping times of peace are restored, I may sleep in long and irreproachable silence: but I shall use a smaller paper, as our military exploits will seldom be sufficient to fill the ample size of our English quarto.

October 13, 1792.

Since my last of the 6th, our attack is not more imminent, and our defence is most assuredly stronger, two very important circumstances, at a time when every day is leading us, though not so fast as our impatience could wish, towards the unwarlike month of November; and we observe with pleasure that the troops of Mr. de Montesquiou, which are chiefly from the Southern Provinces, will not cheerfully entertain the rigour of an Alpine

winter. The 7th instant, Mr. de Chateauneuf, the French resident, took his leave with an haughty mandate, commanding the Genevois, as they valued their safety and the friendship of the Republic, to dismiss their Swiss allies, and to punish the magistrates who had traiterously proposed the calling in these foreign troops. It is precisely the fable of the wolves, who offered to make peace with the sheep, provided they would send away their dogs. You know what became of the sheep. This demand appears to have kindled a just and general indignation, since it announced an edict of proscription; and must lead to a democratical revolution, which would probably renew the horrid scenes of Paris and Avignon. A general assembly of the citizens was convened, the message was read, speeches were made, oaths were taken, and it was resolved (with only three dissentient voices) to live and die in the defence of their country. The Genevois muster above three thousand well-armed citizens; and the Swiss, who may easily be increased (in a few hours) to an equal number, add spirit to the timorous, and confidence to the well-affected: their arsenals are filled with arms, their magazines with ammunition, and their granaries with corn. But their fortifications are extensive and imperfect, they are commanded from two adjacent hills; a French faction lurks in the city, the character of the Genevois is rather commercial than military, and their behaviour, lofty promise, and base surrender, in the year 1782, is fresh in our memories. In the mean while, four thousand French

French at the most are arrived in the neighbouring camp, nor is there yet any appearance of mortars or heavy artillery. Perhaps an haughty menace may be repelled by a firm countenance. If it were worth while talking of justice, what a shameful attack of a feeble, unoffending state! On the news of their danger, all Switzerland, from Schaffhausen to the Pays de Vaud, has risen in arms; and a French resident, who has passed through the country, in his way from Ratisbon, declares his intention of informing and admonishing the National Convention. About eleven thousand Bernois are already posted in the neighbourhood of Copet and Nyon; and new reinforcements of men, artillery, &c. arrive every day. Another army is drawn together to oppose M. de Ferrieres, on the side of Bienne and the bishopric of Basle; and the Austrians in Swabia would be easily persuaded to cross the Rhine in our defence. But we are yet ignorant whether our sovereigns mean to wage an offensive or defensive war. If the latter, which is more likely, will the French begin the attack? Should Geneva yield to fear or force, this country is open to an invasion; and though our men are brave, we want generals; and I despise the French much less than I did two months ago. It should seem that our hopes from the King of Sardinia and the Austrians of Milan are faint and distant; Spain sleeps; and the Duke of Brunswick (amazement!) seems to have failed in his great project. For my part, till Geneva falls, I do not think of a retreat; but, at all events, I am provided with two strong horses, and an hundred

Louis

Louis in gold, Zurich would be probably my winter quarters, and the society of the Neckers would make any place agreeable. Their situation is worse than mine: I have no daughter ready to lie in; nor do I fear the French aristocrats on the road. Adieu. Keep my letters; excuse contradictions and repetitions. The Duchess of Devonshire leaves us next week. Lady Elizabeth abhors you. Ever yours.

To the Same.

October 20, 1792.

Since my last, our affairs take a more pacific turn; but I will not venture to affirm that our peace will be either safe or honourable. Mr. de Montesquiou and three Commissioners of the Convention, who are at Carrouge, have had frequent conferences with the magistrates of Geneva; several expresses have been dispatched to and from Paris, and every step of the negociation is communicated to the deputies of Berne and Zurich. The French troops observe a very tolerable degree of order and discipline; and no act of hostility has yet been committed on the territory of Geneva.

October 27.

My usual temper very readily admitted the excuse, that it would be better to wait another week, till the final settlement of our affairs. The treaty is signed between France and Geneva; and the ratification of the Convention is looked upon as assured, if any thing can be assured, in that wild democracy.

mocracy. On condition that the Swiss garrison, with the approbation of Berne and Zurich, be recalled before the first of December, it is stipulated that the independence of Geneva shall be preserved inviolate; that Mr. de Montesquiou shall immediately send away his heavy artillery; and that no French troops shall approach within ten leagues of the city. As the Swiss have acted only as auxiliaries, they have no occasion for a direct treaty; but they cannot prudently disarm, till they are satisfied of the pacific intentions of France; and no such satisfaction can be given till they have acknowledged the new Republic, which they will probably do in a few days, with a deep groan of indignation and sorrow; it has been cemented with the blood of their countrymen! But when the Emperor, the King of Prussia, the first general and the first army in Europe have failed, less powerful states may acquiesce, without dishonour, in the determination of fortune. Do you understand this most unexpected failure? I will allow an ample share to the badness of the roads and the weather, to famine and disease, to the skill of Dumourier, a heaven-born general! and to the enthusiastic ardour of the new Romans; but still, still there must be some secret and shameful cause at the bottom of this strange retreat. We are now delivered from the impending terrors of siege and invasion. The Geneva *emigrés*, particularly the Neckers, are hastening to their homes; and I shall not be reduced to the hard necessity of seeking a winter asylum at Zurich or Constance: but I am

not

not pleased with our future prospects. It is much to be feared that the present government of Geneva will be soon modelled after the French fashion; the new republic of Savoy is forming on the opposite bank of the Lake; the Jacobin missionaries are powerful and zealous; and the malecontents of this country, who begin again to rear their heads, will be surrounded with temptations, and examples, and allies. I know not whether the Pays de Vaud will long adhere to the dominion of Berne; or whether I shall be permitted to end my days in this little paradise, which I have so happily suited to my taste and circumstances.

Last Monday only I received your letter, which had strangely loitered on the road since its date of the 29th of September. There must surely be some disorder in the posts, since the Eliza departed indignant at never having heard from you.

I am much indebted to Mr. Nichols for his genealogical communications, which I am impatient to receive; but I do not understand why so civil a gentleman could not favour me, in six months, with an answer by the post: since he entrusts me with these valuable papers, you have not, I presume, informed him of my negligence and awkwardness in regard to manuscripts. Your reproach rather surprises me, as I suppose I am much the same as I have been for these last twenty years. Should you hold your resolution of writing only such things as may be published at Charing-Cross, our future correspondence would not be very interesting. But I expect and require, at this important

important crisis, a full and confidential account of your views concerning England, Ireland, and France. You have a strong and clear eye; and your pen is, perhaps, the most useful quill that ever has been plucked from a goose. Your protection of the French refugees is highly applauded. Rosset and La Motte have escaped from Arbourg, perhaps with connivance to avoid disagreeable demands from the republic. Adieu. Ever yours.

To the Same.

November 10, 1792.

Received this day, November 9th, a most amiable dispatch from the too humble secretary* of the family of Espee,† dated October 24th, which I answer the same day. It will be acknowledged, that I have fulfilled my engagements with as much accuracy as our uncertain state and the fragility of human nature would allow. I resume my narrative. At the time when we imagined that all was settled, by an equal treaty between two such unequal powers, as the Geneva Flea and the French Leviathan, we were thunderstruck with the intelligence that the ministers of the republic refused to ratify the conditions: and they were indignant, with some colour of reason, at the hard obligation of withdrawing their troops to the distance of ten leagues, and of consequently leaving the Pays de Gez naked, and exposed to the Swiss, who had assembled 15,000 men on the frontier, and with

* Miss Holroyd. † Meaning Sheffield-Place.

whom

whom they had not made any agreement. The messenger who was sent last Sunday from Geneva is not yet returned; and many persons are afraid of some design and danger in this delay. Montesquiou has acted with politeness, moderation, and apparent sincerity; but he may resign, he may be superseded, his place may be occupied by an *enragé*, by Servan, or Prince Charles of Hesse, who would aspire to imitate the predatory fame of Custine in Germany. In the mean while, the General holds a wolf by the ears; an officer who has seen his troops, about 18,000 men, (with a tremendous train of artillery,) represents them as a black, daring, desperate crew of buccaneers, rather shocking than contemptible; the officers (scarcely a gentleman among them) without servants, or horses, or baggage, lying *higgledy piggledy* on the ground with the common men, yet maintaining a rough kind of discipline over them. They already begin to accuse and even to suspect their general, and call aloud for blood and plunder: could they have an opportunity of squeezing some of the rich citizens, Geneva would cut up as fat as most towns in Europe. During this suspension of hostilities they are permitted to visit the city without arms, sometimes three or four hundred at a time; and the magistrates, as well as the Swiss commander, are by no means pleased with this dangerous intercourse, which they dare not prohibit. Such are our fears: yet it should seem on the other side, that the French affect a kind of magnanimous justice towards their little neighbour, and that they

they are not ambitious of an unprofitable contest with the poor and hardy Swiss. The Swiss are not equal to a long and expensive war; and as most of our militia have families and trades, the country already sighs for their return. Whatever can be yielded, without absolute danger or disgrace, will doubtless be granted; and the business will probably end in our owning the sovereignty, and trusting to the good faith of the republic of France: how that word would have sounded four years ago! The measure is humiliating; but after the retreat of the Duke of Brunswick, and the failure of the Austrians, the smaller powers may acquiesce without dishonour. Every dog has his day; and these Gallic dogs have their day, at least, of most insolent prosperity. After forcing or tempting the Prussians to evacuate their country, they conquer Savoy, pillage Germany, threaten Spain: the Low Countries are ere now invaded; Rome and Italy tremble; they scour the Mediterranean, and talk of sending a squadron into the South Sea. The whole horizon is so black, that I begin to feel some anxiety for England, the last refuge of liberty and law; and the more so, as I perceive from Lord Sheffield's last epistle that his firm nerves are a little shaken: but of this more in my next, for I want to unburthen my conscience. If England, with the experience of our happiness and French calamities, should now be seduced to eat the apple of false freedom, we should indeed deserve to be driven from the paradise which we enjoy. I turn aside from the horrid and improbable (yet not impossible)

impossible) supposition, that, in three or four years' time, myself and my best friends may be reduced to the deplorable state of the French emigrants: they thought it as impossible three or four years ago. Never did a revolution affect, to such a degree, the private existence of such numbers of the first people of a great country: your examples of misery I could easily match with similar examples in this country and the neighbourhood; and our sympathy is the deeper, as we do not possess, like you, the means of alleviating, in some degree, the misfortunes of the fugitives. But I must have, from the very excellent pen of the Maria, the tragedy of the Archbishop of Arles; and the longer the better. Madame de Biron has probably been tempted by some faint and (I fear) fallacious promises of clemency to the women, and which have likewise engaged Madame d'Aguesseau and her two daughters to revisit France. Madame de Bouillon stands her ground, and her situation as a foreign princess is less exposed. As Lord Sheffield has assumed the glorious character of protector of the distressed, his name is pronounced with gratitude and respect. The Duke of Richmond is praised, on Madame de Biron's account. To the Princess d'Henin, and Lally, I wish to be remembered. The Neckers cannot venture into Geneva, and Madame de Stael will probably lie in at Rolle. He is printing a defence of the King, &c. against their republican Judges; but the name of Necker is unpopular to all parties, and I much fear that the guillotine will be more speedy than the press.

It

It will, however, be an eloquent performance; and, if I find an opportunity, I am to send you one, to you Lord Sheffield by his particular desire: he wishes likewise to convey some copies with speed to our principal people, Pitt, Fox, Lord Stormont, &c. But such is the rapid succession of events, that it will appear like the *Pouvoir Executif*, his best work, after the whole scene has been totally changed. Ever yours.

P.S. The revolution of France, and my triple dispatch by the same post to Sheffield-Place, are, in my opinion, the two most singular events in the eighteenth century. I found the task so easy and pleasant, that I had some thoughts of adding a letter to the gentle Louisa. I am this moment informed, that our troops on the frontier are beginning to move, on their return home; yet we hear nothing of the treaty's being concluded.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to the Hon. Miss* HOLROYD.

Lausanne, Nov. 10, 1792.

In dispatching the weekly political journal to Lord Sheffield, my conscience (for I have some remains of conscience) most powerfully urges me to salute, with some lines of friendship and gratitude, the amiable secretary, who might save herself the trouble of a modest apology. I have not yet forgotten our different behaviour after the much lamented *separation* of October the 4th, 1791,

your meritorious punctuality, and my unworthy silence. I have still before me that entertaining narrative, which would have interested me, not only in the progress of the *carissima famiglia*, but in the motions of a Tartar camp, or the march of a caravan of Arabs; the mixture of just observation and lively imagery, the strong sense of a man, expressed with the easy elegance of a female. I still recollect with pleasure the happy comparison of the Rhine, who had heard so much of liberty on both his banks, that he wandered with mischievous licentiousness over all the adjacent meadows.* The inundation, alas! has now spread much wider; and it is sadly to be feared that the Elbe, the Po, and the Danube, may imitate the vile example of the Rhine: I shall be content, however, if our own Thames still preserves his fair character of

Strong without rage, without o'erflowing full.

These agreeable epistles of Maria produced only some dumb intentions, and some barren remorse; nor have I deigned, except by a brief missive from my chancellor, to express how much I loved the author, and how much I was pleased with the composition. That amiable author I have known and loved from the first dawning of her life and *coquetry*, to the present maturity of her talents; and as long as I remain on this planet, I shall pursue, with the same tender and even anxious con-

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

cern,

cern, the future steps of her establishment and life. That establishment must be splendid; that life must be happy. She is endowed with every gift of nature and fortune; but the advantage which she will derive from them, depends almost entirely on herself. You must not, you shall not, think yourself unworthy to write to any man: there is none whom your correspondence would not amuse and satisfy. I will not undertake a task, which my taste would adopt, and my indolence would too soon relinquish; but I am really curious, from the best motives, to have a particular account of your own studies and daily occupation. What books do you read? and how do you employ your time and your pen? Except some professed scholars, I have often observed that women in general read much more than men; but, for want of a plan, a method, a fixed object, their reading is of little benefit to themselves, or others. If you will inform me of the species of reading to which you have the most propensity, I shall be happy to contribute my share of advice or assistance. I lament that you have not left me some monument of your pencil. Lady Elizabeth Foster has executed a very pretty drawing, taken from the door of the green-house where we dined last summer, and including the poor Acacia, (now recovered from the cruel shears of the gardener,) the end of the terrace, the front of the Pavilion, and a distant view of the country, lake, and mountains. I am almost reconciled to d'Apples' house, which is nearly finished.

Instead of the monsters which Lord Hercules Sheffield extirpated, the terrace is already shaded with the new acacias and plantanes; and although the uncertainty of possession restrains me from building, I myself have planted a bosquet at the bottom of the garden, with such admirable skill that it affords shade without intercepting prospect. The society of the aforesaid Eliza, of the Duchess of Devonshire, &c. has been very interesting; but they are now flown beyond the Alps, and pass the winter at Pisa. The Legards, who have long since left this place, should be at present in Italy; but I believe Mrs. Grimstone and her daughter returned to England. The Levades are highly flattered by your remembrance. Since you still retain some attachment to this delightful country, and it is indeed delightful, why should you despair of seeing it once more? The happy peer or commoner, whose name you may assume, is still concealed in the book of fate; but, whosoever he may be, he will cheerfully obey your commands, of leading you from ———— Castle to Lausanne, and from Lausanne to Rome and Naples. Before that event takes place, I may possibly see you in Sussex; and, whether as a visitor or a fugitive, I hope to be welcomed with a friendly embrace. The delay of this year was truly painful, but it was inevitable; and individuals must submit to those storms which have overturned the thrones of the earth. The tragic story of the Archbishop of Arles I have now somewhat a better right to require at your hands.

I wish

I wish to have it in all its horrid details;* and as you are now so much mingled with the French exiles,

* The Answer to Mr. Gibbon's Letter is annexed, as giving the best account I have seen of the barbarous transaction alluded to. S.

Sheffield-Place, November, 1792.

" 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, shewed 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 ques-

exiles, I am of opinion, that were you to keep a journal of all the authentic facts which they relate, it

tioning 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, to the following purport, and with such simplicity and feeling, as to leave no doubt of the truth of all that he said.—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

it would be an agreeable exercise at present, and a future source of entertainment and instruction.

I should

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 poignards 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 Général des Bénédictins. Then the national guards obliged the priests to go into the church, telling them, they should appear, one after another, before the Commissaires du 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 Zaintes 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

* . . . . . Visum est lenti quæsisse nocentem
In numerum pars magna perit; LUCAN, Lib. 2. vers. 110. S.

I should be obliged to you, if you would make, or find, some excuse for my not answering a letter from your aunt, which was presented to me by Mr. Fowler. I shewed him some civilities, but he is now a poor invalid, confined to his room. By her channel and yours I should be glad to have some information of the health, spirits, and situation of Mrs. Gibbon of Bath, whose alarms (if she has any) you may dispel. She is in my debt. Adieu; most truly yours.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to the Right Hon. Lady* SHEFFIELD.

Lausanne, November 10th, 1792.

I could never forgive myself, were I capable of writing by the same post, a political epistle to the father, and a friendly letter to the daughter, without sending any token of remembrance to the respectable matron, my dearest my Lady, whom I have now loved as a sister for something better or worse than twenty years. No, indeed, the historian may be careless, he may be indolent, he may always intend and never execute, but he is neither a monster nor a statue; he has a memory, a conscience, a heart, and that heart is sincerely devoted to Lady

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' house. I shall make you as dismal as myself by this narration. I must change the style." * * * * * * * * * * Citoyen Gibbon, je suis ton égal. MARIA J. HOLROYD.

Sheffield.

Sheffield. He must even acknowledge the fallacy of a sophism which he has sometimes used, and she has always and most truly denied; that, where the persons of a family are strictly united, the writing to one is in fact writing to all; and that consequently all his numerous letters to the husband, may be considered as equally addressed to his wife. He feels, on the contrary, that separate minds have their distinct ideas and sentiments, and that each character, either in speaking or writing, has its peculiar tone of conversation. He agrees with the maxim of Rousseau, that three friends who wish to disclose a common secret, will impart it only *deux à deux;* and he is satisfied that, on the present memorable occasion, each of the persons of the Sheffield family will claim a peculiar share in this triple missive, which will communicate, however, a triple satisfaction. The experience of what may be effected by vigorous resolution, encourages the historian to hope that he shall cast the skin of the old serpent, and hereafter shew himself as a new creature.

I lament, on all our accounts, that the last year's expedition to Lausanne did not take place in a golden period, of health and spirits. But we must reflect, that human felicity is seldom without alloy; and if we cannot indulge the hope of your making a second visit to Lausanne, we must look forwards to my residence next summer at Sheffield-Place, where I must find you in the full bloom of health, spirits, and beauty. I can perceive, by all public and private intelligence, that your house has

has been the open hospitable asylum of French fugitives; and it is a sufficient proof of the firmness of your nerves, that you have not been overwhelmed or agitated by such a concourse of strangers. Curiosity and compassion may, in some degree, have supported you. Every day has presented to your view some new scene of that strange tragical romance, which occupies all Europe so infinitely beyond any event that has happened in our time, and you have the satisfaction of not being a mere spectator of the distress of so many victims of false liberty. The benevolent fame of Lord S. is widely diffused.

From Angletine's last letter to Maria, you have already some idea of the melancholy state of her poor father. As long as Mr. de Severy allowed our hopes and fears to fluctuate with the changes of his disorder, I was unwilling to say any thing on so painful a subject; and it is with the deepest concern that I now confess our absolute despair of his recovery. All his particular complaints are now lost in a general dissolution of the whole frame; every principle of life is exhausted, and as often as I am admitted to his bed-side, though he still looks and smiles with the patience of an angel, I have the heart-felt grief of seeing him each day drawing nearer to the term of his existence. A few weeks, possibly a few days, will deprive me of a most excellent friend, and break for ever the most perfect system of domestic happiness, in which I had so large and intimate a share. Wilhelm (who has obtained leave of absence from his military duty)

duty) and his sister behave and feel like tender and dutiful children; but they have a long gay prospect of life, and new connections, new families will make them forget, in due time, the common lot of mortality. But it is Madame de Severy whom I truly pity; I dread the effects of the first shock, and I dread still more the deep perpetual consuming affliction for a loss which can never be retrieved. You will not wonder that such reflections sadden my own mind, nor can I forget how much my situation is altered, since I retired, nine years ago, to the banks of the Leman Lake. The death of poor Deyverdun first deprived me of a domestic companion, who can never be supplied; and your visit has only served to remind me that man, however amused and occupied in his closet, was not made to live alone. Severy will soon be no more; his widow for a long time, perhaps for ever, will be lost to herself and her friends, the son will travel, and I shall be left a stranger in the insipid circle of mere common acquaintance. The revolution of France, which first embittered and divided the society of Lausanne, has opposed a barrier to my Sussex visit, and may finally expel me from the paradise which I inhabit. Even that paradise, the expensive and delightful establishment of my house, library, and garden, almost becomes an incumbrance, by rendering it more difficult for me to relinquish my hold, or to form a new system of life in my native country, for which my income, though improved and improving, would be probably insufficient. But every complaint should be silenced

silenced by the contemplation of the French; compared with whose cruel fate, all misery is relative happiness. I perfectly concur in your partiality for Lally; though Nature might forget some meaner ingredients, of prudence, economy, &c. she never formed a purer heart, or a brighter imagination. If he be with you, I beg my kindest salutations to him. I am every day more closely united with the Neckers. Should France break, and this country be over-run, they would be reduced, in very humble circumstances, to seek a refuge; and where but in England? Adieu, dear Madam, there is, indeed, much pleasure in discharging one's heart to a real friend. Ever yours.

To the Same.

Lausanne, Nov. 25th, 1792.

After the triple labour of my last dispatch, your experience of the creature might tempt you to suspect that it would again relapse into a long slumber. But, partly from the spirit of contradiction, (though I am not a lady,) and partly from the ease and pleasure which I now find in the task, you see me again alive, awake, and almost faithful to my hebdomadal promise. The last week has not, however, afforded any events deserving the notice of an historian. Our affairs are still floating on the waves of the Convention, and the ratification of a corrected treaty, which had been fixed for the twentieth, is not yet arrived; but the report of the diplomatic committee has been favourable, and it

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is generally understood that the leaders of the French republic do not wish to quarrel with the Swiss. We are gradually withdrawing and disbanding our militia. Geneva will be left to sink or swim, according to the humour of the people; and our last hope appears to be, that by submission and good behaviour we shall avert for some time the impending storm. A few days ago, an odd accident happened in the French army; the desertion of the general. As the Neckers were sitting about eight o'clock in the evening, in their drawing-room at Rolle,* the door flew open, and they were astounded by their servant's announcing *Monsieur le Général de Montesquiou!* On the receipt of some secret intelligence of a *decret d'accusation,* and an order to arrest him, he had only time to get on horseback, to gallop through Geneva, to take boat for Copet, and to escape from his pursuers, who were ordered to seize him alive or dead. He left the Neckers after supper, passed through Lausanne in the night, and proceeded to Berne, and Basle, whence he intended to wind his way through Germany, amidst enemies of every description, and to seek a refuge in England, America, or the moon. He told Necker, that the sole remnant of his fortune consisted in a wretched sum of twenty thousand livres; but the public report, or suspicion, bespeaks him in much better circumstances. Besides the reproach of acting with too much tameness and delay, he is accused of

* A considerable town between Lausanne and Geneva.

making

making very foul and exorbitant contracts; and it is certain that New Sparta is infected with this vice, beyond the example of the most corrupt monarchy. Kellerman is arrived, to take the command; and it is apprehended that on the first of December, after the departure of the Swiss, the French may *request* the permission of using Geneva, a friendly city, for their winter quarters. In that case, the democratical revolution, which we all foresee, will be very speedily effected.

I would ask you, whether you apprehend there was any treason in the Duke of Brunswick's retreat, and whether you have totally withdrawn your confidence and esteem from that once famed general? Will it be possible for England to preserve her neutrality with any honour or safety? We are bound, as I understand, by treaty, to guarantee the dominions of the King of Sardinia and the Austrian provinces of the Netherlands. These countries are now invaded and over-run by the French. Can we refuse to fulfil our engagements, without exposing ourselves to all Europe as a perfidious or pusillanimous nation? Yet, on the other hand, can we assist those allies, without plunging headlong into an abyss, whose bottom no man can discover? But my chief anxiety is for our domestic tranquillity; for I must find a retreat in England, should I be driven from Lausanne. The idea of firm and honourable union of parties pleases me much; but you must frankly unfold what are the great difficulties that may impede so salutary a measure: you write to a man discreet in speech, and now careful

careful of papers. Yet what can such a coalition avail? Where is the champion of the constitution? Alas, Lord Guilford! I am much pleased with the Manchester Ass. The asses or wolves who sacrificed him have cast off the mask too soon; and such a nonsensical act must open the eyes of many simple patriots, who might have been led astray by the specious name of reform. It should be made as notorious as possible. Next winter may be the crisis of our fate, and if you begin to improve the constitution, you may be driven step by step from the disfranchisement of old Sarum to the King in Newgate, the Lords voted useless, the Bishops abolished, and a House of Commons without articles *(sans culottes)*. Necker has ordered you a copy of his royal defence, which has met with, and deserved, universal success. The pathetic and argumentative parts are, in my opinion, equally good, and his mild eloquence may persuade without irritating. I have applied to this gentler tone some verses of Ovid, (Metamorph. l. iii. 302, &c.*) which you may read. Madame de Stael has produced a second son. She talks wildly enough of visiting England this winter. She is a pleasant little woman. Poor Seve-

* Quà 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.

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ry's condition is hopeless. Should he drag through the winter, Madame de Severy would scarcely survive him. She kills herself with grief and fatigue. What a difference in Lausanne! I hope triple answers are on the road. I must write soon; the *times* will not allow me to read or think. Ever yours.

To the Same.

Lausanne, Dec. 14th, 1792.

Our little storm has now completely subsided, and we are again spectators, though anxious spectators, of the general tempest that invades or threatens almost every country of Europe. Our troops are every day disbanding and returning home, and the greatest part of the French have evacuated the neighbourhood of Geneva. Monsieur Barthelemy, whom you have seen secretary in London, is most courteously entertained, as ambassador, by the Helvetic body. He is now at Berne, where a diet will speedily be convened; the language on both sides is now pacific, and even friendly, and some hopes are given of a provision for the officers of the Swiss guards who have survived the massacres of Paris.

January 1st, 1793.

With the return of peace I have relapsed into my former indolence; but now awakening, after a fortnight's slumber, I have little or nothing to add, with regard to the internal state of this country, only the revolution of Geneva has already taken place,

place, as I announced, but sooner than I expected. The Swiss troops had no sooner evacuated the place, than the *Egaliseurs*, as they are called, assembled in arms; and as no resistance was made, no blood was shed on the occasion. They seized the gates, disarmed the garrison, imprisoned the magistrates, imparted the rights of citizens to all the rabble of the town and country, and proclaimed a *National* Convention, which has not yet met. They are all for a pure and absolute democracy; but some wish to remain a small independent state, whilst others aspire to become a part of the republic of France; and as the latter, though less numerous, are more violent and absurd than their adversaries, it is highly probable that they will succeed. The citizens of the best families and fortunes have retired from Geneva into the Pays de Vaud; but the French methods of recalling or proscribing emigrants, will soon be adopted. You must have observed, that Savoy is now become *le departement du Mont Blanc*. I cannot satisfy myself, whether the mass of the people is pleased or displeased with the change; but my noble scenery is clouded by the democratical aspect of twelve leagues of the opposite coast, which every morning obtrude themselves on my view. I here conclude the first part of the history of our Alpine troubles, and now consider myself as disengaged from all promises of periodical writing. Upon the whole, I kept it beyond our expectation; nor do I think that you have been sufficiently astonished by the wonderful effort of the triple dispatch.

You must now succeed to my task, and I shall expect, during the winter, a regular political journal of the events of your greater world. You are on the theatre, and may often be behind the scenes. You can always see, and may sometimes foresee. My own choice has indeed transported me into a foreign land; but I am truly attached, from interest and inclination, to my native country; and even as a citizen of the world, I wish the stability of England, the sole great refuge of mankind, against the opposite mischiefs of despotism and democracy. I was indeed alarmed, and the more so, as I saw that you were not without apprehension; but I now glory in the triumph of reason and genuine patriotism, which seems to pervade the country; nor do I dislike some mixture of popular enthusiasm, which may be requisite to encounter our mad or wicked enemies with equal arms. The behaviour of Fox does not surprise me. You may remember what I told you last year at Lausanne, when you attempted his defence, that his inmost soul was deeply tinged with democracy. Such wild opinions cannot easily be reconciled with his excellent understanding, but "*it is true, 'tis pity, and pity it is 'tis true.*" He will surely ruin himself in the opinion of the wise and good men of his own party. You have crushed the daring subverters of the constitution; but I now fear the moderate well-meaners, reformers. Do not, I beseech you, tamper with parliamentary representation. The present house of commons forms, in *practice*, a body of gentlemen, who must always sympathize

sympathize with the interests and opinions of the people; and the slightest innovation launches you, without rudder or compass, on a dark and dangerous ocean of theoretical experiment. On this subject I am indeed serious.

Upon the whole, I like the beginning of ninety-three better than the end of ninety-two. The illusion seems to break away throughout Europe. I think England and Switzerland are safe. Brabant adheres to its old constitution. The Germans are disgusted with the rapine and insolence of their deliverers. The Pope is resolved to head his armies, and the Lazzaroni of Naples have presented St. Januarius with a gold fuzee, to fire on the Brigands François. So much for politics, which till now never had such possession of my mind. Next post I will write about myself and my own designs. Alas, your poor eyes! make the Maria write; I will speedily answer her. My Lady is still dumb. The German posts are now slow and irregular. You had better write by the way of France, under cover. Direct to *Le Citoyen Rebours à Pontalier, France.* Adieu; ever yours.

To the Same.

Lausanne, January 6th, 1793.

There was formerly a time when our correspondence was a painful discussion of my private affairs; a vexatious repetition of losses, of disappointments, of sales, &c. These affairs are decently

arranged: but public cares have now succeeded to private anxiety, and our whole attention is lately turned from Lenborough and Beriton, to the political state of France and of Europe. From these politics, however, one letter shall be free, while I talk of myself and of my own plans; a subject most interesting to a friend, and only to a friend.

I know not whether I am sorry or glad that my expedition has been postponed to the present year. It is true, that I now wish myself in England, and almost repent that I did not grasp the opportunity when the obstacles were comparatively smaller than they are now likely to prove. Yet had I reached you last summer before the month of August, a considerable portion of my time would be now elapsed, and I should already begin to think of my departure. If the gout should spare me this winter, (and as yet I have not felt any symptom,) and if the spring should make a soft and early appearance, it is my intention to be with you in Downing-street before the end of April, and thus to enjoy six weeks or two months of the most agreeable season of London and the neighbourhood, after the hurry of parliament is subsided, and before the great rural dispersion. As the banks of the Rhine and the Belgic provinces are completely overspread with anarchy and war, I have made up my mind to pass through the territories of the French republic. From the best and most recent information, I am satisfied that there is little or no real danger in the journey; and I must

must arm myself with patience to support the vexatious insolence of democratical tyranny. I have even a sort of curiosity to spend some days at Paris, to assist at the debates of the Pandæmonium, to seek an introduction to the principal devils, and to contemplate a new form of public and private life, which never existed before, and which I devoutly hope will not long continue to exist. Should the obstacles of health or weather confine me at Lausanne till the month of May, I shall scarcely be able to resist the temptation of passing some part at least of the summer in my own little paradise. But all these schemes must ultimately depend on the great question of peace and war, which will indeed be speedily determined. Should France become impervious to an English traveller, what must I do? I shall not easily resolve to explore my way through the unknown language and abominable roads of the interior parts of Germany, to embark in Holland, or perhaps at Hamburgh, and to be finally intercepted by a French privateer. My stay in England appears not less doubtful than the means of transporting myself. Should I arrive in the spring, it is possible, and barely possible, that I should return here in the autumn: it is much more probable that I shall pass the winter, and there may be even a chance of my giving my own country a longer trial. In my letter to my Lady I fairly exposed the decline of Lausanne; but such an establishment as mine must not be lightly aban-

doned; nor can I discover what adequate mode of life my private circumstances, easy as they now are, could afford me in England. London and Bath have doubtless their respective merits, and I could wish to reside within a day's journey of Sheffield-Place. But a state of perfect happiness is not to be found here below; and in the possession of my library, house, and garden, with the relics of our society, and a frequent intercourse with the Neckers, I may still be tolerably content. Among the disastrous changes of Lausanne, I must principally reckon the approaching dissolution of poor Severy and his family. He is still alive, but in such a hopeless and painful decay, that we no longer conceal our wishes for his speedy release. I never loved nor esteemed him so much as in this last mortal disease, which he supports with a degree of energy, patience, and even cheerfulness, beyond all belief. His wife, whose whole time and soul are devoted to him, is almost sinking under her long anxiety. The children are most amiably assiduous to both their parents, and, at all events, his filial duties and worldly cares must detain the son some time at home.

And now approach, and let me drop into your most private ear a literary secret. Of the Memoirs little has been done, and with that little I am not satisfied. They must be postponed till a mature season: and I much doubt whether the book and the author can ever see the light at the same time. But I have long revolved in my mind another scheme

scheme of biographical writing; the Lives, or rather the Characters, of the most eminent Persons in Arts and Arms, in Church and State, who have flourished in Britain from the reign of Henry the Eighth to the present age. This work, extensive as it may be, would be an amusement, rather than a toil: the materials are accessible in our own language, and, for the most part, ready to my hands: but the subject, which would afford a rich display of human nature and domestic history, would powerfully address itself to the feelings of every Englishman. The taste or fashion of the times seems to delight in picturesque decorations; and this series of British portraits might aptly be accompanied by the respective heads, taken from originals, and engraved by the best masters. Alderman Boydell, and his son-in-law, Mr. George Nicol, bookseller in Pall-mall, are the great undertakers in this line. On my arrival in England I shall be free to consider, whether it may suit me to proceed in a mere literary work without any other decorations than those which it may derive from the pen of the author. It is a serious truth, that I am no longer ambitious of fame or money; that my habits of industry are much impaired, and that I have reduced my studies, to be the loose amusement of my morning hours, the repetition of which will insensibly lead me to the last term of existence. And for this very reason I shall not be sorry to bind myself by a liberal engagement, from which I may not with honour recede.

Before I conclude, we must say a word or two of parliamentary and pecuniary concerns. 1. We all admire the generous spirit with which you damned the assassins. I hope that your abjuration of all future connection with Fox, was not quite so peremptory as it is stated in the French papers. Let him do what he will, I must love the dog. The opinion of parliament in favour of Louis was declared in a manner worthy of the representatives of a great and a wise nation. It will certainly have a powerful effect; and if the poor king be not already murdered, I am satisfied that his life is in safety: but is such a life worth his care? Our debates will now become every day more interesting; and as I expect from you only opinions and anecdotes, I most earnestly conjure you to send me Woodfall's Register as often (and that must be very often) as the occasion deserves it. I now spare no expense for news.

I want some account of Mrs. G.'s health. Will my lady never write? How can people be so indolent! I suppose this will find you at Sheffield-Place during the recess, and that the heavy baggage will not move till after the birth-day. Shall I be with you by the first of May? The Gods only know. I almost wish that I had accompanied Madame de Stael. Ever yours.

To the Same.

Begun Feb. 9,—ended Feb. 18, 1793.

The struggle is at length over, and poor de Severy is no more. He expired about ten days ago, after

after every vital principle had been exhausted by a complication of disorders, which had lasted above five months: and a mortification in one of his legs, that gradually rose to the more noble parts, was the immediate cause of his death. His patience and even cheerfulness supported him to the fatal moment; and he enjoyed every comfort that could alleviate his situation, the skill of his physicians, the assiduous tenderness of his family, and the kind sympathy not only of his particular friends, but even of common acquaintance, and generally of the whole town. The stroke has been severely felt: yet I have the satisfaction to perceive that Madame de Severy's health is not affected; and we may hope that in time she will recover a tolerable share of composure and happiness. Her firmness has checked the violent sallies of grief; her gentleness has preserved her from the worst of symptoms, a dry, silent despair. She loves to talk of her irreparable loss, she descants with pleasure on his virtues; her words are interrupted with tears, but those tears are her best relief; and her tender feelings will insensibly subside into an affectionate remembrance. Wilhelm is much more deeply wounded than I could imagine, or than he expected himself: nor have I ever seen the affliction of a son more lively and sincere. Severy was indeed a very valuable man: without any shining qualifications, he was endowed in a high degree with good sense, honour, and benevolence; and few men have filled with more propriety their circle in private life. For myself, I have had the misfortune of knowing him too

too late, and of losing him too soon. But enough of this melancholy subject.

The affairs of this theatre, which must always be minute, are now grown so tame and tranquil, that they no longer deserve the historian's pen. The new constitution of Geneva is slowly forming, without much noise or any bloodshed; and the patriots, who have staid in hopes of guiding and restraining the multitude, flatter themselves that they shall be able at least to prevent their mad countrymen from giving themselves to the French, the only mischief that would be absolutely irretrievable. The revolution of Geneva is of less consequence to us, however, than that of Savoy; but our fate will depend on the general event, rather than on these particular causes. In the mean while we hope to be quiet spectators of the struggle of this year; and we seem to have assurances that both the emperor and the French will compound for the neutrality of the Swiss. The Helvetic body does not acknowledge the republic of France; but Barthelemy, their ambassador, resides at Baden, and steals, like Chauvelin, into a kind of extra-official negociation. All spirit of opposition is quelled in the Canton of Berne, and the perpetual banishment of the Van Bercham family has scarcely excited a murmur. It will probably be followed by that of Col. Polier: the crime alleged in their sentence is the having assisted at the federation dinner at Rolle two years ago; and as they are absent, I could almost wish that they had been summoned to appear, and heard in their own defence.

To

To the general supineness of the inhabitants of Lausanne I must ascribe, that the death of Louis the Sixteenth has been received with less horror and indignation than I could have wished. I was much tempted to go into mourning, and probably should, had the duchess been still here; but, as the only Englishman of any mark, I was afraid of being singular; more especially as our French emigrants, either from prudence or poverty, do not wear black, nor do even the Neckers. Have you read his discourse for the king? It might indeed supersede the necessity of mourning. I should judge from your last letter, and from the Diary, that the French declaration of war must have rather surprised you. I wish, although I know not how it could have been avoided, that we might still have continued to enjoy our safe and prosperous neutrality. You will not doubt my best wishes for the destruction of the miscreants; but I love England still more than I hate France. All reasonable chances are in favour of a confederacy, such as was never opposed to the ambition of Louis the Fourteenth; but, after the experience of last year, I distrust reason, and confess myself fearful for the event. The French are strong in numbers, activity, and enthusiasm; they are rich in rapine; and, although their strength may be only that of a phrenzy fever, they may do infinite mischief to their neighbours before they can be reduced to a strait waistcoat. I dread the effects that may be produced on the minds of the people by the increase of debt and taxes, probable losses, and possible

sible mismanagement. Our trade must suffer; and though projects of invasion have been always abortive, I cannot forget that the fleets and armies of Europe have failed before the towns in America, which have been taken and plundered by a handful of Buccaneers. I know nothing of Pitt as a war minister; but it affords me much satisfaction that the intrepid wisdom of the new chancellor* is introduced into the cabinet. I wish, not merely on your own account, that you were placed in an active, useful station in government. I should not dislike you secretary at war.

I have little more to say of myself, or of my journey to England: you know my intentions, and the great events of Europe must determine whether they can be carried into execution this summer. If ***** has warmly adopted *your* idea, I shall speedily hear from him; but, in truth, I know not what will be my answer: I see difficulties which at first did not occur: I doubt my own perseverance, and my fancy begins to wander into new paths. The amusement of reading and thinking may perhaps satisfy a man who has paid his debt to the public; and there is more pleasure in building castles in the air than on the ground. I shall contrive some small assistance for your correspondent, though I cannot learn any thing that distinguishes him from many of his countrymen; we have had our full share of poor emigrants: but if you wish that any thing extraordinary should be

* Lord Loughborough.

done

done for this man, you must send me a measure. Adieu. I embrace my lady and Maria, as also Louisa. Perhaps I may soon write, without expecting an answer. Ever yours.

To the Same.

Lausanne, April 27, 1793.

My dearest Friend, for such you most surely are, nor does there exist a person who obtains, or shall ever obtain, a superior place in my esteem and affection.

After too long a silence I was sitting down to write, when, only yesterday morning, (such is now the irregular slowness of the English post,) I was suddenly struck, struck indeed to the heart, by the fatal intelligence* from Sir Henry Clinton and Mr. de Lally. Alas! what is life, and what are our hopes and projects! When I embraced her at your departure from Lausanne, could I imagine that it was for the last time? when I postponed to another summer my journey to England, could I apprehend that I never, never should see her again? I always hoped that she would spin her feeble thread to a long duration, and that her delicate frame would survive (as is often the case) many constitutions of a stouter appearance. In four days! in your absence, in that of her children! But she is now at rest; and if there be a future life, her mild virtues have surely entitled her to the reward of pure and perfect felicity. It is for you that I feel, and

* The death of Lady Sheffield.

I can

I can judge of your sentiments by comparing them with my own. I have lost, it is true, an amiable and affectionate friend, whom I had known and loved above three-and-twenty years, and whom I often styled by the endearing name of sister. But you are deprived of the companion of your life, the wife of your choice, and the mother of your children; poor children! the liveliness of Maria, and the softness of Louisa, render them almost equally the objects of my tenderest compassion. I do not wish to aggravate your grief; but, in the sincerity of friendship, I cannot hold a different language. I know the impotence of reason, and I much fear that the strength of your character will serve to make a sharper and more lasting impression.

The only consolation in these melancholy trials to which human life is exposed, the only one at least in which I have any confidence, is the presence of a real friend; and of that, as far as it depends on myself, you shall not be destitute. I regret the few days that must be lost in some necessary preparations; but I trust that to-morrow se'nnight (May the fifth) I shall be able to set forwards on my journey to England; and when this letter reaches you, I shall be considerably advanced on my way. As it is yet prudent to keep at a respectful distance from the banks of the French Rhine, I shall incline a little to the right, and proceed by Schaffhausen and Stutgard to Frankfort and Cologne: the Austrian Netherlands are now open and safe, and I am sure of being able at least to pass from Ostend to Dover; whence, without passing

passing through London, I shall pursue the direct road to Sheffield-place. Unless I should meet with some unforeseen accidents and delays, I hope, before the end of the month, to share your solitude, and sympathize with your grief. All the difficulties of the journey, which my indolence had probably magnified, have now disappeared before a stronger passion; and you will not be sorry to hear, that, as far as Frankfort or Cologne, I shall enjoy the advantage of the society, the conversation, the German language, and the active assistance of Severy. His attachment to me is the sole motive which prompts him to undertake this troublesome journey; and as soon as he has seen me over the roughest ground, he will immediately return to Lausanne. The poor young man loved Lady S. as a mother, and the whole family is deeply affected by an event which reminds them too painfully of their own misfortunes. Adieu. I could write volumes, and shall therefore break off abruptly. I shall write on the road, and hope to find a few lines *à poste restante* at Frankfort and Brussels. Adieu; ever yours.

To the Same.

Lausanne, May 1793.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I must write a few lines before my departure, though indeed I scarcely know what to say. Nearly a fortnight has now elapsed since the first melancholy tidings, without my having received the slightest

slightest subsequent accounts of your health and situation. Your own silence announces too forcibly how much you are involved in your feelings; and I can but too easily conceive that a letter to me would be more painful than to an indifferent person. But that amiable man Count Lally might surely have written a second time; but your sister, who is probably with you; but Maria,—alas! poor Maria! I am left in a state of darkness to the workings of my own fancy, which imagines every thing that is sad and shocking. What can I think of for your relief and comfort? I will not expatiate on those common-place topics, which have never dried a single tear; but let me advise, let me urge you to force yourself into business, as I would try to force myself into study. The mind must not be idle; if it be not exercised on external objects, it will prey on its own vitals. A thousand little arrangements, which must precede a long journey, have postponed my departure three or four days beyond the term which I had first appointed; but all is now in order, and I set off to-morrow, the ninth instant, with my *valet de chambre*, a courier on horseback, and Severy, with his servant, as far as Frankfort. I calculate my arrival at Sheffield-place (how I dread and desire to see that mansion!) for the first week in June, soon after this letter; but I will try to send you some later intelligence. I never found myself stronger, or in better health. The German road is now cleared, both of enemies and allies, and though I must expect fatigue, I have not any apprehensions of danger. It is scarcely

scarcely possible that you should meet me at Frankfort, but I shall be much disappointed at not finding a line at Brussels or Ostend. Adieu. If there be any invisible guardians, may they watch over you and yours! Adieu.

To the Same.

Frankfort, May 19th, 1793.

And here I am, in good health and spirits, after one of the easiest, safest, and pleasantest journies which I ever performed in my whole life; not the appearance of an enemy, and hardly the appearance of a war. Yet I hear, as I am writing, the cannon of the siege of Mayence, at the distance of twenty miles; and long, very long will it be heard. It is confessed on all sides, that the French fight with a courage worthy of a better cause. The town of Mayence is strong, their artillery admirable; they are already reduced to horse-flesh, but they have still the resource of eating the inhabitants, and at last of eating one another; and, if that repast could be extended to Paris and the whole country, it might essentially contribute to the relief of mankind. Our operations are carried on with more than German slowness, and when the besieged are quiet, the besiegers are perfectly satisfied with their progress. A spirit of division undoubtedly prevails; and the character of the Prussians for courage and discipline is sunk lower than you can possibly imagine. Their glory has expired with

Frederick. I am sorry to have missed Lord Elgin, who is beyond the Rhine with the King of Prussia. As I am impatient, I propose setting forwards to-morrow afternoon, and shall reach Ostend in less than eight days. The passage must depend on winds and packets; and I hope to find at Brussels or Dover a letter which will direct me to Sheffield-place or Downing-street. Severy goes back from hence. Adieu. I embrace the dear girls. Ever yours.

From the Same.

Brussels, May 27th, 1793.

This day, between two and three o'clock in the afternoon, I arrived at this place in excellent preservation. My expedition, which is now drawing to a close, has been a journey of perseverance rather than speed, of some labour since Frankfort, but without the smallest degree of difficulty or danger. As I have every morning been seated in the chaise soon after sun-rise, I propose indulging to-morrow till eleven o'clock, and going that day no farther than Ghent. On Wednesday the 29th instant I shall reach Ostend in good time, just eight days, according to my former reckoning, from Frankfort. Beyond that I can say nothing positive; but should the winds be propitious, it is possible that I may appear next Saturday, June first, in Downing-street. After that earliest date, you will expect me day by day till I arrive. Adieu. I embrace the dear girls, and salute Mrs. Holroyd. I rejoice

I rejoice that you have anticipated my advice by plunging into business; but I should now be sorry if that business, however important, detained us long in town. I do not wish to make a public exhibition, and only sigh to enjoy you and the precious remnant in the solitude of Sheffield-place. Ever yours.

If I am successful I may outstrip or accompany this letter. Your's and Maria's waited for me here, and over-paid my journey.

THE preceding Letters intimate that, in return for my visit to Lausanne in 1791, Mr. Gibbon engaged to pass a year with me in England; and that the war, which rendered travelling exceedingly inconvenient, especially to a person who, from bodily infirmities, required every accommodation, prevented his undertaking so formidable a journey at the time proposed.

The call of friendship, however, was sufficient to make him overlook every personal consideration, when he thought his presence might prove a consolation. I must ever regard it as the most endearing proof of his sensibility, and of his possessing the true spirit of friendship, that after relinquishing the thought of his intended visit, he hastened to England, in spite of increasing impediments, to soothe me by the most generous sympathy, and to alleviate my domestic affliction: neither his great corpulency, nor his extraordinary bodily infirmities, nor any other consideration, could prevent him a moment from resolving on an undertaking that might have deterred the most active young man. With an alertness by no means natural to him, he, almost immediately, undertook a circuitous journey, along the frontiers of an enemy worse than savage, within the sound of their cannon, within

within the range of the light troops of the different armies, and through roads ruined by the enormous machinery of war.

The readiness with which he engaged in this kind office, at a time when a selfish spirit might have pleaded a thousand reasons for declining so hazardous a journey, conspired, with the peculiar charms of his society, to render his arrival a cordial to my mind. I had the satisfaction of finding that his own delicate and precarious health had not suffered in the service of his friend. He arrived in the beginning of June at my house in Downing-street, in good health; and after passing about a month with me there, we settled at Sheffield-place for the remainder of summer; where his wit, learning, and cheerful politeness, delighted a great variety of characters.

Although he was inclined to represent his health as better than it really was, his habitual dislike to motion appeared to increase; his inaptness to exercise confined him to the library and dining-room, and there he joined my friend Mr. Frederick North, in pleasant arguments against exercise in general. He ridiculed the unsettled and restless disposition that summer, the most uncomfortable, as he said, of all seasons, generally gives to those who have the free use of their limbs. Such arguments were little required to keep society, Mr. Jekyll, Mr. Douglas, &c. within doors, when his company was only there to be enjoyed; for neither the fineness of the season, nor the most promising

parties of pleasure, could tempt the company of either sex to desert him.

Those who have enjoyed the society of Mr. Gibbon will agree with me, that his conversation was still more captivating than his writings. Perhaps no man ever divided time more fairly between literary labour and social enjoyment; and hence, probably, he derived his peculiar excellence of making his very extensive knowledge contribute, in the highest degree, to the use or pleasure of those with whom he conversed. He united, in the happiest manner imaginable, two characters which are not often found in the same person, the profound scholar and the peculiarly agreeable companion.

It would be superfluous to attempt a very minute delineation of a character which is so distinctly marked in the Memoirs and Letters. He has described himself without reserve, and with perfect sincerity. The Letters, and especially the Extracts from the Journal, which could not have been written with any purpose of being seen, will make the reader perfectly acquainted with the man.

Excepting a visit to Lord Egremont and Mr. Hayley, whom he particularly esteemed, Mr. Gibbon was not absent from Sheffield-place till the beginning of October, when we were reluctantly obliged to part with him, that he might perform his engagement to Mrs. Gibbon at Bath, the widow of his father, who had early deserved, and invariably

riably retained his affection. From Bath he proceeded to Lord Spencer's at Althorp, a family which he always met with uncommon satisfaction. He continued in good health during the whole summer, and in excellent spirits (I never knew him enjoy better;) and when he went from Sheffield-place, little did I imagine it would be the last time that I should have the inexpressible pleasure of seeing him there in full possession of health.

The few following short letters, though not important in themselves, will fill up this part of the narrative better, and more agreeably, than any thing which I can substitute in their place.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to the Right Hon. Lord* SHEFFIELD.

October 2d, 1793.

THE Cork-street hotel has answered its recommendation; it is clean, convenient, and quiet. My first evening was passed at home in a very agreeable *tête-à-tête* with my friend Elmsley. Yesterday I dined at Craufurd's with an excellent set, in which were Pelham and Lord Egremont. I dine to-day with my Portuguese friend, Madame de Sylva, at Grenier's; most probably with Lady Webster, whom I met last night at Devonshire-house; a constant, though late, resort of society. The duchess is as good, and Lady Elizabeth as seducing, as ever. No news whatsoever. You will see in the papers Lord Hervey's memorial. I love vigour, but it is surely a strong measure to tell a gentleman you have *resolved* to pass the winter in his house. London is not disagreeable; yet I shall probably leave it on Saturday. If any thing should occur, I will write. Adieu; ever yours.

To the Same.

Sunday afternoon I left London and lay at Reading, and Monday in very good time I reached this place, after a very pleasant airing; and am always so much delighted and improved, with this union of ease and motion, that, were not the expense enormous,

enormous, I would travel every year some hundred miles, more especially in England. I passed the day with Mrs. Gibbon yesterday. In mind and conversation she is just the same as she was twenty years ago. She has spirits, appetite, legs, and eyes, and talks of living till ninety.* I can say from my heart, Amen. We dine at two, and remain together till nine; but, although we have much to say, I am not sorry that she talks of introducing a third or fourth actor. Lord Spencer expects me about the 20th; but if I can do it without offence, I shall steal away two or three days sooner, and you shall have advice of my motions. The troubles of Bristol have been serious and bloody. I know not who was in fault; but I do not like appeasing the mob by the extinction of the toll, and the removal of the Hereford militia, who had done their duty. Adieu. The girls must dance at Tunbridge. What would dear little aunt † say if I was to answer her letter? Ever yours, &c.

York-house, Bath,
Oct. 9th, 1793.

I still follow the old style, though the Convention has abolished the Christian æra, with months, weeks, days, &c.

To the Same.

York-House, Bath, October 13th, 1793.

I am as ignorant of Bath in general as if I were

* She was then in her eightieth year. S.

† Mrs. Holroyd.

still

still at Sheffield. My impatience to get away makes me think it better to devote my whole time to Mrs. Gibbon; and dear little aunt, whom I tenderly salute, will excuse me to her two friends, Mrs. Hartley and Preston, if I make little or no use of her kind introduction. A *tête-à-tête* of eight or nine hours every day is rather difficult to support; yet I do assure you, that our conversation flows with more ease and spirit when we are alone, than when any auxiliaries are summoned to our aid. She is indeed a wonderful woman, and I think all the faculties of her mind stronger, and more active, than I have ever known them. I have settled, that ten full days may be sufficient for all the purposes of our interview. I should therefore depart next Friday, the eighteenth instant, and am indeed expected at Althorp on the twentieth; but I may possibly reckon without my host, as I have not yet apprised Mrs. Gibbon of the term of my visit; and will certainly not quarrel with her for a short delay. Adieu. I must have some political speculations. The campaign, at least on our side, seems to be at an end. Ever yours.

To the Same.

Althorp Library, Tuesday, four o'clock.

We have so completely exhausted this morning among the first editions of Cicero, that I can mention only my departure hence to-morrow, the sixth instant. I shall lie quietly at Woburn, and reach London in good time on Thursday. By the following

ing

ing post I will write somewhat more largely. My stay in London will depend, partly on my amusement, and your being fixed at Sheffield-place; unless you think I can be comfortably arranged for a week or two with you at Brighton. The military remarks seem good; but now to what purpose? Adieu. I embrace and much rejoice in Louisa's improvement. Lord Ossory was from home at Farning-Woods.

To the Same.

London, Friday, November 8th, four o'clock.

Walpole has just delivered yours, and I hasten the direction, that you may not be at a loss. I will write to-morrow, but I am now fatigued, and rather unwell. Adieu. I have not seen a soul except Elmsley.

To the Same.

St. James's-street, Nov. 9th, 1793.

As I dropt yesterday the word *unwell*, I flatter myself that the family would have been a little alarmed by my silence to-day. I am still awkward, though without any suspicions of gout, and have some idea of having recourse to medical advice. Yet I creep out to-day in a chair, to dine with Lord Lucan. But as it will be literally my first going down stairs, and as scarcely any one is apprised of my arrival, I know nothing, I have heard nothing, I have nothing to say. My present lodging, a house of Elmsley's, is cheerful, convenient, some-

somewhat dear, but not so much as a hotel, a species of habitation for which I have not conceived any great affection. Had you been stationary at Sheffield, you would have seen me before the twentieth; for I am tired of rambling, and pant for my home; that is to say, for your house. But whether I shall have courage to brave ***** and a bleak down, time only can discover. Adieu. I wish you back to Sheffield-Place. The health of dear Louisa is doubtless the first object; but I did not expect Brighton after Tunbridge. Whenever dear little aunt is separate from you, I shall certainly write to her; but at present how is it possible? Ever yours.

To the Same, at Brighthelmstone.

St. James's-street, Nov. 11th, 1793.

I must at length withdraw the veil before my state of health, though the naked truth may alarm you more than a fit of the gout. Have you never observed, through my *inexpressibles*, a large prominency which, as it was not at all painful, and very little troublesome, I had strangely neglected for many years? But since my departure from Sheffield-place it has increased, (most stupendously,) is increasing, and ought to be diminished. Yesterday I sent for Farquhar,* who is allowed to be a very skilful surgeon. After viewing and palping, he very seriously desired to call in assistance, and has examined it again to-day with Mr.

* Now Sir Walter Farquhar, Baronet.

Cline,

Cline, a surgeon, as he says, of the first eminence. They both pronounce it a *hydrocele*, (a collection of water,) which must be let out by the operation of tapping; but, from its magnitude and long neglect, they think it a most extraordinary case, and wish to have another surgeon, Dr. Baillie, present. If the business should go off smoothly, I shall be delivered from my burthen, (it is almost as big as a small child,) and walk about in four or five days with a truss. But the medical gentlemen, who never speak quite plain, insinuate to me the possibility of an inflammation, of fever, &c. I am not appalled at the thoughts of the operation, which is fixed for Wednesday next, twelve o'clock; but it has occurred to me, that you might wish to be present, before and afterwards, till the crisis was past; and to give you that opportunity, I shall solicit a delay till Thursday, or even Friday. In the mean while, I crawl about with some labour, and much indecency, to Devonshire-House (where I left all the fine ladies making flannel waistcoats*); Lady Lucan's, &c. Adieu. Varnish the business for the ladies; yet I am afraid it will be public; —the advantage of being notorious. Ever yours.

* For the Soldiers in Flanders. S.

Immediately

Immediately on receiving the last letter, I went the same day from Brighthelmstone to London, and was agreeably surprised to find that Mr. Gibbon had dined at Lord Lucan's, and did not return to his lodgings, where I waited for him, till eleven o'clock at night. Those who have seen him within the last eight or ten years, must be surprised to hear, that he could doubt, whether his disorder was apparent. When he returned to England in 1787, I was greatly alarmed by a prodigious increase, which I always conceived to proceed from a rupture. I did not understand why he, who had talked with me on every other subject relative to himself and his affairs without reserve, should never in any shape hint at a malady so troublesome; but on speaking to his valet de chambre, he told me, Mr. Gibbon could not bear the least allusion to that subject, and never would suffer him to notice it. I consulted some medical persons, who with me supposing it to be a rupture, were of opinion that nothing could be done, and said that he surely must have had advice, and of course had taken all necessary precautions. He now talked freely with me about his disorder; which, he said, began in the year 1761; that he then consulted Mr. Hawkins the surgeon, who did not decide whether it was the beginning of a rupture, or an hydrocele; but he desired to see Mr. Gibbon again when he came to town. Mr. Gibbon not feeling any pain, nor suffering any inconvenience,

as

as he said, never returned to Mr. Hawkins; and although the disorder continued to increase gradually, and of late years very much indeed, he never mentioned it to any person, however incredible it may appear, from 1761 to November 1793. I told him, that I had always supposed there was no doubt of its being a rupture; his answer was, that he never thought so, and that he, and the surgeons who attended him, were of opinion that it was an hydrocele. It is now certain that it was originally a rupture, and that an hydrocele had lately taken place in the same part; and it is remarkable, that his legs, which had been swelled about the ankle, particularly one of them, since he had the erysipelas in 1790, recovered their former shape as soon as the water appeared in another part, which did not happen till between the time he left Sheffield-Place, in the beginning of October, and his arrival at Althorp, towards the latter end of that month. On the Thursday following the date of his last letter, Mr. Gibbon was tapped for the first time; four quarts of a transparent watery fluid were discharged by that operation. Neither inflammation nor fever ensued; the tumour was diminished to nearly half its size; the remaining part was a soft irregular mass. I had been with him two days before, and I continued with him above a week after the first tapping, during which time he enjoyed his usual spirits; and the three medical gentlemen who attended him will recollect his pleasantry, even during the operation. He was abroad again in a few days,

but

but the water evidently collecting very fast, it was agreed that a second puncture should be made a fortnight after the first. Knowing that I should be wanted at a meeting in the country, he pressed me to attend it, and promised that soon after the second operation was performed he would follow me to Sheffield-Place; but before he arrived I received the two following Letters:

Mr. GIBBON *to Lord* SHEFFIELD, *at* Brighton.

St. James's-street, Nov. 25th, 1793.

Though Farquhar has promised to write a line, I conceive you may not be sorry to hear directly from me. The operation of yesterday was much longer, more searching, and more painful than the former; but it has eased and lightened me to a much greater degree.* No inflammation, no fever, a delicious night, leave to go abroad tomorrow, and to go out of town when I please, *en attendant* the future measures of a radical cure. If you hold your intention of returning next Saturday to Sheffield-Place, I shall probably join you about the Tuesday following, after having passed two nights at Beckenham.† The Devons are going to Bath, and the hospitable Craufurd follows them. I passed a delightful day with Burke; an odd one with Monsignor Erskine, the Pope's Nuncio. Of public news, you and the papers know more than I do. We seem to have strong sea and land hopes; nor do I dislike the Royalists

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

† Eden-Farm.

having

having beaten the Sans Culottes, and taken Dol. How many minutes will it take to guillotine the seventy-three new members of the Convention, who are now arrested? Adieu; ever yours.

St. James's-street, Nov. 30th, 1793.

It will not be in my power to reach Sheffield-Place quite so soon as I wished and expected. Lord Auckland informs me, that he shall be at Lambeth next week, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday. I have therefore agreed to dine at Beckenham on Friday. Saturday will be spent there, and unless some extraordinary temptation should detain me another day, you will see me by four o'clock Sunday the ninth of December. I dine to-morrow with the Chancellor at Hampstead, and, what I do not like at this time of the year, without a proposal to stay all night. Yet I would not refuse, more especially as I had denied him on a former day. My health is good; but I shall have a final interview with Farquhar before I leave town. We are still in darkness about Lord Howe and the French ships, but hope seems to preponderate. Adieu. Nothing that relates to Louisa can be forgotten. Ever yours.

To the Same.

St. James's-street, Dec. 6, 1793.
16 du Mois Frimaire.

The man tempted me, and I did eat—and that man is no less than the Chancellor. I dine to-day, as I intended, at Beckenham: but he recalls me (the third time this week) by a dinner to-morrow

(Saturday) with Burke and Windham, which I do not possess sufficient fortitude to resist. Sunday he dismisses me again to the aforesaid Beckenham, but insists on finding me there on Monday, which he will probably do, supposing there should be room and welcome at the Ambassador's. I shall not therefore arrive at Sheffield till Tuesday, the 10th instant, and though you may perceive I do not want society or amusement, I sincerely repine at the delay. You will likewise derive some comfort from hearing of the spirit and activity of my motions. Farquhar is satisfied, allows me to go, and does not think I shall be obliged to precipitate my return. Shall we never have any thing more than hopes and rumours from Lord Howe? Ever yours.

Mr. Gibbon generally took the opportunity of passing a night or two with his friend Lord Auckland, at Eden-Farm, (ten miles from London,) on his passage to Sheffield-Place; and notwithstanding his indisposition, he had lately made an excursion thither from London; when he was much pleased by meeting the Archbishop of Canterbury, of whom he expressed an high opinion. He returned to London, to dine with Lord Loughborough, to meet Mr. Burke, Mr. Windham, and particularly Mr. Pitt, with whom he was not acquainted; and in his last journey to Sussex, he revisited Eden-Farm, and was much gratified by the opportunity of again seeing, during a whole day,

day, Mr. Pitt, who passed the night there. From Lord Auckland's, Mr. Gibbon proceeded to Sheffield-Place; and his discourse was never more brilliant, nor more entertaining, than on his arrival. The parallels which he drew, and the comparisons which he made, between the leading men of this country, were sketched in his best manner, and were infinitely interesting. However, this last visit to Sheffield-Place became far different from any he had ever made before. That ready, cheerful, various, and illuminating conversation, which we had before admired in him, was not now always to be found in the library or the dining-room. He moved with difficulty, and retired from company sooner than he had been used to do. On the twenty-third of December, his appetite began to fail him. He observed to me, that it was a very bad sign *with him* when he could not eat his breakfast, which he had done at all times very heartily; and this seems to have been the strongest expression of apprehension that he was ever observed to utter. A considerable degree of fever now made its appearance. Inflammation arose, from the weight and the bulk of the tumour. Water again collected very fast, and when the fever went off, he never entirely recovered his appetite even for breakfast. I became very uneasy at his situation towards the end of the month, and thought it necessary to advise him to set out for London. He had before settled his plan to arrive there about the middle of January. I had company in the house, and we expected one

of his particular friends; but he was obliged to sacrifice all social pleasure to the immediate attention which his health required. He went to London on the seventh of January, and the next day I received the following billet; the last he ever wrote:

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to Lord* SHEFFIELD.

St. James's-street, four o'clock, Tuesday.

This date says every thing. I was almost killed between Sheffield-Place and East-Grinsted, by hard, frozen, long, and cross ruts, that would disgrace the approach to an Indian wig-wam. The rest was something less painful; and I reached this place half-dead, but not seriously feverish, or ill. I found a dinner invitation from Lord Lucan; but what are dinners to me? I wish they did not know of my departure. I catch the flying-post. What an effort! Adieu, till Thursday or Friday."

By his own desire, I did not follow him till Thursday the ninth. I then found him far from well. The tumour more distended than before, inflamed, and ulcerated in several places. Remedies were applied to abate the inflammation; but it was not thought proper to puncture the tumour for the third time, till Monday the 13th of January, when no less than six quarts of fluid were discharged. He seemed much relieved by the evacuation. His spirits continued good. He talked, as usual, of passing his time at houses which

which he had often frequented with great pleasure, the Duke of Devonshire's, Mr. Craufurd's, Lord Spencer's, Lord Lucan's, Sir Ralph Payne's and Mr. Batt's; and when I told him that I should not return to the country, as I had intended, he pressed me to go; knowing I had an engagement there on public business, he said, " you may be back on Saturday, and I intend to go on Thursday to Devonshire-House." I had not any apprehension that his life was in danger, although I began to fear that he might not be restored to a comfortable state, and that motion would be very troublesome to him; but he talked of a radical cure. He said, that it was fortunate the disorder had shewn itself while he was in England, where he might procure the best assistance; and if a radical cure could not be obtained before his return to Lausanne, there was an able surgeon at Geneva, who could come to tap him when it should be necessary.

On Tuesday the fourteenth, when the risk of inflammation and fever from the last operation was supposed to be past, as the medical gentlemen who attended him expressed no fears for his life, I went that afternoon part of the way to Sussex, and the following day reached Sheffield-Place. The next morning, the sixteenth, I received by the post a good account of Mr. Gibbon, which mentioned also that he hourly gained strength. In the evening came a letter by express, dated noon that day, which acquainted me that Mr. Gibbon had had a violent attack the preceding night, and that it was

not probable he could live till I came to him. I reached his lodgings in St. James's-street about midnight, and learned that my friend had expired a quarter before one o'clock that day, the sixteenth of January, 1794.

After I left him on Tuesday afternoon, the fourteenth, he saw some company, Lady Lucan and Lady Spencer, and thought himself well enough at night to omit the opium draught, which he had been used to take for some time. He slept very indifferently; before nine the next morning he rose, but could not eat his breakfast. However, he appeared tolerably well, yet complained at times of a pain in his stomach. At one o'clock he received a visit of an hour from Madame de Sylva, and at three, his friend, Mr. Craufurd, of Auchinames, (for whom he had a particular regard,) called, and stayed with him till past five o'clock. They talked, as usual, on various subjects; and twenty hours before his death, Mr. Gibbon happened to fall into a conversation, not uncommon with him, on the probable duration of his life. He said, that he thought himself a good life for ten, twelve, or perhaps twenty years. About six, he ate the wing of a chicken, and drank three glasses of Madeira. After dinner he became very uneasy and impatient; complained a good deal, and appeared so weak, that his servant was alarmed. Mr. Gibbon had sent to his friend and relation, Mr. Robert Darell, whose house was not far distant, desiring to see him, and adding, that he had something particular to say. But,

unfortunately,

unfortunately, this desired interview never took place.

During the evening he complained much of his stomach, and of a disposition to vomit. Soon after nine, he took his opium draught, and went to bed. About ten, he complained of much pain, and desired that warm napkins might be applied to his stomach. He almost incessantly expressed a sense of pain till about four o'clock in the morning, when he said he found his stomach much easier. About seven, the servant asked, whether he should send for Mr. Farquhar? he answered, no; that he was as well as he had been the day before. At about half past eight, he got out of bed, and said he was "*plus ădroit*" than he had been for three months past, and got into bed again, without assistance, better than usual. About nine, he said that he would rise. The servant, however, persuaded him to remain in bed till Mr. Farquhar, who was expected at eleven, should come. Till about that hour he spoke with great facility. Mr. Farquhar came at the time appointed, and he was then visibly dying. When the *valet de chambre* returned, after attending Mr. Farquhar out of the room, Mr. Gibbon said, "*Pourquoi est-ce que vous me quittez?*" This was about half past eleven. At twelve, he drank some brandy and water from a tea-pot, and desired his favourite servant to stay with him. These were the last words he pronounced articulately. To the last he preserved his senses; and when he could no longer speak, his servant having asked a question, he made a

sign, to shew that he understood him. He was quite tranquil, and did not stir; his eyes half-shut. About a quarter before one, he ceased to breathe.*

* The body was not opened till the fifth day after his death. It was then sound, 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, observatum est partem ejus inferiorem constare ex tunicâ vaginali testis continenti duas quasi libras liquoris serosi tincti sanguine. Ea autem fuit sacci illius amplitudo ut portioni liquoris longè majori capiendæ sufficeret. In posteriori parte hujus sacci 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 adeo arctè adhæserunt ut coïvisse 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."

The

The *valet de chambre* observed, that Mr. Gibbon did not, at any time, shew the least sign of alarm or apprehension of death; and it does not appear that he ever thought himself in danger, unless his desire to speak to Mr. Darell may be considered in that light.

Perhaps I dwell too long on these minute and melancholy circumstances. Yet the close of such a life can hardly fail to interest every reader; and I know that the public has received a different and erroneous account of my friend's last hours.

I can never cease to feel regret that I was not by his side at this awful period: a regret so strong, that I can express it only by borrowing (as Mason has done on a similar occasion) the forcible language of Tacitus: *Mihi præter acerbitatem* amici *erepti, auget mœstitiam quod assidere valetudini, fovere deficientem, satiari vultu, complexu non contigit.* It is some consolation to me, that I did not, like Tacitus, by a long absence, anticipate the loss of my friend, several years before his decease. Although I had not the mournful gratification of being near him on the day he expired, yet, during his illness, I had not failed to attend him, with that assiduity which his genius, his virtues, and, above all, our long, uninterrupted, and happy friendship, sanctioned and demanded.

POSTSCRIPT.

MR. GIBBON's Will is dated the 1st of October, 1791, just before I left Lausanne; he distinguishes me, as usual, in the most flattering manner:

" I constitute and appoint the Right Honourable John Lord Sheffield, Edward Darell, Esquire, and John Thomas Batt, Esquire, to be the Executors of this my last Will and Testament; and as the execution of this trust will not be attended with much difficulty or trouble, I shall indulge these gentlemen, in the pleasure of this last disinterested service, without wronging my feelings, or oppressing my heir, by too light or too weighty a testimony of my gratitude. My obligations to the long and active friendship of Lord Sheffield, I could never sufficiently repay."

He then observes, that the Right Hon. Lady Eliot, of Port-Eliot, is his nearest relation on the father's side; but that her three sons are in such prosperous circumstances, that he may well be excused for making the two children of his late uncle, Sir Stanier Porten, his heirs; they being in a very

very different situation. He bequeaths annuities to two old servants, three thousand pounds, and his furniture, plate, &c. at Lausanne, to Mr. Wilhelm de Severy; one hundred guineas to the poor of Lausanne, and fifty guineas each to the following persons:—Lady Sheffield and daughters, Maria and Louisa, Madame and Mademoiselle de Severy, the Count de Schomberg, Mademoiselle la Chanoinesse de Polier, and M. le Ministre Le Vade, for the purchase of some token which may remind them of a sincere friend.

The Remains of Mr. Gibbon were deposited in Lord Sheffield's Family Burial-Place, in Fletching, Sussex; whereon is inscribed the following Epitaph, written at my request by a distinguished scholar, the Rev. Dr. Parr:—

EDVARDUS GIBBON

CRITICUS ACRI INGENIO ET MULTIPLICI DOCTRINA ORNATUS

IDEMQUE HISTORICORUM QUI FORTUNAM

IMPERII ROMANI

VEL LABENTIS ET INCLINATI VEL EVERSI ET FUNDITUS DELETI

LITTERIS MANDAVERINT

OMNIUM FACILE PRINCEPS

CUJUS IN MORIBUS ERAT MODERATIO ANIMI

CUM LIBERALI QUADAM SPECIE CONJUNCTA

IN SERMONE

MULTA GRAVITATI COMITAS SUAVITER ADSPERSA.

IN SCRIPTIS

COPIOSUM SPLENDIDUM

CONCINNUM ORBE VERBORUM

ET SUMMO ARTIFICIO DISTINCTUM

ORATIONIS GENUS

RECONDITÆ EXQUISITÆQUE SENTENTIÆ

ET IN MONUMENTIS RERUM POLITICARUM OBSERVANDIS

ACUTA ET PERSPICAX PRUDENTIA

VIXIT ANNOS LVI MENS. VII DIES XXVIII

DECESSIT XVII CAL. FEB. ANNO SACRO

MDCCLXXXXIV

ET IN HOC MAUSOLEO SEPULTUS EST

EX VOLUNTATE JOHANNIS DOMINI SHEFFIELD

QUI AMICO BENE MERENTI ET CONVICTORI HUMANISSIMO

H. TAB. P. C.

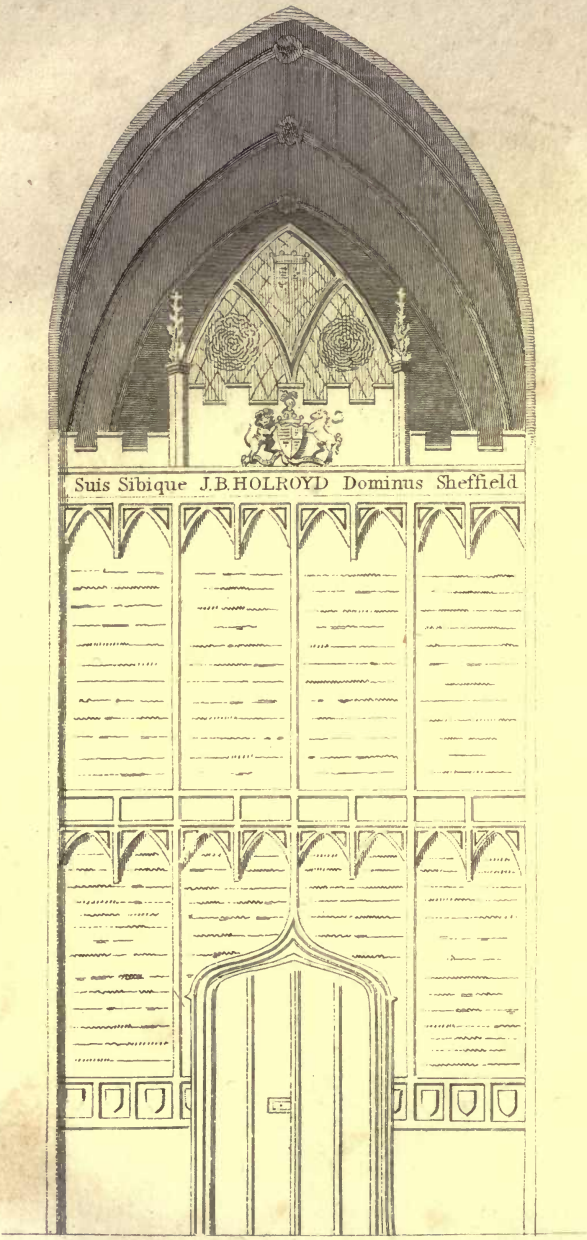


C.Heath direxit.

FLETCHING CHURCH, SUSSEX,

where Mr. Gibbon is interred.





MAUSOLEUM, FLETCHING CHURCH,

where the remains of M^r. Gibbon are deposited.

Published by John Murray, Albemarle Street, Jany 1, 1815.

LETTERS

TO AND FROM

EDWARD GIBBON, Esq.

THE Letters of Mr. Gibbon, from the time of his return to Switzerland in 1788, are annexed to his Memoirs, as the best continuation of them. Among his Letters of an earlier date, I find several which he has alluded to, and others which will illustrate the account he has given of himself. These, I flatter myself, will please the generality of readers; since, when he touches on matters of private business, even subjects of the driest nature become interesting, from his mode of treating them. Many Letters from distinguished persons to him will be introduced, and some that he received at a very early period of life. Although we have not all his own Letters to which these were answers, yet we have enough to testify his ambition, even in youth, to be distinguished as a scholar. It is curious to observe a young person, scarcely nineteen years old, so ambitious of literary fame, and so solicitous of perfection, as to commence a critical correspondence with some of the most distinguished learned men at that time in Europe, viz. M. Crevier of Paris, M. Allamand of Bex, M. Breitinger of Zurich, M. Gesner of Gottingen, &c.; and at a later age it appears, from the following letters, that he corresponded with many highly distinguished persons, as well as literary characters, of his own country.

It

It has been sometimes thought necessary to offer to the Public an apology for the publication of private Letters. I have no scruple to say, that I publish these, because I think they place my friend in an advantageous point of view. He might not, perhaps, have expected that all his Letters should be printed; but I have no reason to believe that he would have been averse to the publication of any. If I had, they never would have been made public, however highly I might have conceived of their excellence.

LETTERS

TO AND FROM

EDWARD GIBBON, Esq.

N° I.

M. Crevier *à M.* Gibbon.

Monsieur, Paris, 7 Août, 1756.

JE ne puis qu'être très sensible aux témoignages d'estime dont vous voulez bien me combler, quoique je sois fort éloigné de les prendre à la lettre, et de me regarder comme un oracle. Mais je suis homme vrai, et par là même qui aime à profiter des lumières que l'on a la bonté de me communiquer. Ainsi, Monsieur, je reçois avec toute la satisfaction possible

[TRANSLATION.]

Mr. Crevier *to Mr.* Gibbon.

Sir, Paris, 7th August, 1756.

I am extremely obliged by your expressions of esteem, without taking them in the literal sense, and believing myself an oracle. But I am a lover of truth and sincerity, and always ready to avail myself of the communications of my learned friends. With the greatest pleasure, therefore, I received your ingenious

possible l'ingénieuse conjecture que vous proposez, pour l'éclaircissement d'un passage de Tite Live sur lequel je n'avois su qu'être embarrassé. J'adopte toutes vos observations, tous vos raisonnemens. Par le changement d'une seule lettre, vous substituez à un sens louche et obscur, une pensée claire, convenable au caractère de celui qui parle, et bien liée avec tout le reste du discours. Je ne manquerai pas d'en faire une note, et de me servir de cette judicieuse correction, si l'occasion s'en présente, en prenant soin d'en faire honneur à celui à qui je la dois.

J'ajouterai seulement une remarque de peu de conséquence, mais qui me paroît nécessaire pour donner toute sa perfection à la phrase, sur laquelle vous avez travaillé si heureusement. Voici la phrase avec le changement que vous proposez. *Nec esse in vos otio vestro consultum ab Romanis credatis.* Or *in vos* ne me paroît point s'accorder avec *otio vestro.*

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conjecture illustrating a passage of Livy, by which I had been puzzled. I adopt all your observations and reasonings. By changing a single letter, you substitute, instead of an aukward and obscure meaning, a thought perspicuous in itself, suitable to the character of the speaker, and connected with the purport of his discourse. I shall not fail noticing this judicious correction, when an opportunity occurs, and mentioning the name of the person to whom I am indebted for it.

I will add only one remark, of small importance indeed, but necessary for giving complete correctness to the passage with which your attention has been so successfully occupied. With your emendation it runs thus: *Nec esse in vos otio vestro consultum ab Romanis credatis.* The *in vos* does not appear to me to correspond well

vestro. L'expression *in vos* semble marquer quelque chose qui doit être contraire au bien des Carthaginois, et qui par conséquence s'allie mal avec l'idée de leur repos. Ainsi au lieu de ces mots *in vos* j'aimerois mieux lire *in his.* Alors la phrase sera complètement bonne. *Nec esse in his otio vestro consultum ab Romanis credatis.* " Ne pensez pas que dans ces mesures que prennent les Romains, pour vous ôter toutes vos forces, et en vous interdisant la guerre avec l'étranger, ils aient eu pour objet votre tranquillité et votre repos."

Il ne me reste plus, Monsieur, qu'à vous remercier de la bonté que vous avez eu de me faire part d'une idée aussi heureuse. Ce seroit une grande joie pour moi si je recevois souvent de pareils secours sur tout ce que j'ai donné au public.

J'ai l'honneur d'être, avec bien de la reconnoissance et du respect, &c.

CREVIER.

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well with *otio vestro;* since it seems to indicate something adverse to the interest of the Carthaginians, and therefore does not accord well with the idea of their tranquillity. Instead of the words *in vos* I would read *in his;* which would render the passage perfectly correct. *Nec esse in his otio vestro consultum ab Romanis credatis.* " Do not believe that the Romans, when they deprive you of your forces, and forbid you to make war on foreign nations, mean thereby to promote your tranquillity."

It remains only, Sir, that I should thank you for your goodness in communicating to me so happy a thought. It would give me the greatest pleasure to be frequently favoured with such assistance in my literary labours.

I have the honour to remain, with much gratitude and respect,

Yours, &c.

CREVIER.

N° II.

M. ALLAMAND *à Mr.* GIBBON.

MONSIEUR, Bex, Sept. 14, 1756.

A PRESENT que me voilà échappé de l'orage des fonctions publiques dont cette église est chargée en tems de fête, je saisis avec joie quelques momens de repos pour m'entretenir, Monsieur, avec vous: ce sera, s'il vous plait, sans faire de trop grands efforts sur l'article des idées innées que vous me proposez. Outre que je risquerois de dire comme je ne sais quelle des interlocutrices de Terence, *Magno conatu magnas nugas;* il y a fort long tems que je n'ai relu M. Locke, l'oracle moderne sur cette matière, et il faudroit trop de tems et de papier pour tout éplucher. Ayez donc la bonté de vous contenter des premières réflexions qui se présenteront sur quelques endroits de son premier livre.

Je

Mr. ALLAMAND *to Mr.* GIBBON.

SIR, Bex, 14th Sept. 1756.

AFTER escaping from the tumult of public functions, in which the ministers of this church are employed during the holydays, I sit down with much pleasure to converse with you a few minutes on paper; without intending to make any very violent exertion in answering the questions concerning innate ideas, which you propose for my consideration. I am not willing to risk the being obliged to say, with one of Terence's characters, *Magno conatu magnas nugas;* besides, it is long since I looked into Locke, the modern oracle on that subject; and too much time and paper would be requisite completely to canvass so intricate a subject. You will have the goodness, therefore, to be contented with the first reflections that occur to me on some passages of his first book.

In

Je commence par le chap. i. § 5. où cet habile homme entreprend de prouver que ces deux principes, *Ce qui est, est; il est impossible qu'une même chose soit, et en même temps ne soit pas*, ne sont point innées, puisqu'ils n'étoient point dans l'esprit pendant l'enfance; et la preuve qu'ils n'y étoient pas, c'est que l'enfant n'y pensoit point, et que bien des gens meurent, sans les avoir jamais apperçus; "or," dit M. Locke, "une idée ne sauroit être dans l'esprit, sans que l'esprit ne s'en apperçoive," &c.

Il est clair, Monsieur, que toute la force de ce raisonnement, est dans cette dernière assertion; mais cette assertion n'est elle pas evidemment détruite par l'expérience? Appercevez vous actuellement toutes les idées que vous avez dans l'esprit? N'y en a t'il point auxquelles vous ne prendrez peut-être garde de plusieurs années? Et dans les efforts que l'on fait souvent pour rappeller ce qu'on a confié

In chapter i. § 5. that able writer undertakes to prove that the axioms, "Whatever is, is;" and "It is impossible for the same thing to be and not to be at the same time," are not innate; because children are totally ignorant of them, as appears from their never taking notice of them; and many persons die without ever perceiving the truth of these axioms; "but it is impossible," Mr. Locke observes, "for an idea to be in the mind, which the mind never takes notice of." It is plain that the whole weight of his reasoning rests on this last assertion; which assertion itself seems to be manifestly contradicted by experience. Do you perceive, Sir, at this moment all the ideas that are in your mind? Are there not some of them which you may not, perhaps, take notice of for many years? In the efforts which we make to recall things to the memory, are we not sensible that some ideas may be so

a confié à sa mémoire; ne sent on pas qu'il peut y avoir des connoissances si cachées dans ses replis, que loin de les appercevoir sans cesse, il faut bien de la peine pour les rattrapper? Je sais que M. Locke, qui a senti la difficulté, tache de la résoudre. Ch. iii. § 20. Mais en vérité, la longueur et l'embarras de cette article montre assez que M. L. n'étoit pas à son aise en l'écrivant; et comment y auroit il été? Voici, autant que j'en puis juger, à quoi il se réduit. Il avoue, " Que nous avons dans l'esprit des idées que nous n'appercevons point actuellement; mais, dit-il, c'est dans la *mémoire* qu'elles sont: et cela est si vrai, qu'on ne se les rappelle point sans se souvenir, en même temps, qu'on les a déjà apperçues. Or, tel n'est point le cas des *idées* qu'on prétend *innées*. Quand on les apperçoit pour la première fois, ce n'est point avec réminiscence, comme on devroit, si ces idées là avoient

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deeply hidden in its recesses, that instead of continually perceiving them, we have no small trouble in bringing them back to our remembrance? I know that Mr. Locke, c. iii. § 20, endeavours to obviate these objections; but the length and perplexity of that article shews that he was not at ease in writing it. How indeed could he be so? since, as far as I am able to judge, the following is the result of his argument: " I confess that we have ideas in the mind, of which we are not conscious; but then these ideas are in the memory; as appears from this, that we never recall them without remembering that they formerly were objects of our perception. But this is not supposed to hold with regard to what are called innate ideas. When these are perceived for the first time, it is not with reminiscence, which would certainly be the case

avoient été dans l'esprit avant cette première apperception," &c.

De grâce, Monsieur, croyez vous que M. Locke s'entendit bien lui même, quand il distinguoit *être dans l'esprit* et *être dans la mémoire?* Et qu'importe à la question, qu'on se souvienne d'avoir déjà su ce que l'on se rappelle, s'il n'en est pas moins vrai qu'on l'a eu long temps dans l'esprit sans s'en appercevoir; ce qui est le point dont il s'agit? Au reste, M. Locke auroit pu sentir que si l'on ne se *rappelle* point les idées innées par *réminiscence*, c'est qu'elles ne sont point entrées dans l'esprit d'une manière qui ait exigé, ou attiré son attention. Et c'est aussi le cas de plusieurs idées acquises; car quoiqu'en dise M. Locke, chacun se trouve au besoin, nombre d'idées qui ne peuvent s'être insinuées dans son esprit, qu'à la présence de certains objets, auxquels il n'a point pris garde, ou, en

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case if they had been in the mind before this first perception of them," &c.

Be pleased to tell me, Sir, whether you think that Mr. Locke himself well understood the distinction which he makes between *being in the mind*, and *being in the memory?* And of what importance is it, that we remember to have formerly had the recalled ideas, provided it be allowed that we had them long, without taking any notice of them, which is the point in question? Besides, Mr. Locke ought to have known that innate ideas are not recalled with reminiscence, because those ideas come originally into the mind in a way that neither excites nor requires our attention; for whatever Mr. Locke may say, every one may be sensible from his own experience, that many even of his acquired ideas could not have come into his mind independently of the presence of certain objects of which he had never taken any notice; or, in

en général, par des moyens inconnus, qui l'ont enrichi sans qu'il sache comment, et sans qu'il crût les avoir jusques au moment qu'elles se sont présentées.

Sur le fond même de la question, il me semble que M. Locke confond perpétuellement deux choses très différentes : *l'idée elle même*, qui est une connoissance dans l'esprit et un principe de raisonnement; et *l'énoncé de cette idée* en forme de proposition, ou de définition. Il se peut, et il est même très probable, que bien des gens n'ont jamais formé ou envisagé en eux mêmes cet énoncé, *il est impossible qu'une chose soit, et ne soit pas en même tems.* Voyez Liv. 1. ch. i. § 12. Mais suit-il de là, qu'ils ne connoissent pas la vérité qu'il exprime, et qu'ils n'en ont pas l'idée?—Nullement. Tout homme qui assure, qui nie, tout homme qui parle, un enfant quand il demande, quand il refuse, quand

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general, independently of certain unknown causes, which enriched him, without his being sensible of it, with ideas that he did not believe himself possessed of, till they actually presented themselves to his understanding.

As to the main question, Mr. Locke seems to me perpetually to confound two things extremely different; the idea itself, which is a perception of the mind, and a principle of reasoning; and the expression of that idea in the form of a proposition or definition. It is possible, nay, very probable, that many persons have never formed, or thought of the proposition, "It is impossible for the same thing to be and not to be at the same time." See Locke, b. i. c. 1. § 12. But does it follow from this, that they are ignorant of the truth expressed by these words? By no means. Every man who affirms, denies, or speaks; a child who asks, refuses, or

quand il se plaint, &c. ne suppose t'il pas, que dès qu'une chose est, il est impossible qu'en même tems elle ne soit pas? Ne trouvez vous pas, Monsieur, qu'on pourroit soutenir la réalité des idées innées, précisément sur ce que M. Locke allègue contre elles, que beaucoup de gens n'ont jamais pensé aux propositions évidentes dont il parle; car, puisque sans y avoir pensé, ils s'en servent, ils bâtissent là dessus, ils jugent de la vérité, ou de l'absurdité d'un discours par ses rapports avec ces principes là, &c. D'où leur vient cette familiarité avec des principes qu'ils n'ont jamais apperçus distinctement, si ce n'est de ce qu'ils en ont une connoissance, ou si l'on veut, un sentiment naturel?

Aux § 17 et 18, M. Locke nie que le consentement que l'on donne à certaines propositions, dès qu'on les entend prononcer, soit une preuve que l'idée qu'elles expriment soit innée; et il se fonde sur

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or complains, must know the truth of this proposition. Does it not appear to you, Sir, that the doctrine of innate ideas may be defended on the same principle by which Mr. Locke attacks it; namely, that many persons have never thought of the propositions or descriptions by which they are expressed? For if without ever having thought of those propositions, they make use of them in their reasonings, and employ them in judging of the justness or absurdity of every discourse which they hear, how could they be so familiar with principles which they never distinctly took notice of, unless they had a natural knowledge or innate perception of them?

In paragraphs 17 and 18, Mr. Locke denies that our consenting to certain propositions at first hearing them, is a proof that the ideas expressed by them are innate; since many propositions, thus

sur ce qu'il y a bien des propositions que l'on reçoit ainsi d'abord, qui certainement ne sont point innées; et il en donne divers exemples, viz. *deux et deux sont quatre*, &c. Mais ne vous paroîtra t'il pas qu'il confond ici de simples définitions de mots avec des vérités évidentes par elles mêmes? Au moins, est il certain que tous ses exemples sont de simples définitions des mots, *deux et deux sont quatre*. L'idée qu'on exprime par *deux et deux*, est la même que celle qu'on exprime par *quatre*, &c. Or personne ne dit que la connoissance d'une définition de mots soit innée, puisqu'elle suppose celle du langage. Mais cette proposition, *le tout est plus grand que chacune de ses parties*, n'est point dans ce cas; et il est certain que le plus petit enfant suppose la vérité de cette proposition toutes les fois que, non content d'une moitié de pomme, il veut la pomme toute entière.

Prenez la peine, Monsieur, d'examiner le § 23; où

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thus assented to, evidently express ideas that had been acquired; for example, *two and two make four*, &c. But does it not appear to you, that he here confounds the definition of words with self-evident truths? at least, all the examples which he gives are mere definitions. The idea expressed by *two and two* is precisely the same with the idea of *four*. Nobody says that our knowledge of the definitions of words is innate, because that would imply language to be so. But the knowledge of this truth, that the whole is greater than its part, does not imply that supposition; since an infant shews itself acquainted with this principle, when, dissatisfied with the half of an apple, it indicates its desire to possess the whole.

Take the trouble, Sir, to examine § 23; in which Mr. Locke endeavours

où M. Locke veut convaincre de fausseté cette supposition, qu'il y a des principes tellement *innés*, que ceux qui en entendent pour la première fois, et qui en comprennent l'énoncé, n'apprennent rien de nouveau. " Premièrement, dit-il, il est clair qu'ils ont appris les *termes* de l'énoncé et la *signification* de ces termes." Mais qui ne voit que M. Locke sort de la question? Personne n'a jamais dit que des termes, qui ne sont que des signes arbitraires de nos idées, fussent innés. Il ajoute, " Que les idées renfermées dans de pareils énoncés ne naissent pas plus avec nous, que leurs expressions, et qu'on acquiert ces idées dans la suite après en avoir appris les noms." Mais, 1. N'est ce pas donner pour preuve de ce qu'on affirme, cette affirmation même? Il n'y a point d'idées innées, car il n'y en a que d'acquises! M. Locke riroit bien d'un pareil raisonnement, s'il le trouvoit dans ses adversaires.

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endeavours to disprove the assertion, that there are some principles so truly innate, that those who hear them expressed in words for the first time, immediately comprehend them without learning any thing new. " First of all," he observes, " it is clear they must have learned the terms of the expression, and the meaning of those terms." But here Mr. Locke manifestly departs from the question. Nobody says that words, which are merely arbitrary signs of our ideas, are innate. He adds, " that the ideas denoted by these expressions are no more born with us than the expressions themselves, and that we acquire the ideas after first learning the terms by which they are expressed." But, 1. Is not this to take for granted the thing to be proved? There are no innate ideas, for all ideas are acquired. Mr. Locke would laugh at his adversaries, were they to make use of such an argument. 2. If words are learned

adversaires. 2. S'il est vrai qu'on apprend les mots avant que d'avoir les idées qu'ils expriment, au moins s'il est vrai que cela soit toujours ainsi, comme M. Locke l'entend, je voudrois bien savoir comment la première langue a pu être formée? Et même comment il est possible qu'on fasse comprendre à quelqu'un le sens d'un mot nouveau pour lui? Tout homme qui n'a nulle idée de *l'ordre*, par exemple, doit aussi peu être capable d'entendre ce mot *ordre*, qu'un aveugle né celui de *couleur*.

Au § 27, M. Locke nie les idées innées, parcequ'elles ne paroîssent ni dans les enfans, ni dans les imbécilles, où elles devroient paroître le plus. Mais, 1. Ceux qui admettent les idées innées, ne les croyent pas plus naturelles à l'ame, que ses facultés; puis donc que l'état et la constitution du corps nuit à celles-ci dans les imbécilles, elle sera aussi cause qu'on ne leur remarque point les autres. 2. Le

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learned before ideas, at least if that is always the case, as Mr. Locke understands it to be, I would be glad to know how the first language could have been formed, or how it could be possible to communicate to any one the meaning of a word altogether new to him? A person who had no idea of order, for example, would be no more capable of understanding the word order, than a man born blind could understand the word colour.

In paragraph 27, Mr. Locke denies innate ideas, because they are not found in children and idiots, in whom we ought most to expect meeting with them. I answer, 1. Those who admit innate ideas, do not believe them more natural to the mind than its faculties; and as the state and constitution of the body disturbs the faculties of idiots, the same cause may hinder them from shewing any signs of innate ideas. 2. The fact is not strictly true. Even idiots

2. Le fait même n'est pas entièrement vrai; les enfants et les imbécilles ont l'idée de leur existence, de leur individualité, de leur identité, &c.

Dans le reste de ce §, M. Locke se divertit au dépens de ceux qui croyent que les énoncés des maximes abstraites sont innés: mais les plus déterminés scholastiques n'ont jamais rien dit de semblable, et il rit d'une chimère qu'il s'est faite lui même.

Je ne sais, Monsieur, comment il est arrivé qu'au lieu de trois ou quatre courtes réflexions que j'aurois du vous donner sur tout ceci, je me suis engagé dans une critique longue et ennùyeuse, de quelques endroits d'un seul chapitre: c'est apparemment un reste de lassitude: j'ai trouvé plus de facilité à suivre et à chicaner M. Locke qu'à penser tout seul. Prenez patience et pardonnez. J'entrevois bien des choses à dire sur le second chapitre,

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idiots and infants have the idea of their existence, individuality, identity, &c.

In the remainder of that paragraph, Mr. Locke diverts himself with the absurdity of those who believe the expressions of abstract maxims to be innate; but the most determined scholastic never maintained any such opinion; and he combats a chimera which is the work of his own fancy.

I know not how it has happened that, instead of a few general reflections which I intended, I have sent you a long and tiresome criticism on some passages of a single chapter. The remains of lassitude, probably, made it easier for me to follow and dispute with Mr. Locke, than to think and reason alone. Have patience, and pardon me. There are many remarks to make on the second chapter,

tre, où il s'agit des principes innés de pratique; mais je ne vous en fatiguerai qu'après en avoir reçu l'aveu de vous même.

On écrit ici, que le Roi de Prusse vient de battre les Autrichiens et de leur tuer 20 mille hommes, en ayant perdu 15 mille des siens. Voilà donc où il alloit en passant par Leipsic. Si cette nouvelle est vraie, la guerre ne sauroit manquer de devenir générale, et de l'air qu'elle commence, elle sera terrible: mais je crains bien que sa M. P. n'ait le sort de Charles XII. Qui le soutiendra contre la France, l'Autriche, et peutêtre la Russie réunies?

J'ai l'honneur d'être, avec une parfaite considération, Monsieur, &c.

ALLAMAND.

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chapter, where he treats of innate practical principles. But I will not tire you with that subject, unless you desire it.

Our newspapers say, that the king of Prussia has beat the Austrians, and killed twenty thousand of their men; with the loss of fifteen thousand of his own. This was the object he had in view when he passed through Leipsic. If the news be true, the war must become general; and, according to appearances, it will be terrible. But I much fear lest his Prussian majesty meet with the fate of Charles XII. What are his resources for defence against the united strength of France and Austria, and perhaps of Russia?

I have the honour to be, with the most perfect consideration, yours, &c.

ALLAMAND.

N° III.

M. Allamand *à M.* Gibbon.

Monsieur, Bex, le 12 Octobre, 1756.

Je suis charmé de l'exactitude et de la pénétration qui se disputent le terrein dans la dernière lettre que vous avez pris la peine de m'écrire: et comme vous, Monsieur, je crois que la question touche à sa décision.

Vous avez sans doute raison de dire que les propositions évidentes dont il s'agit, ne sont pas de simples idées, mais des jugemens. Mais ayez aussi la complaisance de reconnoître que M. Locke les alléguant en exemple d'idées qui passent pour innées et qui ne le sont pas selon lui, s'il y a ici de la méprise, c'est lui qu'il faut relever là-dessus, et non pas moi, qui n'avois autre chose à faire qu'à refuter sa manière de raisonner contre l'innéité de ces idées, ou jugemens là. D'ailleurs, Monsieur, vous remarquerez, s'il vous plait, que dans cette dispute

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Mr. Allamand *to Mr.* Gibbon.

Sir, Bex, October 12, 1756.

I am delighted with your last letter, equally distinguished by its accuracy and penetration; and with you, Sir, I believe that the question approaches to its decision.

You are right in saying, that the self-evident propositions, which I mentioned, are not merely ideas, but judgments: yet you will have the goodness to observe, that Mr. Locke having given them as examples of ideas which pass for innate, but which he does not regard as such, the mistake is chargeable on him, and not on me, who had nothing farther to do than to refute his manner of reasoning. Besides, you will be pleased to remark, that

dispute il s'agit en effet, de savoir si certaines vérités évidentes et communes, et non pas seulement certaines idées simples, sont innées ou non. Ceux qui affirment, ne donnent guère pour exemple d'idées simples qui le soyent, que celles de Dieu, de l'unité, et de l'existence: les autres exemples sont pris de propositions complètes, que vous appellez jugemens.

Mais, dites vous, y aura t'il donc des jugemens innés? Le jugement est il autre chose qu'un acte de nos facultés intellectuelles dans la comparaison des idées? Le jugement sur les vérités évidentes, n'est il pas une simple vue de ces vérités là, un simple coup d'œil que l'esprit jette sur elles? J'accorde tout cela. Et de grace, qu'est ce qu'*idée?* N'est ce pas *vue*, ou coup d'œil, si vous voulez? Ceux qui définissent l'idée autrement, ne s'éloignent ils pas visiblement du sens et de l'intention du mot? Dire que les idées sont les espèces des choses

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that the real question is, whether not only certain ideas, but also certain common and self-evident propositions be innate. The only examples produced of innate ideas are those of God, unity, and existence; the other examples are of innate propositions, which you call judgments.

You ask, whether it be possible that our judgments should be innate, judgment being nothing but the act of our intellectual faculties in comparing our ideas, and our judgment concerning self-evident truths being merely the perception of those truths by a simple glance of the mind? I grant all this, but would ask, what else is an idea but a glance of the mind? Those who define it otherwise, widely depart from the original sense of the word; and talk unintelligibly, when they say that ideas are species;

choses imprimées dans l'esprit, comme l'image de l'objet sensible tracée dans l'œil, n'est ce pas jargonner plutôt que définir? Or c'est la faute, qu'ont fait tous les métaphysiciens, et quoique M. Locke l'ait bien sentie, il a mieux aimé se fâcher contre eux, et tirer contre les girouettes de la place, que s'appliquer à démêler ce galimatias. Que n'a-t-il dit: non seulement il n'y a point d'idées innées dans le sens de ces Messieurs; mais il n'y a point d'idées du tout dans ce sens là: toute idée est un acte, une vue, un coup d'œil de l'esprit. Dès lors demander s'il y a des idées innées, c'est demander s'il y a certaines vérités si évidentes et si communes que tout esprit non stupide puisse naturellement, sans culture et sans maître, sans discussion, sans raisonnement, les reconnoître d'un coup d'œil, et souvent même sans s'appercevoir qu'on jette ce coup d'œil. L'affirmative me paroît incontestable,

cies; that is, appearances of things impressed on the mind, as the images of corporeal objects are impressed on the eye. All metaphysicians have committed this mistake; and Mr. Locke, though sensible of it, has chosen in his anger to direct his batteries against the weathercocks, rather than against the building itself. According to the meaning of these metaphysicians, there are surely no innate ideas, because in their sense of the word there are no ideas whatever. An idea is merely an act or perception of the mind: and the question concerning innate ideas is merely to determine, whether certain truths be not so common and so evident, that every mind, not absolutely stupid, must recognize them at a single glance, without the assistance of any teacher, and without the intervention of any discussion or reasoning; and often without being sensible that this glance is cast on them? The

incontestable, et selon moi, la question est vuidée par là.

Maintenant prenez garde, Monsieur, que cette manière d'entendre l'affaire, va au but des partisans des idées innées, tout comme la leur; et par là même, contredit M. Locke dans le sien. Car pourquoi voudroit on qu'il y eut des idées innées? C'est pour en opposer la certitude et l'évidence au doute universel des sceptiques, qui est ruiné d'un seul coup, s'il y a des vérités dont la vue soit nécessaire et naturelle à l'homme. Or vous sentez, Monsieur, que je puis leur dire cela dans ma façon d'expliquer la chose, tout aussi bien que les partisans ordinaires des idées innées dans la leur. Et voilà ce qui semble incommoder un peu M. Locke, qui, sans se déclarer pyrrhonien, laisse appercevoir un peu trop de foible pour le pyrrhonisme, et a beaucoup contribué à le nourrir dans ce siècle. A force

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affirmative appears to me incontrovertible; and the question thereby is solved.

You will please to remark, that this way of explaining the matter is as favourable to innate ideas, and therefore as opposite to Mr. Locke's doctrine, as the unintelligible hypothesis above mentioned. For what reason do we contend in favour of innate ideas? To oppose evidence and certainty to universal scepticism; whose cause is ruined by proving certain truths to be so necessary and so natural to man, that they are universally recognized by a single glance. This may be proved according to my meaning of the word idea, as well as according to the sense in which this word is vulgarly taken; and the proof would not have been very pleasing to Mr. Locke, who, without professing himself a sceptic, yet shews a leaning to the sceptical side; and whose works have contributed much to the diffusion of scepticism in the present

force de vouloir marquer les bornes de nos connoissances, ce qui étoit fort nécessaire, il a quelquefois tout mis en bornes.

Après ces remarques générales sur le fond de la question, il est peu nécessaire de s'arrêter à quelques particulières, où vous ne me croyez pas fondé. Cependant vous me permettrez de vous faire observer sur celles que vous relevez: 1. Que dans ce § 5. du ch. 1. il est bien vrai que M. Locke mêle ces deux choses, être actuellement dans l'esprit, *sans que l'esprit s'en apperçoive*—et, y être, *sans qu'il s'en soit jamais apperçu.*—Mais il est certain aussi, qu'à la conclusion de ce §, il s'en tient au premier incognito, et donne lieu à ma critique en s'exprimant en ces termes. Je suis la traduction Françoise, n'ayant pas l'original. " De sorte, dit-il, que soutenir qu'une chose soit dans l'entendement, et qu'elle n'est pas conçue par l'entendement, qu'elle est dans l'esprit, sans que l'esprit

present age. His too eager desire of fixing the limits of human knowledge, a thing highly necessary, has made him leave nothing but limits.

After these general observations on the main question, it is not very necessary to descend to the particulars in which you think me mistaken. Yet you will permit me to answer your objections. 1. It is true, that Mr. Locke, § 5. c. 1. joins the two expressions, " being in the mind, without being actually perceived by the mind," and " being in the mind, without having ever been perceived by the mind;" but at the conclusion of the paragraph he lays himself open to my criticism, by expressing himself as follows: " So that to be in the understanding and not to be understood, to be in the mind and never to be perceived,

l'esprit l'apperçoive, c'est autant que si l'on disoit, qu'une chose est, et n'est pas dans l'esprit ou dans l'entendement." N'est il pas clair, Monsieur, que ce grand philosophe, écrivant cela, étoit dans l'erreur, ou la méprise de fait que je prends la liberté de lui reprocher; c'est que l'esprit ne peut avoir aucune connoissance qu'il ne l'apperçoive actuellement? Je crois bien que si on l'avoit d'abord relevé là-dessus il auroit senti sa méprise, mais il n'en est pas moins vrai, et qu'il y est tombé, et qu'il s'en fait un principe contre ses adversaires.

2. Vous voulez qu'on lui passe sa distinction entre les idées qui *sont dans l'esprit* et celles qui sont *dans la mémoire:* à moi ne tienne, pourvu que vous preniez le mot d'idée comme moi; car, en ce sens, une idée est dans l'esprit, lorsque l'esprit envisage actuellement la proposition qui est

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is all one as to say, any thing is and is not in the mind or understanding." It is clear, Sir, that this great philosopher erred in writing this passage; maintaining, what I took the liberty to contradict, that nothing could be in the understanding without being perceived to be there. I doubt not that he would have corrected this mistake had it been pointed out to him; but he certainly falls into it, and employs it as a principle of reasoning against his adversaries.

2. You think that we ought to admit his distinction between "ideas in the mind," and "ideas in the memory." I admit the distinction with all my heart, provided you take the word idea in the same acceptation as I do. In that sense an idea is in the mind, when the mind actually considers the proposition which is the

est l'objet de son idée, ou de son coup d'œil; et elle n'est que dans la mémoire, lorsque l'esprit ayant auparavant jetté ce coup d'œil sur elle, en a plus de facilité à la réitérer, et en le réitérant, sent que ce n'est pas la première fois qu'il envisage cette proposition là.—Mais si par idées, vous entendez ces *espèces* chimériques, supposées par les métaphysiciens, et autant qu'il m'en souvient, pas assez nettement congédiées par M. Locke, j'en reviens, s'il vous plait, à ma prétension, qu'on ne s'entend pas soi même quand on distingue la mémoire de l'esprit.

Un violent mal de tête que j'ai apporté de notre vénérable classe, ne me permet pas d'étendre davantage cette lettre, et m'empêche de la faire moins courte et plus nette. Je vous prie, Monsieur, de l'excuser telle qu'elle est. Peut être, pénétrant comme vous l'êtes, ne laisserez vous pas d'y

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the object of its idea, that is, of its glance or perception; and an idea is in the memory when the mind, having formerly cast that glance on it, finds thereby a greater facility in recalling it, remembering at the same time that it formerly was the object of its perception. But if you understand by ideas these chimerical species, the mere fictions of metaphysicians, and, as it seems to me, not sufficiently disproved by Mr. Locke, I return to my assertion, and maintain that the distinction is unintelligible between "being in the mind," and "being in the memory."

A violent headach, which I brought with me from our venerable class, hinders me from continuing this letter, or rendering what I have already written shorter and more perspicuous. I intreat you to excuse its imperfections. Your penetration will

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d'y entrevoir dequoi prévenir toute difficulté sur les principes innés de pratique: M. Locke me paroit plus fort ici que sur les autres, mais il n'a pas laissé de s'y embarrasser un peu par-ci par-là.

Je me faisois une fête de vous voir un moment à Vevay, et j'ai été capot d'être *disappointed;* si j'entends ce mot de votre langue, le nôtre n'en a point qui peut dire si bien la même chose. Je n'ai même vu M. Pavillard que dans l'assemblée.

Si la marche de 120 mille Russes n'est pas une fable, que va devenir S. M. Prussienne? Ne croyez vous pas, Monsieur, que nous touchons à de grandes révolutions? Il y a long tems que je soupçonne un plan formé, de réduire le système général à trois grands empires; celui des François, à l'occident du Rhin, celui d'Autriche à l'orient, et celui des Russes au nord. Il n'y en a pourtant rien dans

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perhaps discern how all difficulties may be solved concerning innate practical principles. Mr. Locke treats this subject better than he does the others; but in several parts he is somewhat puzzled.

I rejoiced at the hopes of seeing you for a moment at Vevay, and was surprised at being *disappointed.* If I rightly understand this word of your language, it cannot be well translated into ours. I met with Mr. Pavillard only in the assembly.

If the march of an hundred and twenty thousand Russians is not a fable, what must become of the King of Prussia? Does it not appear to you, that we are threatened with great revolutions? I have long suspected a design of reducing the general system of Europe to three great empires; that of the French on the west of the Rhine, of Austria on the east, and of Russia in the north. Yet

dans l'Apocalypse. Qu'on partage la terre comme on voudra, pourvu qu'il y soit toujours permis de croire, que ce qui est, est; et que les contradictoires ne peuvent pas être vraies en même temps. Au reste ces trois empires auroient beau être grands, mesurés à nos toises, ils paroîtroient toujours bien petits, vus seulement depuis la lune, et à quelle hauteur ne s'élèvent pas par delà des yeux philosophes!

J'ai l'honneur d'être, avec bien de la considération, Monsieur, &c. ALLAMAND.

M. de N*** m'écrit que *tout va mieux que jamais*, à présent que Madame D. sa nièce est bien malade, et que voilà 200 mille hommes prêts à s'égorger pour 5 sols par jour. Il est de mauvaise humeur contre ce *tout est bien.*

Yet we read of nothing of this kind in the Revelation. But let the world be divided as it may, provided it be lawful for us to believe that "whatever is, is;" and "that two contradictory propositions cannot both at the same time be true." Those three empires will be great only when measured on this earth; viewed but from the moon, they will be small enough; and how far do philosophical eyes soar beyond that luminary!

I have the honour to be, with much consideration, yours, &c. ALLAMAND.

Mr. de N**** writes to me that things go better and better, now that his niece Madame D. is extremely ill; and that 200,000 men are ready to cut one another's throats at the rate of five *sous* a day. He is provoked at the maxim, "all for the best."

N° IV.

M. le Professeur BREITINGER *à M.* GIBBON *à* Lausanne.

October 22, 1756.

EQUIDEM Davus sum, non Œdipus; dicam tamen quid de dubiis e Justino propositis locis mihi videatur.

1. JUSTINUS, libr. ii. c. 3. *His igitur Asia per mille quingentos annos vectigalis fuit. Pendendi tributi finem Ninus rex Assyriorum imposuit.* Adeo manifestus est calculi error, ut mirum videri possit, hanc lectionem unquam fuisse a quoquam in textum receptam; ita enim Ninus Sesostre mille quingentis annis inferior esset ætate. Orosius, qui Justinum per compendium summa cum fide expressit, hæc in hunc modum commemorat. Lib. i. c. 14. *Universam quoque Ægyptum (Scythæ) populássent;*

Professor BREITINGER *to Mr.* GIBBON *at* Lausanne.

October 22, 1756.

THOUGH I am Davus, not Œdipus, I will give you my opinion concerning the difficulties in Justin, which you propose for my consideration.

1. In the third chapter of his second book he says, "That Asia was tributary fifteen centuries to the Scythians, and that Ninus put an end to those contributions." The number of years is so manifestly erroneous, that it is astonishing such a reading should ever have been admitted into the text; for it makes Ninus later than Sesostris by a period of fifteen hundred years. Orosius, who abridged Justin with the greatest fidelity, speaks to the following purpose: "The Scythians would have ravaged the

populâssent; nisi paludibus impediti, repulsi fuissent. Inde continuo reversi, perdomitam infinitis cædibus Asiam vectigalem fecere: ubi per 15 *annos sine pace immorati, tandem uxorum flagitatione, revocantur, denunciantium, ni redeant, sobolem se a finitimis quæsituras.* Dubium ergo nullum est, quin pro MD. substituendum sit XV. Tu inquiris in causam erroris satis argutè. Sed non potest habere locum illa tua emendatio, *per mille* in *permissa,* si quidem notis arithmeticis, quod admodum probabile est, in antiquis libris numeri fuerunt expressi.

2. JUSTIN. libr. xii. c. 8. *Itaque cæsis hostibus, cum gratulatione in eadem* (castra) *reverterunt.* Frustra mihi sollicitare videris lectionem receptam: gratis enim a te assumitur quod Cuphites ne quidem

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the whole of Egypt, had they not been prevented by the marshes. When they returned from that country, they made a bloody conquest of Asia, and rendered it tributary. Having remained there fifteen restless years, they at length returned home, at the earnest intreaty of their wives; who said that, unless their husbands came home to them, they would, for the sake of having children, cohabit with their neighbours." Orosius, lib. i. c. 14. There cannot be any doubt, therefore, that "fifteen hundred" has been substituted for "fifteen." You investigate very ingeniously the cause of the error; but the emendation which you propose, by changing *per mille* into *permissa,* cannot be well founded, if the number was expressed, as is most probable, by arithmetical marks in the ancient copies.

2. In Justin, lib. xii. c. 8. we read, "They (the Macedonians) returned, after beating the enemy, with congratulations, or thanksgivings, into the same camp." In this passage you seem to me needlessly to disturb the ancient reading. You assume, without proof,

dem aggredi fuerint ausi. Alia te docebit fidus *Justini* interpres Orosius, lib. iii. cap. 19. *Cumque ad Chosides ventum esset, ibi contra CC millia equitum hostium pugnam* CONSERUERUNT; *et cum tam ætate detriti, animo ægri, viribus lassi, difficile* VICISSENT, *castra ob memoriam plus solito magnifica condiderunt.* Itaque non priusquam manus conseruissent, nonnisi post hostes devictos ac cæsos, in castra reverterunt. Quid quod ipse Justinus idem haud obscurè innuit, quum ait: *Motus his tam justis precibus, velut in finem* VICTORIÆ, *castra fieri jussit quorum molitionibus et hostis* TERRERETUR. Quod si vero statuas, Macedonum exercitum infinitis Cuphitarum copiis territum a prœlio abstinuisse, atque hoc timore perculsum reditum maturandum esse censuisse, næ ego non intelligo, quo sensu Justinus dixerit: *Castra posuisse velut in finem*

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proof, that they did not venture to attack the Cuphites. Orosius, Justin's faithful interpreter, declares the direct contrary. "When they came to the country of the Chosides, they fought with two hundred thousand of the enemy's cavalry; and, having conquered them with much difficulty, because they themselves were now worn out with years and fatigue, and sunk in spirit, they formed a camp more magnificent than usual, to commemorate their exploit." Orosius, lib. iii. c. 19. They did not, therefore, return into their camp until they had combated and conquered the enemy. Justin himself gives us to understand as much, when he says, "That Alexander, moved by such just prayers, caused, at the end of his *victory*, a camp to be formed, whose walls might *inspire terror* into the enemy." If the Macedonians, therefore, as you imagine, had been frightened at the innumerable forces of the Cuphites, and therefore returned hastily into their camp, I do not see why Justin should say, *at the end of his victory, inspire*

finem VICTORIÆ: *posuisse eadem solito magnificentiora ut hostis* TERRERETUR: *et cum* GRATULATIONE *in eo revertisse.* Ubi et hoc contra Sebisii emendationem notari velim, formulam illam loquendi CUM GRATULATIONE, alterum illud, εὐχαριστήρια θύειν, *cæsis hostiis*, jam comprehendere. Adeoque illa tua emendatio *omissis hostibus* et ab historiæ fide et a Justini sententia multum abludit.

3. JUSTIN. lib. xxiii. c. 8. *Terræ motu portio montis abrupta Gallorum stravit exercitum, et confertissimi cunei, non sine vulneribus hostium, dissipati ruebant.* Ne te offendat durior, quæ tibi videtur trajectio vocis *hostium* quam cum *confertissimi cunei*, conjungendam censes, atque intelligis de cuneis hostium, sive Gallorum, militaribus. Atque tu, re rite expensa, cognosces, nullam hic trajectionem locum habere, sed omnia naturali ordine

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inspire terror into the enemy, or *that they returned to their camp with thanksgivings*. It may here be remarked, in opposition to Sebisius' emendation, that the expression, *cum gratulatione*, if translated with "thanksgivings," will include the *cæsis hostiis*, τα ευχαριστηρια θυειν; that is, *the sacrifice of thanks*; so that your alteration of *cæsis hostiis* into *omissis hostibus*, is equally inconsistent with historical truth and the words of Justin.

3. In Justin, lib. xxiv. c. 8. we read, "Part of the mountain carried away by the earthquake overwhelmed the army of the Gauls; and its thick masses breaking in scattered pieces, fell down with great force, not without wounding the enemy." You need not be offended with the harsh transposition of the word *hostium*, which you think ought to be joined with *confertissimi cunei*; as if that last word meant, the military *cunei*, or wedges, of the Gauls; whereas it really means the thick masses detached from

ordine fluere: tantum *cuncos* exponas, non per cohortes hostium militares, sed per *moles conglobatas* a monte ac rupe avulsas, quæ non *confertim* sed postquam præcipiti cursu in *cuneos* dissiluissent, *dissipatæ ruebant non sine vulneribus hostium*, h. e. *Gallorum*. Ita perspecta erit ac manifesta ratio, cur illud *hostium* cum *confertissimi cunei* nec possit, nec debeat conjungi: ne scilicet perperam ad cuneos militares traheretur, adeoque ad vitandam omnem sermonis ambiguitatem.

4. JUSTIN. lib. xxviii. c. 2. *Adversus Gallos urbem eos suam tueri non potuisse: captamque non ferro defendisse, sed auro redemisse.* Si quidem iste locus medicam manum postularet aut admitteret, non est altera qua uterer libentius quam tua, qua pro *captamque* restituis *Capitoliumque*. Et frustra Schefferus hic scrupulos movet quasi ineptum fuerit dicere, *captam* urbem *ferro defendi* potuisse:

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from the rock or mountain, which, breaking into smaller fragments, fell down and wounded the enemy, that is, the Gauls. There is no transposition therefore in the case; the sentence flows in the most natural order; and the *confertissimi cunei* ought not to be joined with *hostium*, lest the ambiguity of the word *cunei* should make it be applied to the military *cunei*, or wedges of men.

4. In Justin, lib. xxviii. c. 2. we read "That the Romans could not save their city from the Gauls; and when it was taken, instead of defending it by the sword, had ransomed it with money." If this passage required, or admitted emendation, there is no correction I would adopt more willingly than yours, which, instead of *captamque*, substitutes *Capitoliumque*. Schefferus objects, without reason, that a city *captam*, taken, cannot properly be said *defendi ferro*,

tuisse: id enim, quamvis ignave, factum fuisse memorant historici Romani uno quasi convitio: in illis *Orosius*, lib. ii. c. 19. *Patentem Galli urbem penetrant:* en captam urbem Romam! Universam reliquam juventutem *in arce Capitolini Montis latitantem* OBSIDIONE *concludunt: ubique infelices reliquias, fame, peste, desperatione, formidine tenent, subigunt*, &c. Vides urbe jam capta, defensioni tamen locum superfuisse; neque profecto redimi urbem opus fuisset, nisi jam in hostium potestate, *h. e.* capta fuisset. Non videris de eo emendationis tuæ incommodo cogitasse, quod Capitolium solum auro fuisse redemptum affirmaret, contra historiæ fidem.

5. JUSTIN. lib. xxxi. c. 1. *Legati primum a senatu Romano missi, ut Antiocho Syriæ regi persuaderent, ne bello invadat eas Cœle-Syriæ civitates, quas*

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ferro, to be defended with the sword; for the Roman historians agree that their city, when taken, was defended, though in a cowardly manner. Orosius, among others, says, lib. xi. c. 19. "The Gauls penetrated into the open city; Rome was now taken, the rest of the youth were shut up and *besieged* in the citadel of the Capitoline Mount; where they were a prey to hunger, pestilence, terror, and despair." You may perceive, therefore, that though the city was taken, its defence was not entirely abandoned; and if it had not been taken, it needed not to have been ransomed. It seems not to have occurred to you, that your correction implies the Capitol only to have been ransomed, which is not historically true.

5. In Justin, lib. xxxi. c. 1. we read, "Ambassadors were first sent by the Roman senate to persuade Antiochus, King of Syria, that he should not make war on the cities of Cœle-Syria, which

quas Ægyptii priore bello occuparant, quæ proinde Ægyptii juris fuerunt, hoc usi sunt argumento, quod hæ civitates ad regem pupillum *pertinerent,* fidei suæ traditum. Atque etiam supra Justinus, lib. xxx. c. 3. memorat: *Mittitur et M. Lepidus in Ægyptum, qui tutorio nomine regnum pupilli administret.* Altera deinde legatio, quæ supervenit, postquam Antiochus has civitates in potestatem suam jam redegerat, postulans, ut *illæ in integrum restituantur, omissa pupilli persona,* nunc alio prætextu utitur, nimirum quod istæ civitates *jure belli factæ* sint *populi Romani.* Quid *jus belli* sit, quatenus ab ipso bello, sive eo quod bello partum est, distinguitur, declarabo duobus locis Livii; altero ex Quinti Flaminini ad Nabidem oratione, lib. xxxiv. c. 32. *Quibus igitur amicitia violatur? nempe*

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which the Egyptians had occupied, in the former war, and which were therefore subject to Egypt; using with him this argument, that these cities belonged to a young prince, their pupil, who had been committed by his father to the protection of the Romans." This same author, lib. xxx. c. iii. says, "M. Lepidus was sent into Egypt to govern that kingdom, with the title of tutor to the young king. A second embassy was sent, after Antiochus had taken possession of these cities, demanding that they should be restored; and without making any mention of the pupil king, merely on this ground, that these cities belonged to the Romans by the right of war." Justin, lib. xxxi. c. 1. What this right of war is, in contradistinction both to war itself, and to conquests made by war, appears from the two following passages, the first of which is part of Quintius Flamininus's speech to the tyrant Nabis, in Livy, lib. xxxiv. c. 32: "By what measures is the friendship between

nempe his duabus rebus maxime: si socios meos pro hostibus habeas: si cum hostibus te conjungas. Utrum non a te factum est? nam et Messenen uno atque eodem jure fœderis, quo et Lacedæmonem in amicitiam nostram acceptam, socius ipse sociam nobis urbem vi atque armis cepisti: et cum Philippo hoste nostro societatem . . . pepigisti. Altero Flori, lib. iii. c. v. *Quippe rex non jam quasi alienam, sed quia amiserat, quasi raptam, jure belli repetebat.* Ut taceam illud *jure belli* ad utrumque, potiore tamen sensu ad *jubebat restitui in integrum* referri posse; statim enim subjicit, abnuenti bellum denunciatum.

6. Justin. lib. xxxi. c. 1. *Igitur Senatus scripsit Flaminino, si ei videatur, sicuti Macedoniam*

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between states violated? Principally by these two; when you treat with hostility our allies, and when you make alliance with our enemies. Are not you guilty of both, since you, though our ally, have seized, by arms and violence, Messené, a city as much our ally as Lacedemon itself; and since you have entered into an alliance with Philip our enemy?" The other passage is in Florus, lib. iii. c. 5. "The King (Mithridates) did not consider Asia as a country not belonging to him; but as it had been formerly taken from him by violence, he sought to recover it by the law of war." I need not mention that "the law of war," in Justin, may have a reference to both the circumstances by which friendship between states is violated; but principally to the attack made on the dominions of Ptolemy, an ally of the Romans, who desire him to be reinstated by Antiochus in his possessions; for the author immediately adds, that when Antiochus refused to comply, war was denounced against him.

6. In Justin, lib. xxxi. c. 1. we read, "The senate, therefore, wrote to Flamininus, that if it seemed expedient to him, as he had delivered

niam a Philippo, ita Græciam a Nabide liberet. Quid de gloria Flaminini ducis belli Macedonici statuendum sit, docet formula S. C. apud Livium, lib. xxxiii. c. 32. *S. P. Q. R. et L. Quintius Imp. Philippo rege, Macedonibusque* DEVICTIS, *liberos, immunes suis legibus esse jubet Corinthios,* &c. Et Florus, lib. ii. c. xii. *Successerat Philippo filius Perses, qui* SEMEL IN PERPETUUM VICTAM *esse Macedoniam non putabat ex gentis dignitate.* Quæritur jam an Quintius, qui Macedoniam vicit, ullo sensu dici possit *Macedoniam a Philippo liberasse,* quamvis deinde ipsa Macedonia Philippo non fuerit adempta: et si Nabidem pari modo vinceret, an non hoc ipso Græciam liberasse censendus sit? At vero omnem rem explicasse videtur ipse Justinus, qui, lib. xxx. cap. ult. hæc habet: *Sed Macedonas Romana fortuna vicit: fractus itaque*

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delivered Macedon from Philip, so he should deliver Greece from Nabis." The glory of Flamininus, the general in the Macedonian war, is sufficiently attested by the words of the senate's decree, in Livy, lib. xxxiii. c. 32. "The senate and Roman people, and L. Quintius the general, having conquered king Philip and the Macedonians, declare free and independent republics, the Corinthians," &c. Florus, lib. ii. c. 12. says, "Perseus succeeded his father Philip, and did not think it becoming the dignity of Macedon, that it should remain in subjection, in consequence of being defeated in one war." You ask, whether Quintius, who conquered Macedon, can be said, in any sense, to have delivered it from Philip, although it appears that Philip was really not deprived of that kingdom? and whether, if the Roman general conquered Nabis, as he had already conquered Philip, he did not thereby free Greece? These difficulties are solved by Justin, lib. xxx. c. 4. "The fortune of the Romans conquered the Macedonians;

itaque bello Philippus, pace a Flaminino Cos. petita, nomen quidem regium retinuit; sed omnibus Græciæ urbibus, velut REGNI (MACEDONICI) MEMBRIS, *extra terminos antiquæ possessionis, amissis,* SOLAM *Macedoniam retinuit.* In literis, ergo, Senatus Rom. ad Cos. Flamininum per *Macedoniam* significatur, non tantum Macedonia stricte sic dicta, et antiquis terminis comprehensa, quæ sola Philippo non fuit adempta; sed in primis ea Græciæ pars (istæ urbes), quæ *extra terminos antiquæ possessionis,* veluti *regni* Macedonici *membra* accesserant, quæque sub Philippo ad Macedonicum regnum pertinebant; quibus, in senatus literis, opponitur Græcia reliqua, a Nabide tentata, quæ hactenus imperio Macedonico nunquam fuerat subjecta. Hinc Senatus Rom. sententia isthæc fuerit: sicuti Macedoniam a Philippo, ita *reliquam* Græciam a Nabide liberet. Vel, sicuti partem Græciæ, quæ

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nians; so that Philip, after his defeat, having obtained peace from the consul Flamininus, preserved indeed the name of king, but kept possession only of Macedon, having lost all those cities of Greece, which, like scattered members of the Macedonian kingdom, lay beyond its ancient boundaries." In the letters, therefore, of the Roman senate to the consul Flamininus, Macedon signifies not the country strictly so called, which alone was not taken from Philip, but that part of Greece which lay beyond the original limits of Macedon; to which is opposed the rest of Greece which was then harassed by Nabis, but which had never been subject to Macedon. Hence the meaning of the senate appears to have been, that Quintius, as he had delivered Macedonia, that is, the part of Greece belonging to Macedon, from Philip, so

quæ ad Macedoniam pertinebat a Philippo, ita nunc universam pene Græciam a Nabide liberet. Quis dixerit?

——— Non est sententia; verum est:
Credite me vobis folium recitare Sibyllæ!

November 17, 1756.

Sint criticæ disciplinæ studiosi in sollicitandis veterum auctorum locis cautiores, et in legendis ipsis auctoribus diligentiores, atque ita intelligant, quantæ diligentiæ sit hæc critica ars, et quam temere faciant, qui, ut aliquid concoquere non possunt, aut non satis vel analogiæ respondens vel dialecticis præceptiunculis suis conveniens putant, ita mutare sustinent; quæ temeritas est, cum a multis, tum a Cel. Burmanno imprimis in præfatione aurea Phædro præmissa, reprehensa; cujus ego præfationis uti tanquam normam mihi semper pro-

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he should deliver the rest of Greece from Nabis, who had actually made himself master nearly of the whole of that country.

This is not merely a conjecture sage,
But truth as certain as the Sibyl's page.

November 17, 1756.

Those who apply themselves to criticism ought to be cautious in conjectural emendation, and diligent in classical study, that they may perceive what vast application this critical art requires, and how rashly those behave, who immediately alter a passage which they do not at first sight understand, or which seems to them inconsistent with their rules of grammar or logic. This rashness is justly reprehended by many, and particularly by the illustrious Burman, in his valuable preface to Phædrus; which, as I have always made it the rule by which my own critical labours have

propositam habui, ad quam quicquid est hujus facultatis dirigerem, ita lectionem omnibus his vehementer commendatam esse cupio, qui in hoc genere elaborare volunt. His, quæ præfiscine dicta velim, præmissis, accedo nunc ad eam disputationem, quæ circa dubia quædam Justini loca docte versatur.

1. Emendatio loci lib. ii. cap. 3. § 18. manifeste corrupti (cujusmodi corruptio in numeris admodum proclivis, et propterea etiam frequens est) quæ sciscit vulnus sanari, mutando MD. vel CIↃIↃ. in XV. non potest non omnibus cordatis se probare; quanquam ipsa tam pudendi erroris ratio in obscuro lateat: et ut verum fatear, curiosa mihi, ne quid gravius dicam, semper visa est ea cura ac diligentia, quæ in investigando ac definiendo eo ponitur, quod mille diversis modis accidere ac oriri potuit. Corrupta lectio ita se habet: *his igitur Asia per mille quingentos annos vectigalis*

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have been directed, so I would warmly recommend it to all those who pursue the same walk of literature. Having made this preparatory observation, I proceed to the difficulties in Justin, about which so much learning has been employed.

1. The emendation of the manifestly corrupt passage in lib. ii. c. 3. § 18. (a corruption depending on numbers, and therefore as natural as frequent,) which corrects the error by changing fifteen hundred into fifteen, must be approved by all judicious critics. The cause which introduced the faulty reading into the text is uncertain; and the question that has been so industriously agitated concerning it, appears to me more curious than useful, since the error might have originated in a thousand different sources. The corrupt reading runs thus: "Asia was tributary to the Scythians fifteen hundred years." We agree that it should be corrected thus: "Asia

lis fuit. Convenit inter nos de sincera lectione ita restituenda: *his igitur Asia per quindecim annos vectigalis fuit.* Tu vero, pro tuo acumine, in ipsa corrupta lectione videris tibi cernere haud obscura quædam pristinæ lectionis vestigia; atque illud *per mille* ex *permissa* natum esse tibi persuades; ut vera hujus loci lectio hujusmodi sit: *his igitur Asia permissa quindecim annos vectigalis fuit.* Contra hoc lectionis supplementum, cujus ego necessitatem nullam video, monui, codices antiquos, qui numeros literarum notis descriptos præferunt, huic tuæ conjecturæ nullo modo favere. Et quamvis non negaverim dari codices antiquos qui numeros integris vocibus expositos efferant; mihi tamem persuasum est, plurimos dari antiquos libros, in primis historicos, in quibus frequentiores calculi occurrunt, qui numeros literarum notis descriptos repræsentent: huic vero persuasioni fidem faciunt et exempla et testimonia luculentissima: unicum e multis afferam Galeni de Antidot. I.—

Τὰ

" Asia was tributary to the Scythians fifteen years." But in the corrupt text you think that obscure traces of the genuine reading may be discerned, and imagine that *per mille* had crept into the text, instead of *permissa*; explaining the passage as if " Asia had been permitted to be tributary to the Scythians for fifteen years." I observed that this emendation, for which I see not any necessity, is rendered highly improbable, because in ancient manuscripts the names of numbers are expressed, not by words, but by letters used as numeral marks; and though they are sometimes expressed by words, yet this is not frequent, especially in works of history. This assertion is confirmed by innumerable testimonies; I shall be contented with referring to that of Galen de Antidot. I.—It is a subject

Τὰ δὲ δὴ βιβλία, τὰ καὶ τὰς βιβλιοθήκας ἀποκείμενα, τά τῶν ἀριθμῶν ἔχοντα σημεῖα ῥαδίως διαγρεφεῖαι· τὸ μὲν πέντε ποιοῦντων ἑννέα, καθάπερ καὶ τὸ Ο. τὸ δὲ Ι. Γ. προσθέσει μιᾶς γραμμῆς ὥσπερ γε καὶ ἀφαιρέσει μιᾶς ἕτερας. κ. τ. λ. Atque oppido miror, quin etiam doleo, hoc criticæ disciplinæ caput, de notis numeralibus, in antiquis codicibus varie descriptis, nondum certis observationibus et regulis ita esse adstrictum, et in artis formam redactum, ut frivola quorundam in numeris et calculis pro libidine fingendis ac refingendis intemperies coerceri, certæ contra notæ characteristicæ de ætate et fide codicum constitui, possint. Fac vero huic tuæ conjecturæ qua *per mille* in *permissa* mutandum censes, a parte scripturæ codicum MSS. nihil obstare; eam tamen prorsus respuit, quem ipse notas Justini error, qui Sesostrem ab Scythis *in fugam actum exercitu cum omni apparatu belli relicto*, perhibet: quumque Justinus supra, § 15. diserte commemorat *Scythas* a persequendo rege reversos, *Asiam* PERDOMITAM *vectigalem*

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subject indeed both of surprise and grief, that this part of criticism, which consists in ascertaining exactly the rules of numeral notation, should not have met with due attention; although thereby the rashness of wild conjecture would be greatly restrained, and more certainty might be attained in determining the age and authenticity of manuscripts. But let it be supposed that your correction were safe on this side, yet it would be destroyed by the passage which you yourself quote from Justin; "That Sesostris being put to flight by the Scythians, left behind him his army and baggage." The historian having observed, in § 15, that the Scythians, after returning from the pursuit of the king, rendered Asia, which they had subdued, tributary; how is it possible, that, in

vectigalem fecisse; qui mox § 18. idem Asiam non perdomitam, sed a Sesostre PERMISSAM narraret. Non agitur de fide narrationis, sed de Justini sententia, sive vera sive falsa. Neque fingendum est Justinum aperte sibi contrariari.

2. Arrianum si consulamus, ille simpliciter memorat, *Alexandrum ad Hyphasin amnem processisse, Indos qui trans flumen habitarent, subacturum: tum vero Macedonas, quum belli finem nullum cernerent, ulterius progredi noluisse, tandemque Cœno deprecante impetrasse ab Alexandro, ut se ad reditum pararet, quoniam omnia illum ab ulteriore profectione revocarent. Ibi tum Alexandrum XII aras ingentes,* μνημεῖα των αὐτοῦ πόνων, *constituisse.* Nihil ille de Cuphitis; nihil de CC millibus equitum qui terrorem incuterent Macedonibus; nihil de castris, &c. Curtius, lib. ix. c. 2. pari modo memorat,

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§ 18, he should say that this happened not in consequence of their own military success, but in consequence of the permission of Sesostris? We are not now inquiring what is historically true, but what is Justin's report; which must not be supposed inconsistent with itself.

2. If we here consult Arrian, he tells us merely that "Alexander proceeded to the river Hyphasis, with a view to conquer the Indians who lived beyond it; but that the Macedonians, then perceiving there was no end to their labours, refused to advance; and finally prevailed on Alexander, through the earnest intreaty of Cœnus, to prepare for his return; since every thing seemed adverse to his farther progress. Then Alexander erected twelve great altars, as monuments of his conquests." Arrian says nothing about the Cuphites, the camp, or the two hundred thousand horsemen, who so much terrified the Macedonians. Curtius lib. ix.

memorat, *Alexandrum, quum ad Fluvium Hyphasin pervenisset, cognovisse, ulteriorem ripam colere gentes Gangaridas et Pharrasios, eorumque regem, XX millibus equitum, CC peditum, obsidentem vias : ad hæc quadrigarum MM. trahere, et præcipuum terrorem elephantos quos MMM. numerus expleret. Tum vero Macedonas regem sequi ulterius detrectasse; Cœnoque deprecante, impetrasse ut reditum in patriam pararent :* subjungit vero : *Tertio die processit, erigique XII aras ex quadrato saxo, monumentum expeditionis suæ ; munimenta quoque castrorum jussit extendi, cubiliaque amplioris formæ quam pro corporum habitu relinqui, ut speciem omnium augeret, posteritati fallax miraculum preparans.* Gemina fere habet Plutarchus in Alex. Quisquis hæc cum Justino comparat, facile

ix. c. 2 and 3, relates, " that Alexander, when he came to the Hyphasis, discovered that the farther bank was inhabited by the Gangaridæ and Pharrasii; that their king, with twenty thousand horse and two hundred thousand foot, meant to obstruct his passage; being furnished besides with two thousand chariots and three thousand elephants; which last formed the most alarming part of his strength. The Macedonians then refused to follow the king farther; and obtained, through Cœnus' intreaty, that preparations should be made for their return home." He subjoins; " Alexander came forth on the third day, and ordered twelve altars of square stone to be erected as a monument of his expedition, and the fortifications of his camp to be enlarged, and beds of a gigantic size to be constructed, that, by diffusing an air of vastness on every object around him, he might excite the credulous wonder of posterity." Plutarch, in his treatise concerning the fortune of Alexander, speaks to the same purpose. By com-

facile intelliget, Justinum quamvis eandem historiam commemoret, nihilominus in præcipuis quibusdam facti circumstantiis, et Alexandri consiliis, ab his scriptoribus discrepare: maxime autem in eo, quod duplex castrorum tam insolita magnificentia construendorum consilium fuisse dicit, alterum quod *hostes*, alterum quod *posteros*, spectaret. § 16. *Motus his tam justis precibus, velut in finem victoriæ, castra solito magnificentiora fieri jussit, quorum molitionibus et* HOSTIS *terreretur,* ET POSTERIS *admiratio sui relinqueretur.* De priore consilio, nim. *ut hostis terreretur,* altum apud reliquos silentium. Ex quo clarum esse arbitror, ipsum Justinum receptam lectionem et omnibus codicibus probatam tueri, tuam vero emendationem respuere: quandoquidem enim *castra solito magnificentiora, velut in finem victoriæ fieri jussit,* hoc nonnisi de ultima ac recente aliqua victoria accipi potest. Quod si enim ad superiores victorias respex-

paring these authors with Justin, the reader will perceive that he differs from them all in several essential circumstances; and particularly in saying that Alexander had two motives for enlarging the fortifications of his camp; one of which regarded the enemy, and the other had a relation to posterity. "Moved by such just prayers, he ordered a camp to be formed more magnificent than usual, as at the end of his victory; that its fortifications might be an object of terror to the enemy, and of admiration to posterity." Justin, *ibid.* § 16. The other historians are totally silent as to what regards the enemy; which is favourable to that reading of Justin which on the faith of manuscripts stands in his text, and extremely adverse to your emendation. For "the end of his victory" must refer to some recent victory, and not to his victories in

respexisset Justinus, dicendum fuisset (uti ipse agnoscis) *in finem victoriarum*, perinde atque supra § 10. habet: *Non minus victoriarum numero quam laboribus fessus.* Jam vero altera illa consilii ratio, quam reliqui omnes silentio premunt, nimirum *ut hostis terreretur* non potuit locum habere, si, intactis hostibus, castra movere ac discedere fuerat constitutum. Unde enim terror Cuphitis esset injectus, si castra tantum εἰς μνημεῖον τῶν ἀὐλῳ πεπραγμένων fuissent constructa et relicta? Etenim *omissis hostibus*, quæ *victoria?* quis *terror?* quæ deinde *gratulatio?* *Gratulationis* vocem autem de solemnibus victimis ob lætum eventum, seu de χαριστηριοις qualia Arrianus memorat, passim usurpari, nemini qui in lectione veterum tritas aures habet, potest esse obscurum. Ut taceam illud *omissis*, tanquam quod inceptum aliquod, immo etiam neglectum,

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in general; otherwise Justin, as you acknowledge, would have said, "the end of his victories," as in § 10. above, "wearied, not less by the number of his victories, than by his toils." As to Alexander's second motive, concerning which all other historians are silent, "that his fortifications might be an object of terror to the enemy;" there would not surely be any room for it, on the supposition that he had determined to move his camp, and leave the country, without fighting a battle. The Cuphites could not be seized with alarm at seeing the monuments of the exploits of a man who had not ventured to engage with their army; nor, on that supposition, would there be any mention of victory, terror, or sacrifices of thanks; for that the word *gratulatio* refers to the solemn victims sacrificed in gratitude for success, and frequently mentioned by Arrian, cannot be doubtful to those conversant with ancient writers. Besides, the word *omissis* including the idea of something begun or neglected, does not please me, nor seem

lectum, involvit, mihi non recte arridere, atque etiam a stilo Justini alienum videri. Cæterum quæ de Orosii ætate, scopo, fide prolixe disputas, parum ad rem facere videntur. Constat inter omnes Orosium in plerisque Justinum ita presse, ne dicam superstitiose, esse secutum, ut ejus fere verbis ac sententiis passim loqui videatur: et infinitis prope in locis Justini lectionem et sententiam, quam quidem ii libri, quibus Orosius usus est, præferebant, ex Orosio probabili ratione intelligi, confirmari, ac restitui posse, dudum ostenderunt viri docti. Immo et h. l. qui non videat, Orosium Justini narrationem ante oculos habuisse, eum ego nihil omnino cernere prope dixerim: unde enim Orosius *Chosidum* seu *Cuphitum* nomen omnibus aliis indictum, nisi ex Justino hauserit? Quod vero si ita est, quis non intelligit, Orosium apud Justinum non *omissis* aut *intactis hostibus*, sed *cæsis hostibus*, in

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seem conformable with Justin's style. Your prolix discussion concerning the age, design, and character of Orosius has but little connection with the present subject. It is universally acknowledged, that he so closely, or rather superstitiously, follows Justin's footsteps, that he frequently expresses himself in the same words and phrases; and it has long ago been proved by good critics, that Justin's text, such as it stood in the copy used by Orosius, may in innumerable places be restored by an attention to the latter writer. He must be blind indeed, who does not perceive that in the passage before us Orosius must have copied Justin. Whence could he otherwise have derived the name *Chosidum*, or *Cuphitum*, which is not mentioned by any other historian? and if that be the case, Orosius must have found in his original,

in suis legisse libris, atque ita Justinum interpretari?

4. Verum equidem est urbem captam obsidione cingi non posse: sed an ea non possit DEFENDI a præsidiis arci impositis? hoc quæritur: arce enim obsidione liberata, et urbs, quamvis jam capta, ab omni periculo defensa liberatur. Et quoties non, qui ingeniose dicere volunt, ac ludunt in antithesis, rem supra fidem augent, ut tanto major esse videatur?

5. Quæ de Syriæ oppidis *jure belli* factis P. R. novissime commentus es, nodum omnino solverent, nisi parachronismo essent superstructa: fœdus enim illud cum Antiocho per legatos pacem petente initum, cujus priora verba ex Livio, lib. xxxviii. c. 37. excitas, hanc Antiochi in Ægyptum expeditionem, quam Justinus, lib. xxxi. c. 1. memorat,

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original, not that "the enemy were omitted," but that "they were beat;" in which sense Justin ought to be interpreted.

4. I grant that a town taken by a siege cannot be said to be defended by its own walls. But may it not be defended by troops in the citadel? When the enemy are obliged to raise the siege of the citadel, the town may thereby be delivered from all danger. The expression, at least, might be used by an author fond of antithesis and amplification.

5. Your new conjecture concerning the towns of Syria which the Romans acquired by the law of war, would solve the difficulty, were not that conjecture built on an anachronism. For the league entered into with the Ambassadors of Antiochus, who came to crave peace, which you find in Livy, lib. xxxviii. c. 37. was not prior, but subsequent, to Antiochus's expedition into Egypt, mentioned in Justin, lib. xxxi. c. 1. You may consider whether the

morat, non præcessit, sed demum aliquo temporis intervallo subsecutum est. Vide an non huc pertineat, quæ memoriæ prodita habet Livius, lib. xxxiii. c. 34. *Secundum ista jam Quintius, et decem legati, legationes regum, gentium, civitatumque audivere. Primi omnium regis Antiochi vocati legati sunt: his eadem, quæ fere Romæ erant, verba sine fide rerum jactata: nihil jam perplexe, ut ante, quum dubiæ res incolumi Philippo erant, sed aperte pronunciatum, ut excederet Asiæ urbibus, quæ aut* PHILIPPI *aut* PTOLOMÆI *regum fuissent*, &c. Conf. et ejusd. libri, cap. 39 et 40. Hoc esto nunc Catone contentus. Vale, et rem tuam ex voto gere.

Zurici Helvetiorum, ad d. 3. Martini Episcopi.

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the following words of Livy do not refer to this subject: "After this, Quintius and his ten lieutenants received the ambassadors of kings, nations, and cities. Those of king Antiochus were first introduced. They said the same things as formerly, when at Rome, without gaining belief; and they were now told, not in the ambiguous language which the Romans had used before the defeat of Philip, and while their own fortune was still doubtful, but in express terms, that Antiochus must evacuate all the cities of Asia, which had belonged either to Philip or to Ptolemy." Livy, lib. xxxiii. c. 34, with which compare c. 39 and 40. Be satisfied with this authority. Farewell and prosper.

Zurich, 14th November.

N°

N° V.

M. Breitinger *à M.* Gibbon.

Præclarissime ac nobilissime Vir,

Quanquam ex longo jam tempore severioribus musis me totum dare, hisque sacris operari institui, immo etiam in iis acquiescere per reliquum vitæ spatium constitutum habeo; non injucundum tamen fuit subinde invitantibus amicis in amœniora hæc literarum vireta oblectandi animi gratia exspatiari: et quotiescunque intellexi esse aliquem qui ad hæc literarum studia excolenda animum adjiciat, non destiti admovere stimulos, ac fungi vice cotis, acutum reddere quæ ferrum valeat, exsors ipsa secandi. Quapropter nihil mihi obtingere potuisset aut jucundius aut magis exoptandum, quam a te ἀνονύμῳ primum, nunc etiam aperto marte ac fronte, ad hæc literarum studia, pristinas meas delicias, deduci: et laudo hoc tuum ingenium, tuamque sagacitatem, quæ non stimulo, sed fræno potius opus

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Mr. Breitinger *to Mr.* Gibbon.

Although I had long dedicated myself, and had purposed to spend my life, in more severe and sacred studies, yet it is not without pleasure that, at the invitation of my friends, I occasionally descend into the pleasing fields of literature; never losing an opportunity to stimulate the diligence of those who delight in such pursuits, and to serve as a whetstone to others, though myself unfit for carving. Nothing, therefore, could have been more agreeable to my wish, than to be called back to those studies, formerly my delight, by you; anonymously at first, but now in open war. I cannot but commend your sagacity and genius, which require rather the rein than the spur; and I earnestly wish that

opus habere videtur; atque magnopere velim alium pro me tibi obtigisse, cui majus subactum ingenium, majorque doctrinæ copia esset, quîcum hunc callem terere posses.

Multus es in defendenda emendatione loci Justin. lib. xii. c. 8. § 17. ubi tu pro *cæsis hostibus* contra omnium codicum fidem ex ingenio, substituendum censes *omissis hostibus;* quam ego emendationem, in superioribus meis, variis inductis rationibus, oppugnaveram. Equidem non est animus denuo in hanc disputationem descendere, aut singulatim ea quæ ad diluendas meas rationes in medium abs te adlata sunt, sub incudem revocare. Strictim tantum exponam, cur ego nec receptam lectionem sollicitandam, nec propositam abs te emendationem admittendam esse censeam. Nemo est qui non fateri cogatur receptam ac codicum fide et consensu probatam lectionem, in se spectatam, bonum et apertum sensum fundere, nec a stilo Justini, nec a Latini sermonis ratione abludere.

Quod

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that you were accompanied in this literary walk by a scholar of more cultivated taste, and more copious erudition, than myself.

You employ many arguments in defending your emendation of Justin, lib. xii. c. 8. § 17; where, instead of "the enemy being beat," you substitute "the enemy being omitted." I formerly gave you my reasons for rejecting this emendation, and shall not repeat them here, nor enter into a particular discussion of the answers which you make to my objections. Thus much only in general I will observe, that the reading in the text, which is approved by the consenting authority of the manuscripts, must be acknowledged to contain a very natural meaning, conveyed in good Latin, and in Justin's style. This reading, indeed, makes mention

Quod vero recepta isthæc lectio, commissum cum Cuphitis prælium memorat, de quo apud reliquos scriptores qui res Alexandri memoriæ prodiderunt, altum quidem silentium est; (quamquam nemo sit illorum qui hoc prælium commissum esse negaverit;) an hoc, inquam, nos ad sollicitandam constantem codicum lectionem inducere debeat, ut pro *commisso* prælio illud *omissum esse*, Justinum diserte cogamus pronuntiare? Ego quidem necessitatem nullam video. Quod si hæc licentia daretur arti criticæ, ut si quæ in aliquo scriptore facta legimus commemorata, quæ ab aliis silentio involvantur, illa statim expungenda, aut per contortam emendationem in contrarium plane sensum forent convertenda, nihil fere certum aut constans in historicorum scriptorum commentariis reperiretur. Quominus autem tuam, vir nobilissime, emendationem admittere possim duæ potissimum obstant rationes: altera est, quod admissa tua emendatione, reliquæ Justini orationi sua non amplius ratio constet: sed integrum illud comma foret

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mention of a battle with the Cuphites, concerning which the other historians of Alexander are silent. But ought this silence to make us alter Justin's text, especially as none of these historians deny such a battle to have happened? If such licence be indulged to critics, that they may expunge or alter the words of an historian, because he is the sole relater of a particular event, we shall leave few materials for authentic history. Two reasons strongly militate against your correction: the first, that if it be admitted, there will no longer be any consistency in Justin's narrative; and the whole clause

foret expungendum: quid enim sibi vellet *omissis hostibus in castra* REVERTERUNT, quæ cur unquam relinquerent, admissa tua emendatione, nulla ratio aut necessitas fuit? Altera vero ratio, quæ istam tuam emendationem respuere videtur, hæc est, quod phrasis *omittere hostes*, *omissis hostibus*, Justino admodum trita, nusquam eodem sensu, quò tu adhibes, quantum quidem memini, apud Justinum occurrit: nusquam enim MILITES dicuntur *omittere hostes*, sed belli duces penes quos summum imperium est, non illi quorum est imperata facere, et qui hoc ipso loco deprecati sunt, ne juberentur amplius cum hoste congredi: accedit quod phrasis illa *omissis hostibus* aliis in locis non FINEM belli sed MUTATIONEM involvit: inspice locum a temet excitatum, lib. xxvii. c. 3. § 6. *Sed omisso externo hoste in mutuum exitium* BELLUM *reparant.* Addo ego

clause must be expunged which mentions the return of the Macedonians into their camp; which, if they did not mean to fight, it was not necessary for them to leave. The second reason is, that the phrase *omittere hostes*, though frequently used by Justin, is never, that I know, applied by him in the sense which you give to it. The generals entitled to direct military measures are said *omittere hostes;* but never the soldiers, whose duty it is to obey orders; and who, in the passage under consideration, request that they may not be ordered to renew the engagement with the enemy. To this may be added, that wherever this phrase, *omissis hostibus*, occurs in Justin, it denotes not an end, but only a change of the war. Turn to the passage which you formerly referred to, lib. xxvii. c. 3. § 6. "They left off fighting against their foreign enemy, and made war on each other:" to which you will find a parallel in lib. xxix. c. 2. § 7. "By this oration he prevailed with

ego locum alterum, lib. xxix. c. 2. § 7. *Hujuscemodi oratione impulit Philippum ut, omissis Ætolis,* BELLUM *Romanis inferret,* &c. Cæterum sufficit Orosium suo tempore apud Justinum legisse *cæsis hostibus*, quo recepta lectio mirifice confirmatur, perinde ut illa magnopere vacillaret, si in ejus ætatis Justini eodicibus *omissis hostibus* fuisse lectum constat.

De Syriæ civitatibus *jure belli factis P. R.* quod, iis quæ hactenus in hanc rem disputata sunt, addam, non habeo.

Moves denique, vir nobilissime, ne eadem semper chorda oberremus, neve amicæ disputationi materia desit, novam quæstionem circa I. Jul. Cæsaris consulatum, quem adiit Kal. Jan. A. U. C. DCXCV. anno ætatis XLI., quum per annales leges nemini licuerit, hunc magistratum petere ante annum ætatis XLIII. At vero hanc Villii, ut cæteras

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with Philip to leave off fighting against the Etolians, and to make war on the Romans." But it is sufficient that Orosius read *cæsis hostibus* in the copies of Justin which he made use of. If, by saying *omissis hostibus*, Orosius confirmed your conjecture, the reading in the text would be doubtful indeed.

I have nothing farther to add to my observations concerning the cities of Syria which the Romans acquired by the right of war.

That we may not always harp on the old string, but have new matter for our friendly contest, you raise a difficulty concerning the first consulship of Julius Cæsar; which happened on the first of January, in the six hundred and ninety-fifth year of Rome, and in the forty-first of his age; although by the laws ascertaining the age of candidates, no person was entitled to crave that honour before his forty-third year. But this law, which was proposed by

cæteras annales leges, non fuisse perpetuæ observationis, et fasti et historiarum monumenta docent: apud Liv. lib. viii. c. 4. relatum legimus, C. Mario Rutilo et Q. Servilio Ahala coss. plebiscito cautum, ne quis eundem magistratum intra X annos capesseret: non tamen videtur aut lex ista perlata aut postea quicquam valuisse. Occurrit enim II. post istos coss. anno apud Fastorum conditores ipsumque T. Livium, T. Manlius Torquatus, qui IV. ante annos; postea M. Valerius Corvus, qui VIII.; L. Papirius Crassus, qui VI. coss. fuerant. Immo unus L. Papirius Cursor intra VIII annos quaternos consulatus gessit: quod fieri, lata hac lege, vel certe salva, non poterat. Huc etiam pertinent, quæ Dio Cass. lib. xl. § 56. de alia lege annali memorat: *Pompeius, inquit, restituit legem de Comitiis, quæ jubet, ut magistratum aliquem ambientes ad ipsa omnino*

Villius, appears not, any more than other laws appertaining to the same object, to have been of perpetual authority; as we learn, both from the Roman historians and from the consular Fasti. Livy, lib. viii. c. 4, says, that in the consulship of C. Marius Rutilus and Q. Servilius Ahala, it was provided by a law of the people, that no person should bear the same magistracy twice in the space of ten years. But this law seems either not to have been confirmed, or not to have remained in force: for we afterwards find both in the Fasti and in Livy, that T. Manlius Torquatus was a second time consul in the space of four years; M. Valerius Corvus, in eight; and L. Papirius Crassus, in six: L. Papirius Cursor was four times consul in eight years: which things are inconsistent with this law. To this subject may be referred what Dio Cassius says concerning another law of the same kind, in his fortieth book, sect, 56. "Pompey restored the law of the Comitia, which prohibited any person from being elected

omnino Comitia præsto sint, (ὥστε μηδένα ἀπόλλα αἱρεῖσθαι) *neglectam omnino renovavit; et S. C. paulo prius factum, ut qui in urbe magistratus gessissent, externas provincias, ante V anni exitum, ne sortirentur, confirmavit. Nec vero puduit Pompeium, qui tum eas promulgaverat, ipsum Hispaniæ imperium in aliud quinquennium paulo post accipere: et Cæsari (cujus amici indignissime has leges ferebant) absenti quoque consulatus petendi potestatem eodem decreto concedere,* &c. Quod vero jam ad Villianam illam annalem legem attinet, nec eam constanter ita fuisse observatam, ut nunquam migraretur, vel ex ipso Ciceronis loco, Orat. contra Rullum, colligi potest, ubi gloriatur quod ex *novis hominibus* primus, et quidem prima petitione, *anno suo*, hoc honore fuerit auctus; cum qui ante ipsum ex hoc hominum genere, anno suo petierint, sine repulsa, non

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elected into any office of magistracy in his absence; a law which had fallen into total disuse; and confirmed another, which had been a short time before enacted by the senate, forbidding any man who had been a magistrate in the city to command in any foreign province before the expiration of five years. Yet Pompey, who had just past these laws, was not ashamed to accept his command in Spain for five years longer; and to grant, by the same decree, to Cæsar (whose friends impatiently brooked such regulations) the permission of being candidate for the consulship in his absence," &c. That the law proposed by Villius was not uniformly observed, appears from Cicero's oration against Rullus; where the orator boasts that he was the first man, not graced by ancient nobility, who had obtained the consulship in the year that he was entitled to solicit it: but this passage does not inform

non sint facti consules. Ex hoc enim loco quæ Villianæ legis vis fuerit, quum patricius aut consularis ex antiquo genere consulatum peteret, intelligi non potest. Certe Dolabella, cæso Cæsare, anno non suo, quippe XXV annos natus, teste Appiano, consulatum invasit, qua de re Dio Cass. lib. xliv. § 22. Ὁ Δολοβέλλας ἐς τὴν ὕπαλον ἀρχὴν, καίπερ μηδέπω οἱ προσήκουσαν ἐσήλθε. Et Suetonius, c. 18. tantum non diserte memorat Julio contra leges aliquid fuisse concessum: *sed cum edictis jam Comitiis, ratio ejus haberi non posset, nisi privatus introisset urbem, et ambienti ut legibus solveretur, multi contradicerent, coactus est triumphum, ne consulatu excluderetur, dimittere.* Quam in rem etiam apud Dionem Cass. libr. xliv. Antonius in oratione funebri diserte hæc memorat: Τοιγάρτοι καὶ τὰ ἐπινίκια αὐτῷ διὰ τοῦτ' (scil. ob expeditionem Hispanicam)

us what was the force of Villius's law, when the candidates were patricians of ancient family, or men of consular dignity. Dolabella certainly, after Cæsar's murder, seized the consulship, when only twenty-five years old, as we are informed by Appian: on which subject Dio Cassius, lib. xliv. § 22, says, that Dolabella intruded himself into the consulship, though in nowise belonging to him; and Suetonius insinuates, that Julius obtained something to which he was not by law entitled. "As the Comitia were already proclaimed, his demand could not be attended to, unless he entered the city as a private person; and many opposing his being indulged with any favour to which he was not legally entitled, he chose to postpone his claim to a triumph, lest he should be excluded from the consulship." Sueton. lib. i. c. 18. Nearly to the same purpose Anthony, in Cæsar's funeral oration, in the forty-fourth book of Dio Cassius, says, "For this reason, (his success

panicam) ἐψηφίσασθε καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν ὕπαλον ΕΥΘΥΣ ἐδώκαλε.———*Triumpho omisso, cum res urgeret, actisque vobis pro eo honore, quem sibi ad gloriam satis esse ducebat, gratiis, consulatum accepit.* Ita quum vix annus deesset, quominus consulatum petere liceret Julio, aliquid fuisse ei concessum, ut triumphum dimitteret, manifestum est: quod si etiam ex lege annali consulatu excludere eum voluissent, non intelligo, qua ratione ipsi, quod ad triumphi honorem attinet, repulsam dare potuissent.

Oblatas animadversiones in Salchlini libellum Museo Helv. inferendas, quanquam Gallico idiomate conscriptas, cupide exciperem; nisi Musei illius cursus ad tempus foret inhibitus; nec dum constat utrum, et quando, typographo licuerit aut placuerit, isthoc opus novo aliquo tomo augere.

Vale,

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success in Spain,) you granted to him a triumph, and immediately appointed him consul. In the urgency of his affairs he postponed his triumph; and accepting the consulship, thanked you for that honour, which he thought sufficient for his own glory." It is therefore plain, that by deferring his claim to a triumph, he obtained the consulship, though a year younger than the age required for holding that office. Had the Romans intended to enforce against him the Villian law, there would not have been any reason to withhold from him the honour of a triumph.

I should willingly admit your remarks, though written in French, on Salchlini's little work, into the *Museum Helveticum*, were not that publication interrupted at present; and it is uncertain when the printer will be allowed, or will have inclination, to publish a new volume.

 Farewell,

Vale, Vir Nobilissime, rem tuam ex animi sententia age, meque ama hominem ad omnia humanitatis officia paratissimum,

BREITINGERUM.

ZURICI HELVETIORUM, Kal. Mart.
CIↃIↃCCLVII.

N° VI.

M. GIBBON *à M.* GESNER.

MONSIEUR,

CHEZ les Romains, ce peuple généreux, qui nous a laissé tant de choses à admirer et à imiter, les vieux jurisconsultes, que leurs longs travaux avoient rendus les oracles du barreau, ne se croyoient pas inutiles à la république, lorsqu'ils cherchoient à développer, à former des talens naissans, et à se donner de dignes successeurs. Je voudrois la rétablir

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Farewell, my noble Sir, and prosper; and love me as a man devoted to every kind duty.

BREITINGER.

ZURICH, March 1, 1757.

Mr. GIBBON *to Mr.* GESNER.

SIR,

AMONG the Romans, that generous people, who had so many institutions worthy of being admired and imitated, the most respectable old lawyers, whose long labours had rendered them the oracles of the bar, did not think their time useless to the community, when it was employed in forming the talents of youth, and in providing for themselves worthy successors. This excellent custom

rétablir cette coutume excellente, et la transporter même dans les autres sciences. Quiconque connoît tant soit peu vos ouvrages et votre réputation, ne vous refusera pas, je pense, le titre d'un des premiers littérateurs du siècle, et je ne crois pas qu'une folle présomption m'égare, lorsque je m'attribue quelques dispositions à réussir dans les Belles Lettres. Votre commerce pourroit m'être d'une grande utilité. Voilà mon seul titre pour vous le demander. Dans l'espérance qu'il pourra vous engager à me l'accorder, je vais vous demander des éclaircissemens sur quelques difficultés, et des décisions sur quelques conjectures qui se sont offertes à mon esprit.

1. Qui étoit ce Pison le Père, à qui Horace addresse son art poétique? M. Dacier croit que c'étoit ce L. Pison le pontife qui triompha pour ses exploits en Thrace, et qui mourut préfet de la Ville

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custom ought to be adopted, and extended to other sciences. Whoever is acquainted with your reputation and your works, will not deny you the title of one of the most learned men of the age; and I hope that my foolish presumption does not deceive me, when I ascribe to myself some natural aptitude for succeeding in the pursuits of literature. Your correspondence would be highly useful to me. On this ground only I request it. In the hope that it will not be refused, I proceed to beg your explanation of some difficulties that I have met with, and your opinion of some conjectures that have occurred to my mind.

1. Who was that Piso, the father, to whom Horace addresses his Art of Poetry? Mr. Dacier supposes him to have been the high-priest who obtained a triumph for his exploits in Thrace, and who died præfect of the city in the seven hundred and eighty-fifth

Ville A. U. C. 785.* Mais il est évident que ce ne fut point lui. Horace écrivit son art poétique avant l'an 734, puisqu'il y parle de Virgile, qui mourut dans cette année, d'une façon à faire bien comprendre qu'il étoit encore vivant.† Or dans un autre endroit du même art poétique,‡ il s'adresse à l'ainé des fils de ce Pison comme à un jeune homme qui avoit l'esprit déjà formé.

> O major juvenum, quamvis et voce paternâ
> Fingeris ad rectum et per te sapis.

Ce qui ne peut guères convenir qu'à un jeune homme de dix huit à vingt ans. Mais ce L. Pison ne pouvoit point avoir dans ce tems là un fils aussi agé. Il mourut en 785, agé de quatre-vingt ans. § Il naquit donc en 705, et il n'avoit que trente ans tout au plus, quand cette épître fut écrite. Je vois assez clairement, que ce ne pouvoit

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year of Rome.* But that could not be the man; for Horace's Art of Poetry was written before the year seven hundred and thirty-four, since it makes mention of Virgil (who died that year) in terms which shew that he was still alive:† and in another part of the poem,‡ Horace addresses the eldest of Piso's sons, as a young man of cultivated talents; which implies that he was not less than eighteen or twenty years of age. But L. Piso, the high-priest, could not surely have a son so old. He himself died at the age of fourscore,§ in the seven hundred and eighty-fifth year of Rome. He was born, then, in seven hundred and five; and was not above thirty when the Art of Poetry was written. It is clear,

* Tacit. Annal. vi. c. 10. Flor. Hist. Rom. L. iv. c. 12. T. Liv. Epit. L. c.
† Horat. Art. Poet. v. 55. ‡ Ibid. v. 366. § Tacit. ubi. supra.

therefore,

voit pas être là le Pison que nous cherchons; mais parmi un assez grand nombre de personnages du siècle d'Auguste qui portoient ce nom, je voudrois qu'on m'aidât à trouver celui sur qui les soupçons peuvent tomber avec quelque vraisemblance.

2. Vous savez combien les critiques se sont donnés de peine, pour rechercher le vrai but qu'avoit Horace dans la troisième ode du troisième livre. La grandeur des idées, et la noblesse des expressions y font sentir partout la main de maître: mais on est à la fois fâché et surpris d'y voir que le commencement ne se lie point avec la suite, que la harangue de Junon paroît ne tenir à rien, et n'aboutir à rien; et après avoir admiré cette ode par parties, on ne peut guères s'empêcher d'en condamner l'ensemble. Taneguy le Fevre l'avoit expliquée par un système que M. Dacier trouve mériter autant d'éloges que l'ode elle même, et qui en

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therefore, that he is not the person to whom Horace writes; but, among the number of other men who bore that name, I wish that you would help me to discover the Piso to whom that poem was most probably addressed.

2. You know how much trouble it has cost the critics to find out Horace's true design in the third ode of his third book. This masterly performance is distinguished by greatness of thought and dignity of expression; but we are surprised and grieved to find, that the end does not correspond with the beginning; and that Juno's speech is totally unconnected with what precedes or follows it; so that after admiring the detached parts of this ode, we are forced to condemn it as a whole. Taneguy le Fevre explained it by a conjecture, which Dacier thinks deserving of as high encomiums as the ode itself; and which is, doubtless, very ingenious.

en effet me paroît des plus jolis. Vous savez qu'il le fonde sur la crainte qu'il prête au peuple Romain de voir transférer à Ilium le siège de l'empire; et qu'il suppose qu'Horace composa cette ode dans la vue de détourner Auguste de ce dessein, en lui rappellant toute la part que les Dieux avoient eu à la destruction de cette ville, et combien le mortel qui oseroit la rebâtir s'exposeroit à tout le courroux de ces mêmes Dieux. Le peuple pouvoit d'autant plus facilement supposer ce dessein à ce prince, que son père adoptif en avoit été soupçonné.* Mais je doute que ce système puisse se soutenir. Et on ne sauroit jamais prouver ces craintes prétendues du peuple Romain, qui sont mêmes sans vraisemblance; Auguste se distingua toujours par les soins particuliers qu'il donna à la ville de Rome, qui devoient rassurer le peuple contre toutes les craintes d'une pareille espèce. On peut en voir le détail dans la vie

ingenious. You know that his explanation turns on the supposed dread of the Romans, lest the seat of their empire should be removed to Troy; and that he fancies the ode to have been written with a view to divert Augustus from such a design, by shewing him how earnestly the Gods had co-operated towards the destruction of Troy, and how much their resentment would be provoked by an attempt to rebuild that ill-fated city. The people might the more naturally suspect Augustus of such an intention, because it was thought to have been entertained by his adoptive father.* But this conjecture, I fear, will not bear examination. It is impossible to prove those pretended fears of the Romans; which are rendered highly improbable, when we consider that Augustus was remarkable for his affectionate partiality towards Rome; as may be seen

* Sueton. L. i. c. 79.

in

vie d'Auguste par Suétone, c. 28, 29, 30. Je n'en marquerai que deux: il engagea la plupart des grands à orner la ville, par des bâtimens superbes,* et il bâtit un Temple à Mars le Vengeur, où il ordonna que le sénat s'assembleroit toutes les fois qu'il seroit question de guerres ou de triomphes.† Sont-ce là les actions d'un homme qui songe à se faire une nouvelle capitale? L'exemple de son oncle ne pouvoit conclure; ce fut vers la fin de sa vie qu'il dut concevoir ce projet, dans un tems où la prospérité l'avoit aveuglé et engagé dans mille démarches folles et mal entendues, qu'Auguste se piqua toujours d'éviter avec soin. La sage opiniâtreté avec laquelle il refusa toujours la dictature, peut servir de preuve à ce que je dis.‡ Voilà les raisons qui m'empêchent d'acquiescer au système de Tanegui le Fevre. J'en suis fâché, et je ne serai

in his Life by Suetonius, c. 28, 29, 30. I shall mention but two examples of it. He encouraged almost all the great men of Rome to adorn the city by superb edifices;* and himself erected a temple to Mars the Avenger, where the senate was ordered to assemble during its deliberations concerning wars and triumphs.† These are not the actions of a man who wished to found a new capital. The example of his uncle is not applicable; that project was formed by him towards the end of his life, when he was intoxicated by prosperity, and engaged in a thousand wild enterprises, which the prudence of Augustus carefully avoided. The cautious firmness with which the latter prince always refused the office of dictator, confirms my remark.‡ Such are the reasons which hinder me from acquiescing in Le Fevre's explanation. I

* Vel. Paterculus, Lib. ii. c. 89. † Sueton. L. ii. c. 29.
‡ Sueton. L. ii. c. 52, Vell. Patercul. L. ii. c. 89.

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serai tout à fait content que lorsque vous m'aurez fourni une autre explication de cette ode, plus solide sans doute, et qui en applanira également les difficultés.

3. Antiochus, roi de Syrie, avoit pris plusieurs villes de la Cœle-Syrie et de la Palestine au jeune Ptolémée, alors sous la tutelle des Romains. Ceux-ci prennent la défense de leur élève, et ordonnent au roi de Syrie de les rendre. Il méprise ces ordres, et les retient. Sur quoi on lui envoye une seconde ambassade, laquelle laissant de côté les prétensions du jeune prince, lui ordonna de rendre des villes, que le peuple Romain avoit acquises par le droit de la guerre, *civitates jure belli factas populi Romani.* Ce sont là les termes de Justin,* qui nous jettent dans une difficulté embarrassante. On ne conçoit pas comment les Romains pouvoient

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am sorry for it, and shall not be easy till you supply me with another more solidly founded, and equally well fitted to remove all difficulties.

3. Antiochus, king of Syria, had taken possession of several cities in Cœle-Syria and Judæa, belonging to young Ptolemy, then under the protection of the Romans. That people undertake the defence of their pupil, and order Antiochus to restore his towns. He despises their orders, and keeps those towns in his possession; in consequence of which, the Romans send to him a second embassy, which, without making any mention of young Ptolemy's pretensions, "claim those towns as belonging to the Romans by the right of war." These are Justin's words,* which present us with a very perplexing difficulty; because we do not perceive how the Romans could have acquired those places by the right of war,

* Justin. L. xxx. c. 1.

since

ent avoir acquis des villes dans la Syrie, et dans l'Egypte, puisque, bien loin d'y avoir fait des conquêtes, ils ne portèrent leurs armes en Asie que plusieurs années après cette époque. On connoît bien un traité qu'ils avoient fait avec les Rois d'Egypte avant ce tems,* mais c'étoit un pur traité d'alliance et d'amitié qui ne fut précédé ni suivi d'aucune guerre. J'ai cru que l'examen des autres historiens, qui ont raconté ces mêmes évènemens, pouvoit jetter quelques lumières sur un passage de Justin aussi obscur que celui là. Mais Tite Live, qui parle plusieurs fois † des négociations par lesquelles les Romains tachèrent de faire rendre à Ptolémée les villes d'Asie, qu'on lui avoit prises, en parle nulle part de ce droit de la guerre en vertu duquel les Romains les demandoient. Le savant M. Breitinger, professeur en langue Grecque à Zurich, à qui j'ai communiqué cette difficulté, après

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since they were so far from having made conquests in Asia then, that they did not carry their arms into that country till a later æra. A treaty indeed subsisted between them and the kings of Egypt,* but it was a treaty merely of friendship and alliance, neither preceded nor followed by any war. I thought that an examination of the other historians, who relate the same transactions, might throw light on this obscure passage of Justin. But Livy, who mentions several times † the negociations by which the Romans endeavoured to recover for Ptolemy the places taken from him by Antiochus, is altogether silent with regard to this "right of war," in virtue of which they were demanded. I acquainted the learned Mr. Breitinger, professor of Greek at Zurich, with my difficulty

* Tit. Liv. Epitom. L. iv. Eutrop. L. ii. Valer. Maxim. L. iv. c. 3.
† Tit. Liv. L. xxxiii. c. 34. 39. 40.

on

après avoir tenté en vain de la résoudre, a été obligé enfin de la laisser sans explication.—Mais,

"Nil desperandum, Teucro duce; et auspice Teucro."

4. Un différent que Scaliger et Isaac Vossius ont eu ensemble, sur la véritable époque de la mort du poëte Catulle, a fait beaucoup de bruit dans la république des lettres. Je n'ai point eu en main les pièces du procès, savoir les éditions de Catulle de ces deux hommes célèbres; mais Bayle * nous a donné un extrait fort détaillé de leur dispute, y ajoutant ses propres réflexions. Je suis fâché de ne pouvoir pas remonter aux sources; mais dans la nécessité de me servir de rapporteur, je n'en connoîs point de meilleur que Bayle.

Quoique deux habiles littérateurs se soient exercés sur cette question, je suis bien loin de la regarder comme parfaitement éclaircie. Vossius me

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on this subject; which, after attempting in vain to resolve, he was obliged to leave unexplained. But,

"Nil desperandum, Teucro duce; et auspice Teucro."

4. A difference of opinion between Scaliger and Isaac Vossius, concerning the time of Catullus' death, made great noise in the republic of letters. I have not at hand the original arguments of those learned men, which are contained in their respective editions of Catullus; but Bayle * has given us a particular account of their dispute, with his own reflections on the subject. I am sorry that I cannot draw from the fountain head; but Bayle's accuracy as a compiler will not be disputed.

Notwithstanding the labours of these great scholars, I am far from thinking the question decided. Vossius seems to me to place

* Bayle, Dictionnaire Critique, art. Catulle.

Catullus'

me paroît avoir trop avancé la mort du poëte, Scaliger l'a certainement trop reculée. Catulle ne mourut pas bien surement A. U. C. 696; mais il ne vécut pas non plus jusqu'aux jeux séculaires d'Auguste A. U. C. 736. Prouvons ce que nous avons avancé, et cherchons l'époque en question, qui doit se trouver entre ces deux années.

Catulle parle de la Grande Bretagne et de ses habitans,* or César fut le premier qui fit connoître cette isle aux Romains,† et César y fit sa première expédition en 698.‡ Aussi bien Catulle parle-t-il du second consulat de Pompée, qui tombe sur la même année.§ Il vivoit même encore en 706, puisqu'il parle aussi du consulat de Vatinius.‖ Je ne veux pas me servir des argumens de Scaliger pour prouver qu'il fut spectateur des triomphes de César,

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Catullus' death too early, and Scaliger certainly fixes it at too late an æra. That poet surely did not die in the year of the city six hundred and ninety-six; but neither did he live to see the secular games of Augustus celebrated in seven hundred and thirty-six. Let us prove these assertions, and endeavour to find out the true æra in question, which must have been at an intermediate time between the years just mentioned.

Catullus speaks of Great Britain and its inhabitants,* with which Cæsar first made the Romans acquainted,† by his expedition thither, in the year of Rome six hundred and ninety-eight.‡ Catullus also mentions the second consulship of Pompey, which happened on that same year.§ He lived so late as the year seven hundred and six, since he speaks of the consulship of Vatinius.‖ I will not make use of Scaliger's arguments to prove that the poet

* Vid. Catull. Carm. xi. &c. † Tacit. in Vit. Agricol. C. 13.
‡ Cæsar. Comm. L. iv. Dion. Hist. L. xxxix. p. 113.
§ Catull. Carm. cxi. ‖ Idem, lii.

witnessed

César, parceque je ne les crois pas de bon alloi. Je me dispenserai d'examiner en détail si les paroles *paterna prima lancinata sunt bona*, &c.* conviennent mieux aux premières victoires de César qu'aux dernières, parceque je crois qu'il n'y est question ni des unes ni des autres. Il n'y a qu'à lire cette épigramme avec quelque attention pour voir que Catulle s'addresse toujours à César dans la seconde personne :

" Cinœde Romule, hæc videbis et feres ?
" Es impudicus, et vorax, et helluo."

Pendant que Mamurra y paroît toujours dans la troisième personne, ce qui est le cas dans les lignes :

" Parum expatravit? an parvum helluatus est ?
" Paterna prima lancinata sunt bona."

Il n'y est donc nullement question des dissipations de César, mais de celle de Mamurra ; et toutes les conséquences qu'on en peut tirer par rapport aux triomphes de celui là, sont illégitimes.†

D'un

† 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

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witnessed Cæsar's triumphs, because I do not believe them well-founded. I will not particularly examine whether the words *paterna prima lancinata sunt bona*,* best apply to the first or last victories of Cæsar, because I do not believe them to have any reference to the one or the other. We need only to read the epigram attentively, to perceive that Catullus always addresses Cæsar in the second person, and Mamurra in the third.

The poet alludes, therefore, not to Cæsar's dissipation, but to that of Mamurra ; and all the consequences deduced from his applying his words to the former, are built on a false hypothesis.†

Catullus,

* Idem, xxvii. ver. 29.

† 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,

D'un autre côté, Catulle ne vécut pas jusqu'aux jeux séculaires d'Auguste, puisqu'il mourut avant Tibulle. Ovide, dans l'élégie qu'il fit exprès sur la mort de ce dernier, met Catulle parmi les poëtes, que son ami devoit rencontrer à sa descente dans les Champs Elysées :

" Si tamen a nobis aliquid nisi nomen et umbra
Restat: in Elysia Valle Tibullus erit.
Obvius huic venias hederâ juvenilia cinctus
Tempora, cum Calvo, docte Catulle, tuo."*

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 (1) qui en parle, la fait considérer sur le même pied que celle de Bibalculus. Or on ne peut pas douter qu'Auguste ne fut souverain alors.

Mais

Catullus, on the other hand, did not live to see the secular games celebrated by Augustus, since he died before Tibullus. Ovid, in an elegy written on the death of the latter, places Catullus among the poets whom his friend will meet with in the Elysian fields.*

* Ovid. Eleg. L. iii. 9.

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 shewn to this satirist implies that he was then possessed of power to punish him ; otherwise his moderation would have been of little value. Tacitus (1) speaks of this affair as a parallel to that of Bibalculus, who satirised Augustus when the latter was certainly invested with sovereign dominion.

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

Mais dans quel tems Tibulle mourut-il? Une petite épigramme de Domitius Marius nous l'apprend: le même jour, ou du moins la même année, que Virgile:

" Te quoque Virgilio comitem non æqua, Tibulle,
Mors juvenem Campos misit ad Elysios."*

Or, personne n'ignore que Virgile mourut le 22 Septembre 734†. Il est donc clair que Catulle, déjà mort dans ce tems-là, ne vit point les jeux séculaires qui ne se célébrèrent qu'en 736.

Avançons plus loin, et disons, que Catulle étoit déjà mort avant 721. Je me fonde sur le témoignage d'un historien contemporain, ami de Cicéron‡ et de Catulle lui même;§ en un mot de Cornelius Nepos. Il faut le développer ce témoignage. Dans la vie d'Atticus, que cet écrivain nous a laissée, parlant d'un certain L. Julius Calidius, à qui Atticus rendit de grands services, il ajoute pour le faire mieux

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But when did Tibullus die? A little epigram of Domitius Marius informs us, that he died the same day, or at least in the same year, with Virgil.* Now it is well known that Virgil died the twenty-second of September seven hundred and thirty-four.† Catullus then could not see the secular games, which were not celebrated till seven hundred and thirty-six.

We may go farther, and affirm, that Catullus was dead before the year seven hundred and twenty-one. This is proved by a contemporary historian, the friend of Cicero‡ and of Catullus;§ I mean Cornelius Nepos. In his Life of Atticus, speaking of a certain Julius Calidius, to whom Atticus had rendered very import-

* V. Tibull. Carm. L. iv. c. 15. † Donat. in Vit. Virgil.
‡ Sueton. L. i. c. 55. Voss. de Hist. Latin. L. i. c. 24. § Catull. Carm. i.

ant

mieux connoître, *quem post Lucretii Catullique mortem, multo elegantissimum poetam, nostram tulisse ætatem vere videor posse contendere.** Catulle étoit donc mort lorsque Nepos écrivit ce passage. Mais ne pourroit on pas fixer le tems de sa composition? très facilement: de vingt deux chapitres qui composent cette vie d'Atticus dix-huit furent publiés de son vivant. *Hactenus Attico vivo hæc a nobis edita sunt.*† Le passage, où il est parlé de la mort de Catulle, se trouve dans le douzième chapitre; d'où il s'ensuit que Catulle mourut avant Atticus. Mais celui-ci finit sa vie sous le consulat de Cn. Domitius et de C. Sosius.‡ Si l'on vouloit pousser l'exactitude encore plus loin, et qu'on eût envie de déterminer l'année précise de la mort de notre poëte, on ne se tromperoit pas de beaucoup en prenant l'année moyenne entre A. U. C. 706 et 721; ce qui nous donnera 714,

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ant services, he distinguishes him, "as the most elegant poet of that age, since the death of Lucretius and Catullus."* The latter, therefore, was dead before Nepos wrote this passage; of which it is not difficult to fix the date. Nepos' Life of Atticus consists of twenty-two chapters; the first eighteen of which were, as he tells us, written while the subject of them still lived.† The passage mentioning the death of Catullus is in the twelfth chapter; from whence it follows, that Atticus survived Catullus. But Atticus died during the consulship of Cn. Domitius and C. Sosius.‡ Did we wish to ascertain still more accurately the precise year of Catullus' death, we should not be much mistaken in fixing it at the middle term between the years of Rome seven hundred and six, and seven hundred and twenty-one; this will give us the year

* Cornel. Nepos, in Vit. Attici, c. 12. † Idem, c. 18. ‡ Idem, c. 21.

714, époque qui quadre fort bien avec tout ce que nous en savons d'ailleurs.

Le seul argument de Scaliger, qui pourroit embarrasser, est celui qu'il tire du poëme séculaire que Catulle doit avoir composé. La conjecture de Vossius qu'on célébra des jeux au commencement du VII siècle de Rome n'est pas soutenable. Je doute que celle de Bayle vaille mieux. Le commencement de ce siècle étoit marqué par tant de désordres, on negligeoit tellement les anciennes cérémonies,* qu'il n'y pas d'apparence qu'on ait conçu le dessein de célébrer de pareils jeux, ni que le peuple s'y attendit. Mais quel besoin de supposer que ce poëme avoit été composé pour les séculaires? N'est il pas bien plus naturel de le croire destiné pour la fête de Diane qui se célébroit tous les ans au mois d'Août? Bentley avoit déjà fait cette conjecture.

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seven hundred and fourteen; which very well agrees with all other particulars known concerning him.

The only argument adduced by Scaliger, that can occasion any difficulty, is, that Catullus composed the secular poem. Vossius' conjecture, that the secular games were celebrated at the commencement of the seventh century of Rome, is altogether unwarranted: that of Bayle, I fear, rests not on much better authority. The beginning of that century was deformed by so many disorders, and by such a marked neglect of ancient ceremonies,* that there is not any probability that such games should then have been either exhibited or expected. But it is not necessary to suppose that Catullus' poem was written for the secular games. It might have been intended merely for Diana's festival, which was celebrated yearly in the month of August; as Bentley conjectured.

* Sueton. L. ii. c. 37.

This

conjecture.* On peut la confirmer par la comparaison du poëme séculaire d'Horace avec ce morceau de Catulle. Dans celui-ci les garçons et les filles ne font qu'un chœur pour s'addresser en commun à Diane:

> " Dianæ sumus in fide
> Puellæ et pueri integri."†

Au lieu que dans Horace les garçons s'addressent à Apollon, les filles à Diane:

> " Supplices audi pueros, Apollo,
> Siderum Regina bicornis audi,
> Luna puellas."‡

Cette distinction leur avoit été même ordonnée par l'oracle qui leur enjoignit la célébration de ces jeux.§

Je m'arrête: en voilà bien assez pour une fois. Je dois sentir que vos momens sont précieux, et il faut au moins vous disposer à ne pas trouver mauvaise la liberté que j'ai prise, en n'en abusant pas.

J'ai

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* This is confirmed by comparing this poem with Horace's *Carmen Seculare*. In the former, both the boys and girls form but one chorus, which addresses itself to Diana.† In Horace, the boys address themselves to Apollo, and the girls to Diana.‡ This distinction had been established by the oracle who commanded the celebration of the games.§

But I have done. This is enough for one letter. Your time is precious, and I would not offend you by carrying too far the

* Bentl. in Præfat. Edit. Horatian.
† Catull. Carm. xxxiv. ver. 1.
‡ Horat. Carm. Secular. ver. 34.
§ V. Dissertat. Cl. Turretin. de Ludis Secular. p. 6.

J'ai l'honneur d'être, avec beaucoup de considération,

Monsieur, &c.
EDWARD GIBBON.

N° VII.

M. GESNER *à M.* GIBBON.

1. QUÆRITUR de Pisonibus quibus honorem in Arte Poetica habuit Horatius. Dacerius et Sanadonus forte fidem apud te, Gibbone, Vir Doctissime, inventuri erant facilius, si auctorem sententiæ suæ laudassent, sine quo ea levis, et hariolationi similis, videri potest, et quæ argumento etiam non nimis valido everti queat. Jam vero est illa Porphyrionis antiqui hominis, qui eam forte debet antiquiori,

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liberty I have taken in writing to you. I have the honour to be, with much consideration,

Yours, &c.
EDWARD GIBBON.

Mr. GESNER *to Mr.* GIBBON.

1. You inquire who were the Pisos, of whom Horace speaks in such honourable terms in his Art of Poetry. Dacier and Sanadon would probably, most learned Sir, have obtained more credit with you, had they cited the authority on which their opinion rests; and independently of which, it seems no better than a guess, which a slight argument is sufficient to overturn. This authority is that of Porphyrio, an ancient writer, who treats of the names mentioned

quiori, qui de nominibus Horatianis scripsit. Hic ergo Porphyrio, ut est ex optimis libris editus, *Hunc librum*, inquit, *qui inscribitur de Arte Poetica ad L. Pisonem, qui postea urbis custos fuit, misit. Nam et ipse Piso poeta fuit, et studiorum liberalium antistes.* At ætas non convenit! Immo pulchre. Mortuus est ille Piso, Tacito teste, (An. l. vi. c. 10.) octogenarius A. U. 785. Gessit præfecturam urbis annis XX.; suscepit ergo A. U. 765. Antequam illud munus susciperet, debet scriptā esse epistola de Arte Poetica (quam ego suspicor fuisse aliquando secundi libri tertiam:) quia Porphyrio dicit, *qui* postea *urbis custos fuit.* Ponamus natum esse Pisoni majorem filiorum anno ætatis XXX. eumque filium annos XVI. habuisse, cum ad illum ista scriberet Horatius (366:) *O major juvenum*, &c. Scripta erit Ars Poetica anno ætatis Horatii LII.

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mentioned in Horace, and who here perhaps copies from some author more ancient than himself. In his corrected edition Porphyrio says, "Horace's work, intitled the Art of Poetry, is addressed to L. Piso, who was afterwards governor of Rome; for Piso was himself a poet, and a patron of literary pursuits." But chronology, you say, does not warrant this explanation. It does; for Tacitus tells us, in his Annals, (lib. vi. c. 10.) that Piso died U. C. 785, at the age of eighty. He held his office twenty years; and therefore entered on it U. C. 765; before which period Horace must have sent to him the Art of Poetry, (which I suspect once stood as the third epistle of the second book,) because Porphyrio says, "who was afterwards governor of Rome." Let us suppose that Piso's son was born when the father was thirty years old; and that the son was sixteen when Horace addressed him, *O major juvenum;* the Art of Poetry will then have been

LII. quod pulchre convenit cum Bentleianis rationibus, quas ego, cum ante hos fere annos Horatium ederem, comperi hactenus certe justas esse, ut diligenter licet attendenti, nihil occurrerit, quod illis repugnet. Si putemus in adolescentem XVI annorum, non convenire laudem, quam illi tribuit Horatius (quod mihi quidem contra videtur) prius natum possumus V vel X adeo annis dicere. At Virgilius vivebat adhuc cum Artem Poeticam scriberet Horatius, qui mortuus est A. U. 735, cum vir XXX annorum esset Piso, nec filium habere posset X vel XII ad summum annis majorem. Primo nec ipsum hoc forte absurdum putarint quidam, *juvenem* hic vocari præcocis ingenii et doctrinæ puerum decennem. Hac quidem ætate poetas fuisse Hugonem Grotium aliosque novimus: et liberalius, credo, utebantur aulici homines *juvenis* appellatione, postquam nequiter adeo Ciceroni expetiverat *puerum* quod vocasset Octavium.

Sed,

written in the fifty-second year of Horace's age; which well agrees with Bentley's computation; a subject which I remember to have examined and approved when about the same time of life I published my edition of Horace. If we think sixteen years too young for the praises bestowed by the poet, we may add to them five, or even ten years more. But to this mode of reckoning it is objected, that Virgil was alive when Horace wrote his Art of Poetry; and as the latter died in the year of Rome seven hundred and thirty-five, Piso, who was then but thirty years old himself, could not have a son above ten or twelve at the utmost. But some critics do not disapprove of the application of *juvenis* to a boy of ten years, and of a forward genius: Grotius and others were poets at that age; and the Roman courtiers would naturally, I think, be prodigal in using the term *juvenis*, after Cicero gave so much offence by applying the term *puer* to Augustus.

But

Sed, quod pace tua dixerim, Vir Humanissime, nihil causæ video cur in vivis adhuc fuisse, statuendum sit Virgilium, scribente Artem Horatio. Neque enim simpliciter eo loco vivi poetæ mortuis opponuntur, sed antiqui novis: non sola Libitina sacrare poetam potest; sed annos jam plures mortuus sit, secundum istos judices, oportet:

Est vetus atque probus, centum qui perficit annos.
Vide, quæso, epistolam libri secundi primam.

2. De Horatii ode libri tertii tertia, sententiam dixi in meis ad illum observationibus, quas tibi visas non puto, quare hic repetam et explicabo. Lusit Augustus cœnas Deorum nonnunquam. Notum est ex Suetonio (l. ii. c. 70.), male audisse aliquando cœnam illius δωδεκά θεων, *h. e.* duodecim illorum Deorum, quibus pulvinaria, seu lecti sternebantur in

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But I see not any convincing argument to prove that Virgil was alive when the Art of Poetry was written. For, in the passage alluded to, Horace does not contrast living poets with those that were dead, but ancient poets with the modern; and, according to the critics whom he mentions, not death alone, but the being dead a certain number of years, was necessary for the attainment of poetical fame.

Est vetus atque probus, centum qui perficit annos.
See the first epistle of the second book.

2. Concerning the third ode of the third book, I formerly gave my opinion in the observations accompanying my edition, which, as you have not seen them, I shall here repeat and explain. Augustus sometimes represented in sport the suppers of the gods. We know from Suetonius, lib. ii. c. 70. that he was blamed for his imitation of the supper of the twelve gods, which used to take place in the Capitol, where pallets were spread for them; of which we

in Capitolio (*e. g.* Liv. xxii. 10.) Quid si Horatius jussus vel injussus scripsit versus tali dramati aptos? Quid si, cum male audirent id genus ludi, voluit, hoc velut specimine proposito, persuadere hominibus, esse illos innocentes, civiles, Romani populi studiis conformes? Voluit eadem ode blandiri genti Juliæ, quæ origines Trojanos ab Æneâ, et Iulo dudum adoptaverat. Aditum sibi parat ad eam rem pulcherrimum poeta. Fortitudo cum justitia homines ad Deos perducit. Inter hos jam est nostra admiratione et prædicatione, Augustus, et (ut eodem circiter tempore cecinit, Od. iii. c. 5. § 2.) *presens divus habebitur.* Nempe non minus meritorum ac juris habet Augustus quam habuit olim cum Baccho Romulus: qui tamen non sine difficultate receptus est, *donec gratum elocuta est Juno Diis consiliantibus.* Hujus oratio ejusdem plane argumenti

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we see an example in Livy, lib. xxii. c. 10. Is it not possible that Horace, either with or without the orders of Augustus, might think proper to write verses adapted to such a representation? Might he not endeavour to remove the blame attached to it, by exhibiting an example in which it was not only innocent, but conformable with the institutions and inclinations of the Romans? At the same time his ode would be a compliment to the Julian family, which had long boasted its descent from Æneas and Iülus. For entering on this subject, the poet ingeniously prepares the way, by showing that men had attained divinity through justice and fortitude. Augustus is entitled to our admiration and praise; and, as he sung in another ode, written nearly about the same time, *presens divus habebitur*, being not less worthy of divinity than Bacchus and Romulus; the latter of whom was not without difficulty admitted to that honour, "till Juno made her most pleasing and acceptable speech in the council of the gods." This speech

menti est, cujus illa Virgiliana, (Æn. l. xii. v. 791, *et seq.*) Et potuit Horatius illud argumentum eligere, si vel nunquam serio cogitavit de transferenda imperii sede Augustus. Potuit ea re gratum facere principi, si crederet ipse populus damnari in aula consilium illud antiquum Julii Cæsaris, calamitosum Romæ ac detestabile. Quod hic longior est, et παθητικώτερος, quam ab illo exordio aliquis exspectaret; næ ignarus fuerit naturæ carminis lyrici, quatenus illa exemplis veterum cognoscitur, qui longum adeo excursum, si vel excursus sit, reprehendat.

3. Durus satis nodus esse debet, qui non modo eruditum atque ingeniosum juvenem, sed veteranum etiam in his literis virum, Breitingerum, cujus nomen semper cum honore usurpo, potuit tenere. Quî enim

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speech is of the same purport with that in the Æneid, lib. 12. v. 791. *et seq.* and might have been pronounced with propriety, without supposing that Augustus ever seriously thought of changing the seat of his empire. That prince also must have been pleased with an attempt to persuade the people that he condemned a design, said to have been entertained by Julius Cæsar, but which was so much detested by the Romans, and would, if carried into execution, have been so calamitous to Rome. The speech indeed is longer, and more pathetic than might be expected from the beginning of the ode; but *he* must be ignorant of the nature of lyric poetry, as illustrated in the writings of the ancients, who finds fault with the length of this real or apparent digression.

3. The knot must be hard indeed, which not only baffles the exertions of a learned and ingenious youth, but resists the strength of Breitinger, a veteran in the literary field, whose name I never pronounce but with the highest respect. How could Roman ambassadors

enim postulare potuit legatio populi Romani, "civitates jure belli suas factas restitui in integrum ab Antiocho," quas paulo ante Senatus Ptolemæi pupilli sui esse dixerat? Quî potuere Romani jure belli asserere sibi urbes Asiæ, in quam aliquot demum annis post "primus omnium Romanorum ducum Scipio cum exercitu trajecit?" (Epit. Liv. l. xxxvii.) Verum solvi tamen potest hic nodus, etiam non adhibito Alexandri gladio, modo seriem illarum rerum apud ipsum Justinum atque Livium inspiciamus. Hic (l. xxxi. c. 14.), *Philippo*, inquit, *animos faciebat—fœdus ictum cum Antiocho Syriæ rege, divisæque jam cum eo Ægypti opes, cui morte audita Ptolemæi regis, ambo imminebant.* Justinus (lib. xxx. c. 2.) *Legatos Alexandrini ad Romanos misere, orantes ut tutelam pupilli sui susciperent, tuerenturque regnum Ægypti, quod jam Philip-*

ambassadors require that the cities taken by Antiochus in Asia should be restored, according to the law of war, to Rome, when the senate shortly before had declared those cities to belong to its pupil Ptolemy? Or how could the Romans claim those cities by the law of war, when Scipio, a few years afterwards, was the first Roman general that passed into Asia with an army? Livy, lib. xxxvii. The knot, however, may be untied, without having recourse to Alexander's sword, provided we follow the series of those transactions, as related by Justin and Livy. The latter historian, lib. xxxi. c. 14. relates, "That Philip's courage was increased by his league with Antiochus, king of Syria, with whom, as soon as he learned Ptolemy's death, he purposed, according to the tenor of that agreement, dividing the spoils of Egypt." Justin, again, lib. xxx. c. 2, tells us, "that the Alexandrians sent ambassadors to Rome, requesting the senate to defend the cause of their pupil, threatened with the partition of his dominions, in consequence

Philippum et Antiochum, facta inter se pactione, divisisse dicebant. Nec vero inter pacta res substitit. *Antiochus enim, dum occupatus in Romano bello est Philippus,* (teste Livio, lib. 33. c. 19.) *omnibusque in Cœle-Syria sunt civitatibus Ptolemæi in suam potestatem redactis; simul per omnem oram Ciliciæque et Cariæ tentaturus erat urbes quæ in ditione Ptolemæi essent; simulque Philippum exercitu navibusque adjuturus.* Interea debellatur; vinciturque a Quintio Philippus. Ab eodem Quintio jam (Liv. xxxiii. c. 34.) aperte pronunciatur legatis Antiochi, jure belli et victoriæ nimirum, *ut excederet Asiæ urbibus, quæ aut Philippi aut Ptolemæi regum fuissent.* Obscurius igitur brevitate, sed verum tamen scripsit Justinus.

Ecquid te pœnitet, GIBBONE, Vir Doctissime, literis ita humanis lacessitum ivisse senem frigidum et inertem, qui per duos menses possit differre responsionem

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quence of a treaty for that purpose between Philip and Antiochus." This treaty indeed soon began to be carried into effect; for, according to Livy, lib. xxxiii. c. 19, "Antiochus, while his ally was occupied in the war with Rome, conquered all the cities belonging to Ptolemy in Cœle-Syria; purposing next to invade the coast of Caria and Cilicia, and at the same time to assist Philip with a fleet and army." Meanwhile Philip is conquered by the Roman consul Quintius; who then openly declared to Antiochus' ambassadors, "that their master must evacuate (supply, 'according to the law of war,') all those cities to which either Philip or Ptolemy had any claims." Livy, lib. xxxiii. c. 34. Justin's narrative, therefore, though obscured by brevity, is yet consistent with truth.

Do you not repent, learned Sir, the having written to an indolent old man, who could delay two months sending an answer to a letter

sponsionem ad epistolam ita blandam, ita sibi honorificam? Non conjiciam causam longi silentii in senectutem, quamquam hæc quoque incipit sufflaminare nonnunquam conatus meos, ut sentiam circa septuagesimum, demptis tribus, ætatis annum, non ita me jam imperare posse ingenio, ut annis superioribus. Sed cum alias in otium concedere paullatim detur senibus, mihi adhuc pene contra evenit, ut subinde novæ mihi curæ imponantur. Adscriptus sum societatibus aliquot, ut Berolinensi, et nostræ scientiarum; hanc etiam per vices semestres jussus dirigere: præsidere soleo singulis hebdomadis societati apud nos Germanicæ; submittere autem scriptiunculas quasdam meas Latinæ Jenensi. Bibliothecam Academiæ, quinquaginta ad minimum librorum millibus constantem, curare meum est: tum scholas majores per Germanicas Regis provincias inspicere, et regere consilio; tum alimen-

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a letter so obliging, and so honourable to himself? I will not throw the blame on my advanced age, though I begin to feel my former powers of exertion somewhat slacken and abate under the weight of sixty-seven years. At this time of life most old men are indulged with a diminution of labour; whereas I, on the contrary, am continually burdened with an increase of occupations and cares. I belong to several academies, particularly that of Berlin, and this of Gottingen; which last I am appointed to direct six months in the year; I also preside weekly in the German society of this place, and frequently correspond with the Latin society of Jena. I am entrusted with the care of the public library, consisting at least of fifty thousand volumes; with the inspection of the colleges in his Majesty's German dominions; and with the superintendance of about twenty youths, who are educated at the public expense. The

alimentarios circiter viginti juvenes observare; et scribere quidquid Prorectoris et Senatus Academici nomine in tabulis publicis proponitur; et inter hæc ternas, quaternas, plures etiam interdum, singulis diebus prælectiones habere. Et dixi tantum quæ publicis aliquo modo officiis debentur. Quot salutares juvenes sunt accipiendi? quot ex condiscipulis vel discipulis amici absentes colendi literis? nunquam vacare possum a scribendo, commentando talia quæ luci destinata publicæ plus aliquanto curæ postulant: ut nunc in manibus est Claudianus, hac æstate, si Deus faverit, proferendus. Hæc cum ita sint, fateor, me, cum primum percurrenti tuas, vir præstantissime, literas, negotium etiam operosius videretur, quam tractando deinde expertus sum, illas in otium pinguiusculum continuarum aliquot horarum seposuisse. Hoc otiolum heri demum casu mihi oblatum, collocavi ut vides.

Superest,

The task also falls on me of writing whatever is inserted in the archives of the university, in the name of the rector and senate: and it is my duty to give daily three, four, and sometimes more prelections. To these public offices must be added the avocations of private company, and of a very extensive correspondence. Besides, I have always some work in hand, which requires nicer attention to render it worthy of the public eye. At present I am employed about an edition of Claudian; which, God willing, shall be published in the course of this summer. Thus circumstanced, I confess that I laid aside your letter, which seemed as if it would require more pains to answer than were afterwards found necessary, until I should enjoy a few hours of uninterrupted leisure. This opportunity occurred only yesterday, of which, you see, I made use.

It

Superest, uti hanc lucubratiunculam boni consulas, et, si illa minus forte, quam mihi optabile est, expectationi tuæ respondeat, alia mihi omnia quam gratificandi tibi voluntatem defuisse existimes. Brevitati studui, quod non opus esse putarem ea repetere, quæ ad causam constituendam a te bene dicta sunt. Latina lingua, ut aliquanto mihi familiariore, usus sum, ne mihi forte accideret, quod tibi Gallice scribenti, Gallice licet bene docto, usu venisse video, uti scriberes, *Un différent que Scaliger et Is. Vossius ont eu ensemble;* unde aliquis colligerit te putasse liticulam habuisse inter se homines, quorum alter novem annis post alterius mortem natus est. Habes, Gibbone, Vir Humanissime, nudum pectus et deditam tibi voluntatem et parata studia

MATTHIÆ GESNERI.

Scrib. Gottingæ, a. d. XII Feb. Anno LVIII.

4. In

It remains that I request you to receive favourably this attempt; and if it does not fully answer your expectation, to ascribe the failure to any other cause rather than my want of inclination to oblige you. Brevity was my aim, because it seemed unnecessary to repeat what you had so well said on the subject. I write in Latin, a language familiar to me, lest I should make a mistake similar to that of which you, though well-skilled in French, are guilty, when you say, "*Un différent que Scaliger et Is. Vossius ont eu ensemble.*" From which words it might be concluded, that a difference had subsisted between these learned men, of whom the one died nine years before the other was born.

I remain sincerely, with much consideration, &c.

MATTHEW GESNER.

Gottingen, 12th February, 1758.

4. As

4. In quæstione de annis Catulli plane tuus sum, Gibbone Doctissime; ne putes pigritia quadam me assentiri malle tibi, quam tecum disputare, primo hic reponam ipsa verba quæ juvenis posui in disputatione de annis ludisque secularibus veterum Romanorum Vinariæ A. 1717: atque adeo ante hos ipsos quadraginta annos a me habita, (p. 43.) *Cum in ipso carmine nihil sit quod non alio quoque festo in Dianæ honorem cani potuerit*, &c. Deinde confirmo tibi me expendisse eadem hora, qua ista scribebam, eruditam disputationem tuam, contulisse ipsas Is. Vossii ad Catullum observationes (edit. 1684, 4to. p. 81, *et seq.*) et ea quæ Jos. Scaliger a Vossio hic refutatus disputaverat; inspexisse Ciceronis de Mamurra locum, adhibuisse Middletoni observationem; et post rem bene perceptam et perpensam, plane secundum te, præstantissime Gibbone, pronuncio.

P.S. Recte

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4. As to the question concerning the age of Catullus, I am entirely of your opinion; and lest you should think that I agree with you, merely because, through laziness, I am unwilling to enter into an argument, I shall transcribe the words of a thesis, which I defended in my youth forty years ago, (p. 43. Weimar, 1717,) concerning the secular years and games of the Romans. "There is nothing in the poem which might not have been said, had it been written for any other festival in honour of Diana," &c. I assure you, that within this hour I have compared what is said in your learned dissertation, with Is. Vossius' remarks on Catullus, (edit. 1684, 4to. p. 81, *et seq.*) and those of Jos. Scaliger, whom he refutes. I also examined the passage of Cicero concerning Mamurra, with Middleton's observations on it; and having examined and well weighed the whole matter, I pronounce sentence, most excellent Gibbon, clearly in your favour.

 P.S. Your

P. S. Recte mihi reddentur literæ tuæ si in posterum quoque scribere ad me velis, vel solo meo nomine et urbis nostræ literis inscripto; vel sic, "A. M. le Professeur Gesner, Conseiller de la Cour de sa Majesté Britannique, à Gottingen." Sed si vis videre titulos meos more Germanico deductos, en tibi excerptos ex libro quintum edito Nordhusæ, 1752, 8vo. Teutsch und Fransosisch Titularbuch, p. 164:—"A Monsieur Monsieur Gesner, Conseiller de la Cour de sa Majesté Britannique, Professeur Ordinaire de l'Université de Gottingue, Inspecteur Général des Ecoles de l'Electorat de Hanovre, Bibliothécaire de l'Université, Directeur du Séminaire Philologique, Président de la Société Royale de l'Eloquence Allemande, et Membre de la Société Royale de Sciences de Gottingue, &c." Nullus horum titulorum est, quin

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P. S. Your letters will find me without any farther direction than that of my name and place of abode, or addressed to Mr. Professor Gesner, counsellor of the Court of his Britannic Majesty, Gottingen. But if you wish to see my titles expanded at full length after the German fashion, here they are, copied from the French and German "Title-book," printed at Nordhausen, 1752, 8vo. fifth edition, p. 164. "To Mr. Gesner, Counsellor of the Court of his Britannic Majesty, Professor in the University of Gottingen, Inspector General of the Schools of the Electorate of Hanover, Librarian of the University, Director of the Philological Seminary, President of the Royal Society of German Eloquence, Member of the Royal Society of Scienees at Gottingen," &c. There is not one of these titles but deprives me

quin aliquid certe temporis mihi auferat: quæ sola etiam causa est cur huc descripsi: quod mihi te credere sic putabo, si quam brevissima inscriptione literum ad me utaris.

N° VIII.

M. GIBBON *à M.* GESNER.

MONSIEUR,

LA multitude de vos occupations montrent à la fois votre mérite, la justice qu'on lui rend, ma présomption, et votre bonté. Que j'envie le sort de ce petit nombre d'esprits supérieurs dont les talens toujours les mêmes, et toujours diversifiés, revêtissent avec une égale facilité tous les caractères que l'utilité ou l'agrément des hommes exige d'eux! J'applaudis encore au discernement de ces princes qui osent écarter les nuages dont la frivolité, l'envie, et la calomnie

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me of some part of my time; the only reason for which I here subjoin them; which I shall think you believe, if your letter to me has as short a direction as possible.

Mr. GIBBON *to Mr.* GESNER.

SIR,

THE multitude of your employments affords at once the proof of your own merit, of the justice done to it by the public, of my presumption, and of your goodness. How enviable is the lot of that small number of superior minds whose talents are equally adapted to promote the purposes either of pleasure or utility! The discernment surely of those princes is worthy of much applause, who, having ventured to dissipate the clouds of envy, calumny, and frivolity, that usually surround thrones, render to the truly

calomnie environnent leurs trones, qui rendent aux grands hommes de leurs états, une justice que le public impartiel leur rendoit depuis long tems, et qui savent récompenser leurs talens, en leur fournissant de nouvelles occasions de les développer. Voilà une petite partie des réflexions qu'a fait naître votre lettre ; si j'en croyois mon inclination, elles n'auroient point de bornes ; mais la raison me dit que je dois me contenter de vous assurer de toute la reconnoissance dont vous avez pénétré un homme qui se fera toujours gloire du titre de votre disciple. Je vais dans peu de tems en Angleterre ; je pourrois peut-être y trouver l'occasion de vous prouver mes sentimens, ou du moins mon commerce vous deviendra moins ennuyeux. Mon séjour dans une capitale éclairée me donnera une sorte de mérite local. Incapable de les imiter, je vous apprendrai de bonne-heure les travaux, et les découvertes

great men among their subjects a justice which had been long done to them by the impartial public, and reward their talents, by affording them new opportunities to display them. These are but a small part of the reflections occasioned by your letter, and which, were I to consult my inclination only, would extend to a great length ; but my reason tells me, that I must be contented with assuring you, that you have filled with gratitude a man who will always be proud of being called your scholar. I go shortly to England ; where, perhaps, I may find an opportunity of proving to you the sincerity of my sentiments, at least of rendering my correspondence less tiresome. My residence in London will give me a sort of local merit. I will send you early intelligence of the labours and discoveries of our learned men, whose example I am unable to imitate ; and will expect to learn, in return, what is so proper

découvertes de nos savans. Gottingue mérite bien qu'à mon tour je vous demande quelles sont les occupations de vos collègues et de vos disciples. Un nouveau plaisir que j'envisage dans mon retour en Angleterre, c'est la connoissance de tous vos ouvrages. Mon premier soin sera de me les procurer, et de les étudier comme mes meilleurs modèles: pour m'aider dans cette recherche, je prendrai la liberté de vous demander une liste de tous ces morceaux curieux dont vous avez enrichi la république des lettres. Mon ignorance de plusieurs d'entre eux excite à la fois ma joie et ma honte. Ma jeunesse, et le lieu d'où je datte mes lettres, sont mon unique excuse.

Si j'ose proposer quelques nouveaux doutes, vous savez mieux que personne qu'il n'y a que la raison, ou du moins son apparence, qui soit absolue. Soyez persuadé que mon unique but en discutant vos leçons, c'est de m'en rendre digne:

"Non

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proper an object of curiosity, the occupations and studies of your colleagues and disciples at Gottingen. At my return to London I propose to myself a new pleasure in collecting all your works, which I will make it my first business to procure; and for assisting me in this matter, must request that you would give me the titles of all the curious pieces with which you have enriched the republic of letters. My ignorance of many of them causes both joy and shame. It can only be excused in consideration of my youth, and the place from which this letter is dated.

If I venture to propose some new doubts, it is because you know better than any one, that absolute submission is due only to reason, either real or apparent. You will believe that my only motive for discussing your lessons is to render myself worthy of them:

 "Non

" Non ita certandi cupidus, quam propter amorem,
" Quod te imitari aveo. Quid enim contendat hirundo
" Cycnis; aut quidnam tremulis facere artubus hædi
" Consimile in cursu possint, ac fortis equi vis?
" Tu pater et rerum inventor."*

Après cette explication, je vous avouerai qu'il me reste encore quelques nuages sur le Pison de l'Art Poétique. Vous ne croyez pas que les paroles d'Horace touchant Virgile, prouvent que ce poëte fût encore vivant, et que l'opposition est plutôt des anciens aux modernes, que des morts aux vivans. J'ai relu l'endroit, mais cette nouvelle lecture, et les réflexions auxquelles elle a donné lieu, n'ont fait que me confirmer dans ma première opinion. Horace trouvoit la langue Latine pauvre et trop stérile, pour exprimer les idées abstraites que les compagnons de Romulus, les pâtres et les brigands, ne connoissoient point: plusieurs de ses compatriotes lui avoient trouvé le même défaut.

Horace

" Non ita certandi cupidus, quam propter amorem."*

After this apology, I must confess that I have still some remaining doubts concerning the Piso to whom Horace addresses his Art of Poetry. You think that the manner in which that poet speaks of Virgil does not prove the latter to be still alive; because Horace does not oppose the dead to the living, but the ancients to the moderns. I examined the passage again, and that new perusal excited reflections which confirmed me more strongly in my former opinion. Horace thought the Latin tongue too poor and barren, and deficient in words expressive of abstract ideas, which were unknown to Romulus' companions, consisting of shepherds and robbers. This imperfection had been remarked by others.

* Lucret. de Rer. Natur. L. iii. ver. 5. *et seq.*

Horace,

Horace souhaite de l'enrichir. Il propose pour cet effet aux Virgile, aux Varius, de travailler dans ce dessein, et d'emprunter du Grec quantité de termes énergiques dont ils avoient besoin. Il leur offre son secours. C'est un projet qu'il forme et non une chose déjà faite qu'il justifie. Par conséquent l'avenir qu'il envisage ne peut regarder que ceux d'entre les écrivains qui vivoient encore. Par conséquent l'Art Poétique fut composé avant l'an 735. Le point de vue sous lequel je considère ce passage, est si bien celui du poëte lui même, que celui-ci finit cette opposition par cette image (une des plus vives et des plus justes, que je connoisse):

" ——— licuit semperque licebit
" Signatum præsenti notâ producére nomen."*

Le *licuit*, le passé, regarde les Terence, les Cæcilius,

Horace, wishing to remedy it, proposes to the Virgils and Variuses, to co-operate with him in this design, by borrowing from the Greek many energetic terms and phrases which were wanting in Latin. He does not justify a thing already done, but proposes a new enterprise. The futurity which he looks to can only have a reference to authors still alive. The Art of Poetry was therefore written before the year of Rome seven hundred and thirty-five. This explanation agrees so well with the poet's thought, that his opposition between the dead and living poets, concludes with one of the justest and liveliest images that I ever remember to have met with:

" ——— licuit semperque licebit
" Signatum præsenti notâ producere nomen."*

The *licuit* has a reference to the Terences and the Ceciliuses, who

* Horat. de Art. Poet. ver. 59.

lius, morts depuis long tems; le *licebit*, le futur, les Varius, les Virgile, ceux qui étoient encore en état d'en profiter.*

Mais, dites vous, dans ce tems même le jeune Pison pouvoit avoir dix ans; Grotius faisoit bien des vers à cet age. Je le sais: mais les Grotius sont ils bien communs; combien d'enfans trouverez vous de dix ans, qui ayent non-seulement assez de feu pour faire des vers, mais encore assez de réflexion pour en juger sensément? Il n'est pas même vraisemblable qu'à l'age de vingt ans Pison le Père eût déjà des enfans. Vous savez combien rares étoient les mariages sous Auguste; combien l'exemple

* 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.

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were long dead; the *licebit*, in the future, to the Variuses and Virgils, who were still alive, and might avail themselves of the maxim.*

You say that Piso's eldest son might be ten years old when the Art of Poetry was published; an age at which Grotius wrote verses. Grotius did so; but how few boys of that age have not only the fire to write, but the judgment to criticise poetry! It is not likely that Piso the father should have children at the age of twenty. You well know the paucity of marriages under Augustus, which rendered the conjugal felicity of Germanicus an example so much

* 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.

admired;

l'exemple de Germanicus paroissoit admirable :* combien la pauvreté,† la débauche, et l'orgueil, arrêtoient la noblesse dans le célibat, surtout pendant les guerres civiles qui désolèrent la terre, pendant la première jeunesse de Pison. Les loix d'Auguste ne font qu'indiquer la grandeur du mal,‡ et les premières de ces loix furent promulguées plus de trente ans après la naissance de Pison.§ Si l'on compte une génération ordinaire γενεα à trente trois ans,‖ il paroît que sous le commencement de l'empire, on devroit les pousser plutôt jusqu'à quarante ans, que de les réduire à vingt. Je conviens que ce ne sont là que des probabilités, mais dans la science de la critique, il paroît que les probabilités doivent faire disparoître les possibilités, et céder à leur tour aux preuves. Je ne crains rien de ce principe. L'autorité d'un Porphyrion n'a pas

admired ;* pride, poverty,† and debauchery, deterred the Roman nobles from marriage, especially amidst the civil wars, which, during Piso's youth, desolated the earth. Augustus' laws on that subject only prove the greatness of the evil ;‡ and Piso was thirty years old, before the first of those laws was enacted.§ If an ordinary generation is computed at thirty-three years,‖ the generations under the first emperors ought rather to be extended to forty, than reduced to twenty years. These, I acknowledge, are but probabilities ; but in the science of criticism probabilities destroy possibilities, and are themselves destroyed by proofs. This principle is not to be controverted. The authority of Porphyrio is of too little

* Suet. L. ii. c. 34. † Tacit. Annal. ii. c. 37.
‡ Dion. Hist. Rom. L. lvi. p. 570.
§ Horat. Carm. Secular. v. 17, &c. Torrent. de Lege Juliâ ad Calc. Horat. p. 75, &c.
‖ Herodot. L. ii. Newton Chron. Emendat. p. 41.

weight

pas assez de force parmi les savans, pour pouvoir jamais former un raisonnement. Tout ce qu'elle pourroit faire, ce seroit d'en appuyer un déjà prouvé. Les anciens ne donnoient point à Porphyrion la première place parmi les commentateurs d'Horace,* et les modernes, Monsieur Dacier surtout, lui ont trouvé beaucoup d'erreurs. Je ne sens pas d'ailleurs la force de la première de vos hypothèses. Si Pison avoit eu son fils à l'age de trente ans, celui ci pouvoit en avoir seize, lorsque Horace lui écrivit, age, suivant vous, qui répond aux conditions requises. Auriez vous oublié dans ce moment qu' Horace mourut en 745, quand Pison lui même n'avoit que 40 ans ?

2. Je ne doute pas un instant qu'Horace n'ait eu en vue, dans la troisième Ode du troisième Livre, de faire voir aux Romains que si leur prince aspiroit aux honneurs divins, *Viamque affectat Olympo*, il les

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weight among the learned to be the foundation of an argument; it might at best help to prop an argument otherwise well supported. The ancients do not assign to him the first rank among Horace's commentators;* and the moderns, particularly Mr. Dacier, find in him many errors. I do not see any ground for your first hypothesis. If Piso had a son when he was thirty years old, this son might be sixteen when Horace wrote his Art of Poetry; an age which you think agrees with every quality required in him. Did you not forget, in writing this sentence, that Horace died in seven hundred and forty-five, when Piso himself was only forty years old ?

2. I think it certain that Horace, in the third ode of his third book, meant to show the Romans, that if their prince aspired to divine honours, *Viamque affectat Olympo*, he well merited them by

* Vid. Vitam Horat. sine nomine Autoris.

his

les méritoit par ses exploits, dont la grandeur égaloit celle des plus fameux héros, d'un Bacchus, d'un Hercule, d'un Romulus, héros qui, méprisant les efforts des humains, et appaisant la haine des Dieux, s'étoient frayé un chemin jusqu'aux palais des immortels. Mais a-t-il voulu faire cesser les clameurs du peuple sur l'infame Δωδεκαθεος? j'en doute. 1. Les dates y répugnent. Suétone ne marque pas celle du Δωδεκαθεος; mais nous savons toujours que, puisque Marc Antoine la rapella dans les lettres à son rival,* elle arriva avant la dernière brouillerie des triumvirs, ou avant l'an 721. Suivant Bentley,† dont vous adoptez les idées, Horace composa le troisième livre des Odes dans la quarante deuxième et la quarante troisième année de son age, c'est à dire, en 728 et 729. Une justification venue sept ou huit ans après coup, bien loin de faire plaisir

his exploits, which rivalled those of the greatest heroes, Bacchus, Hercules, and Romulus, who, after trampling on their human enemies, and appeasing the jealousy of the gods, had opened for themselves a road to the palace of the immortals. But did the poet also intend, by this ode, to resist and destroy the clamours of the people concerning the infamous supper of the twelve gods? I think he did not. 1. This design does not agree with chronology. Suetonius does not tell us the date of this supper; but since Mark Antony mentioned it, in his letters to Augustus,* it must have happened before the last quarrel of the triumvirs. According to Bentley,† whose opinion you adopt, Horace wrote the third book of his odes in the forty-second and forty-third years of his age; that is, in the seven hundred and twenty-eighth and seven hundred and twenty-ninth years of Rome. An apology for

* Suet. L. ii. c. 70.

† Bentley in Præfat. ad Horat.

Augustus'

plaisir à Auguste n'auroit servi qu'à faire revivre la mémoire de ces excès, que la politique du prince, et la reconnoissance du peuple avoient plongé dans l'oubli. 2. Auguste soupa avec onze hommes et femmes, pareillement équippés en divinités. Horace élevoit bien Auguste à la table des dieux, *purpureo bibit ore nectar ;* mais y plaçoit il aussi tous ses compagnons? L'honneur seroit devenu bien banal, et un tel panégyrique n'eut pas été fort éloigné de la satyre. Je conviens bien du reste avec vous, que trouver le plan d'un morceau de poësie lyrique, est un but plus désirable que nécessaire. Les Lyriques ont toujours eu le privilège de prendre un vol que l'imagination admire, et que la timide raison n'ose critiquer. Dans l'ode dont nous parlons, que ce défaut, si c'en est un, est racheté par de grandes beautés! Les deux premières strophes font sentir quel effet, l'union de la philosophie avec la

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Augustus' debaucheries, written seven years after they happened, could have only served to revive the memory of enormities, which the policy of that prince and the gratitude of the Romans had long consigned to oblivion. 2. Augustus supped with eleven men and women, who, as well as himself, were adorned with the emblems of divinities. The poet seated Augustus at the table of the gods, *purpureo bibit ore nectar ;* but can we reasonably suppose that he meant to place there the companions of his feast? This would have been to render the honour too common; and his panegyric would have degenerated into a satire. I agree with you, that it is rather desirable than necessary to discover the plan of an ode; the writers of Lyric poetry having always enjoyed the privilege of soaring to heights, which, if admired by fancy, must not be criticised by reason. This fault, if it be one, is compensated by great beauties. The two first stanzas prove the wonderful efficacy

la poësie, peut produire: le *justum et tenacem propositi virum* est le sage des stoiciens, leur roi,* leur seul heureux. La justice formoit toutes ses résolutions; une constance inébranlable le rendoit ardent à les suivre.† Un tel homme au dessus des passions et des préjugés, n'y jettoit quelquefois les yeux que pour s'écrier,

" O! curas hominum! O! quantum in rebus inane!"

S'il est honteux pour l'espèce humaine de n'avoir jamais produit cet homme; il lui est bien honorable d'avoir su en former un tableau. Quelle gradation dans les images! Son sage résisteroit aux clameurs d'une multitude forcenée. Mais la colère du peuple s'appaise avec la même facilité qu'elle s'est allumée. Il mépriseroit les menaces d'un tyran furieux; mais

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efficacy of poetry when combined with philosophy. The *justum & tenacem propositi virum* is the sage of the Stoics, their king,* and only happy man; all whose designs are just, and inflexibly pursued.† Such a being, exempt from passions and prejudices, never casts his eyes on the tumults of human life, without exclaiming,

" O! curas hominum! O! quantum in rebus inane!"

To the disgrace of mankind, such a character never existed; but it is not a small honour for the species, that such perfect virtue has been described and relished. The climax is beautiful. The sage would resist the clamorous fury of a mad multitude; but this popular rage is often appeased as easily as it is kindled. He would despise the threats of a furious tyrant: but the hearts of

* Horat. Serm. L. i. Serm. iii. ver. 124.

† Cicero pro Murenâ, c. 29. De la Mothe le Vayer, tom. i. p. 606, &c. de la Vertu des Payens.

tyrants

mais les cœurs des tyrans se sont quelquefois laissé fléchir. Il entendroit sans frémir le bruit des tempêtes sourdes aux cris des malheureux. Mais la fortune a souvent sauvé les victimes à la fureur des flots. Egal à Jupiter, il n'en craindroit pas la foudre. Ici l'imagination s'arrête en tremblant. Elle craint pour le poëte une chute foible ou outrée; elle ne sent point d'image supérieure au courroux du maître des Dieux et des hommes. Avec quel étonnement admire-t-elle le génie du poëte, quand elle lit, " Il recevra sans sourciller le choc de l'univers écroulé, où une même destruction devoit envelopper les hommes, les élémens, et les Dieux eux mêmes!"* Je m'arrête. Peut être ces réflexions vous ennuyent: en ce cas, c'est ma faute. J'aurai cependant rempli mon but, qui étoit de faire voir le point de vue sous lequel je

---

tyrants sometimes relent with compassion. He would hear without terror the raging tempest, which overpowers the cries of the wretched; but fortune has often rescued victims from the boisterous waves. He would not dread the thunder of Jupiter: here the trembling imagination pauses, fearing lest the poet should either sink into meanness, or swell into bombast; because it seems impossible to conceive a bolder image than the enraged master of gods and men. But our fear is converted into admiration, when we read " he would sustain unterrified the crashing shock of the universe, by which the elements, men, and gods are involved in one common ruin."* I stop here, lest my reflections should tire you; which, if they do, it must be my fault. I shall have attained, however, my purpose, which was to show the point of

* Plin. L. vi. Epist. 20.

view

je considère l'érudition la plus grande. Comme moyen, elle mérite toute notre admiration; comme fin dernière, tout notre mépris.

3. Vous connoissez, Monsieur, ce fameux passage de Velleius Paterculus,* qui a donné tant de peine aux savans. Le voici: *Ita Drusus qui a patre ad id ipsum plurimo pridem igne emicans incendium militaris tumultus missus erat, priscâ antiquâque severitate usus, ancipitia sibi tam re quam exemplo perniciosa, et his ipsis militum gladiis, quibus obsessus erat, obsidentes coercuit.* Il ne paroît pas qu'on en puisse tirer quelques sens raisonnable. Il faut absolument le supposer ou inutile, ou corrompu. Aussi tous les critiques, qui ont travaillé sur cet auteur, ont ils essayé de la rétablir. Burerius, Acidalius, Gruter, Boeclerus, Heinsius, Burman, ont tous fourni des conjectures plus ou moins vraisemblables, mais que je ne me propose pas de discuter. Il vaudra mieux, je crois, vous en offrir une

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view under which I consider the most profound erudition. Regarded as a mean or instrument, it merits our highest admiration; but considered as an ultimate end, it is entitled to nothing but contempt.

3. You remember, Sir, that famous passage of Velleius Paterculus * which has given so much trouble to the learned. It is as follows: * * * * It seems unsusceptible of any meaning, and must be supposed either defective or corrupt. All the critics, therefore, who have examined it, endeavour to restore the text. Burerius, Acidalius, Gruter, Boeclerus, Heinsius, Burman, have, all of them, given conjectures more or less probable, which I shall not here discuss. I shall rather submit an emenda-

* Vell. Paterc. L. ii. c. 125.

tion

une de ma façon, et vous laisser juge de son plus, ou moins de probabilité. Au lieu de la leçon reçue, je lirai, *Priscâ antiquâque severitate,* FUSUS *ancipitia sibi tam re quam exemplo perniciosa.* Il saute aux yeux combien ce léger changement présente un sens net. Il est aisé de faire voir qu'elle est des plus conformes à l'analogie de la langue, et à la vérité de l'histoire. Les meilleurs grammairiens reconnoissent aujourdhui, que les Latins, faute d'une forme moyenne à leurs verbes, se sont souvent servi des participes d'une terminaison passive dans un sens actif.* Qu'ainsi ils ont dit *juratus, punitus,* pour dire *qui juravit, qui punivit.* On trouve même *peragratus* dans ce sens, dans Velleius lui même.† Ainsi *fusus,* pour exprimer l'action de Drusus, ne doit pas étonner. L'histoire est également favorable à notre correction. Drusus (suivant

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tion of my own to your judgment. Instead of the common reading, I would substitute *Priscâ antiquâque severitate,* FUSUS *ancipitia sibi tam re quam exemplo perniciosa.* We see at once that this small alteration produces a clear and distinct sense; and the correction may be proved to be equally conformable to the analogy of the Latin tongue, and agreeable to the truth of history. The best grammarians acknowledge that the Latin, not having a middle voice, admits of a passive participle in an active signification.* Thus, *juratus, punitus,* sometimes denote *qui juravit, qui punivit.* We find *peragratus* used in this meaning by Velleius himself.† *Fusus* may therefore, without impropriety, denote the action of Drusus. History also favours this correction. According to Tacitus, when Drusus arrived in the camp of the rebels, his orders

* V. Burman ad Vell. Paterc. L. ii. c. 97. Perizon. ad Sanct. Minerv. L. i. c. 15. n. 4.

† Vell. Paterc. L. ii. c. 97.

were

(suivant Tacite) arrive au camp des rebelles.* Ses ordres sont méprisés, ses offres deviennent suspectes. Les soldats le tiennent prisonnier dans le camp, ils outragent ses amis, ils ne cherchent qu'un prétexte pour commencer le carnage; quel danger pour sa personne! *Sibi ancipitia tam re.* On connoit la sévérité de la discipline Romaine. Les chefs étoient pour les soldats, des dieux; leurs ordres, des oracles. Quel renversement de toutes ces maximes! Quel funeste exemple pour l'avenir que la sédition des légions Pannoniennes! Le fanatisme, qui a fait tant de maux, fit cette fois du bien: une éclipse de lune étonna les soldats, et sauva le prince.

J'ai lu avec plaisir, Monsieur, votre explication de la difficulté de Justin. J'admire avec combien d'art vous formez un tissu de la narration des auteurs

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were disobeyed, his offers suspected, the soldiers made him prisoner, they insulted his friends, and waited only for a pretence to begin the slaughter. Such were the dangers that threatened his person! *Sibi ancipitia tam re.* The severity of the Roman discipline is well known. The generals were the gods of the soldiers, and their orders received as oracles. But ancient maxims were now overturned; and the sedition of the Pannonian legions created an example most pernicious to posterity. Superstition, which does so much evil, here did good: an eclipse of the moon frightened the soldiers, and saved the life of the general.

I read with much pleasure your solution of the difficulty in Justin; and admire your skill in extracting a regular narrative, by bringing the scattered lights in authors to one focus. If any un-

* Tacit. Annal. i. c. 24, &c.

 certainty

teurs différens, pour rassembler des rayons épars de lumière dans un même foyer. Si vous n'y avez pas pu porter toute la netteté désirable, je crois qu'on doit s'en prendre uniquement aux ténèbres de l'antiquité et à la brièveté de Justin lui même.

Rassuré par votre suffrage, je n'ai plus de crainte sur mon idée touchant la mort de Catulle. Auparavant je la trouvois vraisemblable; à présent je commence à la regarder comme certaine.

J'ai l'honneur d'être, avec la plus haute considération et la plus parfaite estime, Monsieur, &c.

EDWARD GIBBON.

---

certainty still remains, it must be ascribed to the darkness of antiquity and Justin's brevity.

Your suffrage removes all fear about the solidity of my conjecture concerning the death of Catullus. I formerly thought it probable, but begin now to regard it as certain. I have the honour to remain, with the highest consideration and most perfect esteem, yours, &c.

EDWARD GIBBON.

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LETTERS

LETTERS

TO AND FROM

EDWARD GIBBON, Esq.

N° IX.

This Letter, in the early hand-writing of Mr. Gibbon, (probably about the time of his first leaving Lausanne,) seems to be under the assumed character of a Swedish traveller, writing to a Swiss friend, delineating the defects he discovered in the government of Berne. In pointing out those defects he seems to have had the intention of suggesting remedies; but, as he is entering on this topic, the manuscript ends abruptly. The excellence of this curious paper will apologize for its great length.

NON, mon cher ami, je ne veux point être cosmopolite. Loin de moi ce titre fastueux, sous lequel nos philosophes cachent une égale indifférence pour tout le genre humain. Je veux aimer ma patrie, et pour aimer, il me faut des préférences; mais

No; my dear friend, I will not be a citizen of the world; I reject with scorn that proud title, under which our philosophers conceal an equal indifference for the whole human race. I will love my country; and to love it above all others, there must be reasons for my preference: but, if I am not mistaken, my heart is

mais ou je me trompe, ou mon cœur est susceptible de plus d'une. Quand j'aurois tout sacrifié pour la Suède, mon pays natal, je ne me serois point encore acquitté envers elle; je lui dois la vie et la fortune: mais que cette vie seroit triste, que cette fortune me seroit à charge, si, expatrié dès ma tendre jeunesse, votre pays n'eut pas formé mon goût et ma raison à des mœurs moins grossières que les nôtres! Je me montrerois indigne de ces bienfaits, s'ils ne m'avoient pas inspiré la plus vive reconnoissance. Aujourd'hui que la Suède, tranquille à l'abri des loix, n'exige de ses enfans que de sentir leur bonheur, je puis, sans l'offenser, jetter un regard sur le Pays de Vaud, mon autre patrie, me réjouir avec vous de ses avantages, et compâtir à ses maux.

Votre climat est beau, votre terroir fertile; vous avez pour le commerce intérieur des facilités, dont il

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susceptible of affection for more countries than one. Did I sacrifice all to Sweden, I should only pay my debt of gratitude to the land in which I was born, and to which I owe my life and fortune. Yet life and fortune would have been but melancholy burthens, if, after my banishment from home in early youth, your country had not formed my taste and reason, and taught me more refined morals than our own. I should prove myself unworthy of this goodness, did it not inspire me with the liveliest gratitude: and now that Sweden, enjoying tranquillity under the protection of laws, requires nothing from its subjects but a just sense of their happiness, I may direct my attention, without offence, to the Pays de Vaud, my second country; rejoicing with you in its advantages, or commiserating its misfortunes.

You enjoy a fine climate, a fertile soil, and have conveniences for

il ne tient qu'à vous de profiter. Mais je considère plutôt les habitans, que l'habitation. On va chercher les philosophes à Londres. Paris attire dans son sein tous ceux qui n'aiment que la douceur de la société. Votre pays le cède à ces deux capitales, la où elles brillent; mais cependant il réunit tous leurs avantages respectifs; il est le seul où tout à la fois on ose penser, et on sache vivre. Que vous manque-t-il? la liberté: et privés d'elle, tout vous manque.

Cette vérité vous surprend, elle vous blesse. Pouvoir dire que nous ne sommes pas libres, me répondez vous, prouve que nous le sommes. Il le prouveroit peut-être, si j'écrivois à Lausanne; ou plutôt là même il ne prouveroit rien. Vos maîtres connoissent la maxime du Cardinal Mazarin, de vous laisser parler, pourvu que vous les laissiez agir. Ainsi le procès n'est point encore jugé.

Si

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for internal commerce, from which great benefit might be derived. But I consider the people rather than their territory. Philosophy flourishes in London; Paris is the centre of those attracted by the allurements of polished society. Your country, though inferior to those capitals, yet unites in some measure their respective advantages; since it is the only country whose inhabitants, while they think freely and boldly, live politely and elegantly. What then is wanting? Liberty; and deprived of it, you have lost your all.

This truth surprises and offends you. The right of complaining, you answer, that we are not free, is a proof of our liberty. If I wrote at Lausanne, the argument would have weight; yet even there, it would not be convincing; for your masters are not ignorant of Cardinal Mazarine's maxim, and are willing to allow you to talk, provided you allow them to act; so that the process is not yet determined.

Si j'écrivois pour le peuple je m'addresserois à ses passions ; je le ferois souvenir de cette maxime de tous les tems, que dans les républiques, ceux qui sont libres, sont plus libres, et ceux qui sont esclaves, plus esclaves que partout ailleurs. Mais avec un ami tel que vous, je ne dois chercher que la vérité, et n'employer que la raison. Quand je compare votre état avec celui de vos voisins, c'est avec plaisir que je le prononce heureux. Traversez votre lac et vos montagnes, vous trouverez partout un peuple digne d'un meilleur sort ; sa raison abrutie par la superstition, le patrimoine de ses pères, et le fruit de son industrie, en proye au partisan, ou au hussard. Sa vie sacrifiée à tout moment au caprice d'un seul homme, qui, lorsqu'il entend parler de vingt milles de ses semblables, morts dans le service de son ambition, dira froidement, qu'ils ont fait leur devoir.

Vous,

If I wrote for the people I would speak to their passions, and hold a language repeated in all ages, that under republics, those who are free are more free, and those who are enslaved, more enslaved, than under any other form of government. But with a friend like you I would seek only the maxims of truth, and employ only the arguments of reason. When I compare your condition with that of surrounding nations, I can sincerely congratulate you on your happiness. Whenever we quit the neighbourhood of your lake and mountains, we find men who, though worthy of a better fate, are plunged in the most abject superstition ; whose property and industry are the spoils of a licentious soldiery ; and whose lives are ready every moment to be sacrificed to the caprice of one man, who, when he hears that twenty thousand of his fellow-creatures have fallen sacrifices to his ambition, is contented with saying coldly, " they have done their duty."

You,

Vous, au contraire, professez un Christianisme, ramené à la divine pureté de son institution, enseigné par de dignes pasteurs, à qui on permet de se faire aimer, de se faire respecter, mais non de se faire craindre. Votre union avec le Corps Helvétique vous a assuré depuis deux siècles une paix unique dans l'histoire. Vos impôts sont petits, l'administration douce. On n'entend point parler parmi vous de ces sentences sans procès, sans crime, sans accusateur, qui arrachent un citoyen du milieu de sa famille. L'on ne voit jamais le souverain, on le sent rarement. Cependant si la liberté consiste à n'être soumis qu'à des loix, dont l'objet est le bien commun de la société, vous n'êtes point libre.

Quand la violence des uns, et la foiblesse des autres, ont rendu nécessaires les sociétés civiles, il a fallu

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You, on the contrary, enjoy a Christianity brought back to the purity of its original principles, taught publicly by worthy ministers, who are loved and respected, but who have it not in their power to become the objects of fear. Your connexion with the Swiss cantons has preserved to you the blessings of peace two centuries; a thing unexampled in history. Your taxes are moderate; and the public administration is gentle. You have not to complain of those arbitrary sentences, which, without any form of legal procedure, without an accuser, and without a crime, have been known to tear citizens from the bosoms of their families. The sovereign is never seen; the weight of his authority is rarely felt; yet if liberty consists in being subject to laws which impartially consult the interests of all the members of the community, you do not enjoy that blessing.

When the injustice of some, and the weakness of others, showed the necessity for civil society, individuals were obliged to

a fallu renoncer à cette indépendance si chère, et si pernicieuse. Il a fallu que toutes les volontés particulières se fondissent dans une volonté générale; à laquelle des punitions réglées obligeassent chaque citoyen de conformer ses actions. Qu'il est délicat, ce pouvoir de fixer la volonté générale! En quelles mains doit on le remettre? Sera-ce à un monarque dès-lors absolu? Je sais que l'intérêt bien entendu du prince ne se peut séparer d'avec celui de son peuple, et qu'en travaillant pour lui, il travaille pour soi même. Tel est le langage de la philosophie. Mais ce langage n'est pas un de ceux que les précepteurs font étudier aux rois; et si un heureux naturel leur en donne quelqu' idée, leurs passions, ou celles d'un ministre, d'un confesseur, d'une maîtresse, l'effacent bientôt. Le peuple gémit, mais il faut qu'il ait gémi long tems, avant que son maître s'apperçoive qu'il est de l'intérêt

renounce their beloved, but pernicious, independence. All particular wills were melted down into the general will of the public; by which, under the sanction of definite punishments, men became bound to regulate their conduct. But it is a matter of the utmost delicacy to determine with whom that general will ought to be deposited. Shall it reside in the breast of a prince, who thereby becomes absolute? I know that the true interests of a prince can never be separated from those of his people, and that in exerting himself for their benefit, he labours for his own. This is the language of philosophy, but it is seldom spoken by the preceptors of princes; and if the latter sometimes read it in their own hearts, the impression is speedily effaced by contrary passions, in themselves, their confessors, their ministers, or mistresses. The groans of the people are not soon heard; and their master learns only

térêt d'un berger de conserver son troupeau. Il faut donc que le pouvoir législatif soit partagé. Un conseil dont les membres s'éclairent et se contiennent les uns les autres, paroît en être un dépositaire bien choisi. Mais la liberté attache à ce conseil une condition fondamentale. Elle veut que chaque ordre des citoyens, chaque partie de l'état, y ait ses représentans intéressés à s'opposer à toute loi qui seroit nuisible à ses droits, ou contraire à son bonheur, puisqu'eux mêmes en sentiroient les premiers, les mauvais effets. Une telle assemblée fera rarement des fautes grossières, et si elle paye quelquefois le tribut à l'humanité, elle peut rougir de ses erreurs, et les réparer aussi tôt. Ce portrait est il le vôtre? J'entre dans votre pays, je vois deux nations distinguées par leurs droits, leurs occupations, et leurs mœurs. L'une, composée de trois cens familles, est née pour commander;

only by a fatal experience, that it is the interest of a shepherd to preserve his flock. The legislative power, therefore, cannot safely be entrusted to a single person. A council, whose members mutually instruct, and mutually check each other, appears to be its proper depository. But in this council one condition is essentially requisite. It must consist of deputies from every order in the state, interested by their own safety in opposing every regulation inconsistent with the happiness of that order to which they belong. Such a council will rarely be guilty of gross errors; and should this sometimes happen, it will soon blush for, and repair them. Is this the picture of your legislature? When I survey your country, I behold two nations, distinctly characterised by their rights, employments, and manners: the one, consisting of three hundred families, born to command; the other, consisting

mander; l'autre, de cent mille, n'est formée que pour obéir. Toutes les prétensions humiliantes des monarques héréditaires se renouvellent à votre égard, et deviennent encore plus humiliantes de la part de vos égaux. La comparaison de vos deux états vous est trop facile. Rien ne vous aide à l'éloigner.

Un conseil de trois cens personnes décide de tous vos intérêts en dernier ressort, et si ses intérêts et les vôtres ne sont pas d'accord, qui doit l'emporter? Non seulement ce sénat est législateur, mais il exécute ses propres loix. Cette union de deux puissances qu'on ne devoit jamais réunir, les rend chacune plus formidables. Quand elles sont séparées, la puissance législative redoute les résolutions violentes; elles seroient inutiles, si l'on n'armoit pas les mains de la puissance qui les doit exécuter, et cette puissance est toujours

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of an hundred thousand, doomed to submission. The former are invested, as a body, with all the prerogatives of hereditary monarchs, which are the more humiliating to you their subjects, because they belong to men apparently your equals. The comparison between yourselves and them is made every moment; no circumstance tends to conceal it from your fancy.

A council of three hundred persons is the sovereign umpire of your dearest interests, which will always be sacrificed when they clash with their own. This council is invested with the executive, as well as the legislative power; two branches of authority which can never be united, without rendering each of them too formidable to the subject. When they belong to different persons, or assemblies, the legislature will not venture to form violent resolutions, because these would be of no avail, unless they were carried into execution by another power, always its rival, and often

toujours sa rivale, et son contrepoids. Mais ce n'est pas assez que cette union aiguise la glaive de l'autorité publique, elle le remet encore dans un plus petit nombre de mains : dans le dernier siècle le grand conseil de Berne se renouvelloit lui même ; c'étoit déjà un pas vers l'oligarchie : pourquoi exclure des élections le corps de la Bourgeoisie ? Alors même le gouvernement s'appuyoit sur un fondement assez étroit. Bientôt des inconveniens se firent sentir ; la brigue, la vénalité, la débauche, signaloient l'entrée des citoyens dans le conseil souverain, et les riches ambitieux donnoient tout, pour pouvoir tout invahir. Une députation révocable de vingt six conseillers, établie dès l'enfance de la république, pour veiller à l'exécution des loix, devint chargée du soin de remplir les places de ce grand conseil dont elle-même tiroit son origine. On y ajoutoit seize sénateurs choisis de la manière la

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often its antagonist. The sword of authority is not only sharpened by this union, but is thereby confined to a smaller number of hands. In the last century the great council of Berne began to elect its own members : which was a great step towards oligarchy, since it excluded from elections the citizens at large, and thereby narrowed the basis of the government. But this arrangement was liable to other inconveniences. Intrigue, venality, and debauchery signalized the admission of citizens into the sovereign council ; and ambitious men squandered their wealth, that they might purchase a right to indulge their rapacity. A committee of six counsellors, established in the infancy of the republic, to watch the execution of the laws, and whose offices were held at pleasure, became entrusted with the power of naming the members of the grand council, by which this committee itself was appointed. Its number was augmented by sixteen senators, chosen in

la plus favorable aux factieux. Ils possédoient d'abord leur pouvoir collectivement, mais peu à peu l'intérêt particulier leur fit entendre qu'il valoit mieux permettre à chacun de nommer son fils, son gendre, et son parent. Les familles puissantes qui dominoient alors dans le sénat, y dominent encore. Les de Wattevilles, et les Steiguers, y remplissent une trentaine de places. Le commerce intéressé de bienfaits, où l'on passe dans le petit conseil par les suffrages de ses parens, pour faire entrer de nouveaux parens dans le grand conseil, a déjà réduit le nombre des familles qui siègent dans celui-ci, à environ quatre-vingt. Ces maisons souveraines ont un égal mépris pour ceux que le droit naturel auroit dû rendre leurs concitoyens, et pour ceux qui le sont par la constitution de l'état. Il manque même aux premiers une ressource que les monarques les plus absolus n'ont pas osé ôter à leurs

in the manner most favourable to the designs of faction. They exercised their power at first collectively, but by degrees they came to understand that their particular interests would be better promoted by each naming his son, son-in-law, or kinsman. The powerful families which then commanded the senate, still rule it at present. Thirty places are filled by the Wattevilles and Steiguers. This selfish traffic, by which the members of the little council are elected by the great council, consisting of their own relations, that they may name other relations to seats in the great council, has reduced the number of families, which have a right to sit in the latter, to nearly fourscore. These princely families look down with equal contempt on those who are their fellow-citizens by the law of nature, and those who were rendered such by the constitution of their country. The former class is deprived of a resource which the most absolute princes have seldom

à leurs sujets ; je veux parler de ces tribunaux reconnus du souverain, et révérés du peuple, pour être l'organe de la patrie, et les dépositaires des loix. Toutes les volontés du prince, qui doivent être obéies, le sont plus facilement, quand les sujets voyent combien elles sont raisonnables, puisqu'elles ont passé par l'examen de ces magistrats, qu'on ne peut ni tromper, ni séduire, ni intimider. Aussi répondent ils à cette considération, par une résistance respectueuse, mais déterminée contre l'oppression, où ils étalent tout ce que la raison, la liberté, et l'éloquence peuvent inspirer à des citoyens zélés. C'est principalement dans ces tribunaux paisibles que je trouve ces qualités. Privés d'armes, ils ne doivent leur pouvoir qu'à leur probité, et à leur éloquence. Est il étonnant que ceux, qui n'ont que cette instrument, s'appliquent le plus à le cultiver ? Quelles leçons pour les rois, que les remontrances du Parlement de Paris ! Quels

seldom ventured to wrest from their subjects; I mean those courts of justice acknowledged by the prince, and revered by the people, as the organs of public opinion, and the depositories of the laws. The commands of the sovereign are obeyed with cheerfulness only when their propriety is confirmed by the approbation of those tribunals, whose members it has been found difficult either to deceive, to seduce, or to intimidate. Their resistance to oppression is respectful, but firm; and in exerting it, they display that warmth of eloquence with which reason and liberty inspire good citizens. In the members of those peaceful tribunals, such qualities appear in their greatest lustre. Destitute of arms, their whole strength lies in their talents and their probity. What noble lessons to kings have been given by the parliament of Paris! What

Quels modèles pour le peuple que la conduite des Mandarins de la Chine! Frappé par un tribunal de cette espèce, le monarque ne peut méconnoître les gémissemens de la patrie. Les citoyens y apprennent qu'ils ont une patrie; ils s'attachent à l'aimer, à étudier ses loix, à se former à toutes les vertus publiques. Elles mûrissent dans le silence, l'occasion les développe, ou elles se font l'occasion. Les états du Pays de Vaud, respectables sous les Rois de Bourgogne, et sous les Ducs de Savoye, étoient ce tribunal. Composés de la noblesse, du clergé, et des députés des villes principales, ils s'assembloient tous les ans à Moudon. C'étoit le conseil perpétuel du prince. Sans leur consentement, il ne pouvoit, ni faire de nouvelles loix, ni établir de nouveaux impôts. Si j'étois sur les lieux j'établirois ces droits, par vos monumens les plus authentiques.

What excellent examples to subjects are set by the Mandarines of China! Monarchs *must* hear the groans of their people, when such respectable bodies of men are their organs. The people too learn that they have a country, which they will begin to love, to study its laws, and to form themselves to public virtues. These virtues ripen silently; they are exerted when an opportunity offers; and sometimes they will make an opportunity for their own exhibition. In the Païs de Vaud, which was equally respectable under the Kings of Burgundy and the Dukes of Savoy, the states formed such a tribunal. They were composed of the nobility, clergy, and deputies from the principal cities, which annually assembled at Moudon, and formed the perpetual council of the prince, without whose consent he could neither enact new laws, nor impose new taxes. Were I on the spot, I could prove the existence of those rights by the most authentic records. At a distance

thentiques. Tout éloigné que j'en suis, je ne crains pas d'appeller à leur témoignage. Il me reste toujours une preuve moins sensible pour le peuple, mais aussi décisive pour les gens de lettres: c'est l'analogie. Les Barbares du cinquième siècle jettèrent par toute l'Europe, les racines de ce gouvernement que Charlemagne établit dans les Pays Bas, la France, l'Italie, la Suisse, et l'Allemagne. Quelques évènemens, les degrés, et les tems où les arrière-fiefs se formèrent des fiefs, où le clergé acquit des terres seigneuriales, où les villes achetèrent leurs affranchissemens, y apportèrent de légères différences. Mais le fond de cette constitution est demeuré dans toutes les révolutions, et rien de plus libre que ce fonds. Ces états, leurs membres, et leurs droits se conservèrent toujours, et partout ils étoient les mêmes.

Je vous entends, mon ami, qui m'interrompez. Je

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distance I can only appeal to their testimony, and employ an analogical proof, which will be sufficiently convincing to men of letters. The Barbarians, who overflowed Europe in the fifth century, every where laid the foundation of that form of government which Charlemagne established in the Low Countries, France, Italy, Switzerland, and Germany. The different modes of tenure which were at different times introduced, the various degrees of dependance which one fief came to have on another, the acquisitions of lordships by the clergy, and the purchase of franchises by cities; all these circumstances occasioned but slight differences in the ground-work of the constitution, which remained unalterably founded on a firm basis of liberty. The states, their members, and their rights were invariably maintained; remaining uniformly the same at all times, and in all places.

I think that I hear you, my friend, interrupting me. Hitherto, you

Je vous ai écouté, me dites vous, avec patience : mais que voulez vous conclure de ce tableau de notre gouvernement ? Bien ou mal construit, nous n'en ressentons que des effets salutaires, et vos conseils, vos états, auroient de la peine à nous dégoûter de nos magistrats anciens, pour nous faire essayer des nouveautés.

Arrêtez, Monsieur ; je vous ai parlé en homme libre, et vous me répondez dans le langage de la servitude. Arrêtez. En convenant pour un moment de votre bonheur, de qui le tenez vous ? de la constitution ? Vous n'osez pas le dire. C'est donc du prince ? Les Romains en devoient un plus grand à Titus. Ils étoient cependant de vils esclaves. Brutus vous auroit appris que, dans un état déspotique, le prince peut quelquefois vouloir de bien : mais que dans les états libres, il ne peut que

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you say, I have listened to you with patience; but what is your conclusion from this picture of our government? Whatever defects there may be in its principles, we have experienced its salutary consequences; and the states and assemblies, which you so much commend, will not easily make us abolish our ancient magistracies, in order to try innovations.

It is time, Sir, to pause; I spoke to you as became a freeman, and you answer me in the language of slavery. Let us admit for a moment your prosperity; to whom do you owe it? You will not answer, to the constitution. It is due then to your rulers. The Romans owed a prosperity yet greater to Titus; but still remained the basest of slaves. Brutus would have taught you that a despot may sometimes choose to promote the public happiness; but that the magistrates of a free people can have no other ish.

que le vouloir. La félicité actuelle du citoyen et de l'esclave, est souvent égale, mais celle du dernier est précaire, puisqu'elle est fondée sur les passions des hommes, pendant que celle du premier est assurée. Elle est liée avec les loix qui contiennent également ces mêmes passions dans le souverain et dans le paysan.

Mais malheureusement on ne trouve que trop de choses à reprendre dans votre administration politique. Je vais détailler des fautes, des négligences, des oppressions. Vous vous récrierez sur ma malignité, mais en secret votre esprit grossira le catalogue de cent articles que j'aurai ou ignorés ou oubliés. Il est du devoir du souverain de faire jouir son peuple de tous les avantages de la société civile. Des guerres entreprises pour sa défense, l'en détourneront quelquefois ; mais dès que le calme renait dans ses états, des établissemens utiles, et de sages

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wish. The advantages actually enjoyed by a citizen and a slave may be the same; but those of the latter are precarious, having no other foundation than the changeable passions of men; whereas those of the former are secure, being solidly supported on those laws which curb guilty passions in the prince as well as in the peasant.

But unfortunately too many faults may be found in your public administration. I shall give you the black list of omissions and oppressions, which, notwithstanding that you will exclaim against my malignity, your own memory will augment by an hundred articles, which I may be either ignorant of, or forget to mention. It is the duty of a sovereign to procure for his people all the happiness of which their condition is susceptible. His public spirited exertions may be suspended by the exigencies of defensive war; but as soon as peace is restored, he will be continually and usefully

sages loix, la religion, les mœurs, les sciences, le commerce, les manufactures, l'agriculture, et la police, méritent toute son attention, et l'en récompenseront avec usure. Sur ces principes jugeons le sénat de Berne. Il a été maître du Pays de Vaud depuis l'an 1536. Quand je considère ce qu'étoient alors la France, l'Angleterre, la Hollande, ou l'Allemagne, j'ai de la peine à me persuader qu'elles étoient les mêmes pays que ceux qui portent aujourd'hui ces noms. De barbares, ils sont devenus civilisés; d'ignorans, éclairés; et de pauvres, riches. Je vois des villes où il y avoit des déserts, et les forêts défrichées se sont converties en champs fertiles. Leurs princes, et leurs ministres, un Henri quatre, un Sully, un Colbert, une Elisabeth, un de Witt, un Frédéric-Guillaume, ont opéré ces merveilles. La perspective du Pays de Vaud n'est point

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fully occupied with the interests of religion, laws, morals, sciences, police, commerce, and agriculture. Let us try the merits of the senate of Berne by these maxims. The members of this senate have been masters of the Païs de Vaud since the year one thousand five hundred and thirty-six. When we consider the deplorable condition in those days of France, England, Holland, and Germany, we can scarcely imagine that they were the same countries with those respectively known at present by the same names. Their barbarism has been civilized, their ignorance enlightened, their poverty enriched; their deserts have become cities, and their forests now wave with yellow harvests. These wonders have been effected by their princes and ministers: a Henry the Fourth, a Sully, a Colbert, an Elizabeth, a de Witt, and a Frederick William. The comparative condition of the Païs de Vaud at those two remote æras, does not present

point aussi riante. Les arts languissent, faute de ces récompenses que le prince seul peut donner; nul commerce, nulles manufactures, nuls projets utiles pour le pays; un engourdissement général qui règne partout. Cependant les princes dont je viens de parler n'avoient que des momens pour ces objets, où les Bernois ont eu des siècles. Que n'auroient ils pas fait, ces grands hommes, rarement tranquilles sur le trône, si pendant deux cens douze ans, ils n'eussent eu que des voisins pacifiques, et des peuples soumis? Je m'en rapporte à vous même. Indiquez moi quelque établissement vraiment utile que vous deviez au souverain. Mais ne m'indiquez pas l'académie de Lausanne, fondée par des vues de dévotion, dans la chaleur d'une réformation, negligée depuis, et toujours académie,

present so pleasing a picture. There the arts still languish, for want of those encouragements which princes only can bestow: the country is still destitute of commerce and manufactures: we hear not of any projects for promoting the public prosperity: we see nothing but the marks of an universal lethargy. Yet the princes above mentioned had but moments for executing their great designs; the senators of Berne have had ages. What benefits might not those patriotic kings have conferred on their subjects, if, instead of having their thrones continually shaken by war and sedition, they had enjoyed during two centuries the advantage of having loyal subjects and pacific neighbours? I appeal to yourself; point out a single useful establishment which the Païs de Vaud owes to the sovereignty of Berne: but do not tell me of the academy of Lausanne, founded on motives of religion during the zeal of reformation, but since totally neglected, though a

académie, quoique un digne magistrat de cette ville, proposât de l'ériger en université.

Non ce n'est point une politique peu éclairée qui fait agir vos maîtres. Je connois trop leur habileté. Mais un monarque aime également tous ses sujets. Les citoyens d'une ville capitale voyent au contraire d'un œil jaloux l'agrandissement des provinces. Si elles s'élèvent, disent ils, nous tombons. Nos égales pour les lumières et les richesses, elles voudroient bientôt l'être en pouvoir. Rappellez vous l'an 1685. La mauvaise politique de Louis XIV. expatria la partie la plus industrieuse de ses sujets; une multitude se réfugia dans le Pays de Vaud. Il étoit prochain, il étoit François. Ils ne demandoient qu'un asile, et l'auroient payé au poids de l'or par les richesses, et les arts plus

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worthy magistrate of that city proposed the laudable design of erecting it into an university.

Your masters err not through ignorance. They are not deficient, I know, in political abilities. But while a prince treats with impartial bounty all his subjects, the citizens of an aristocratical capital are apt to behold with jealousy the improvement of the provinces. Their elevation, they think, must pave the way for their own downfal; and if they become their equals in point of knowledge and riches, they will soon be tempted, they imagine, to aspire at an equality with themselves in power. Recal to memory the year one thousand six hundred and eighty-five; when the wretched policy of Louis the Fourteenth drove from their country the most industrious portion of his subjects, many of whom sought refuge in the Païs de Vaud; a neighbouring district, and speaking their own language. They requested only an asylum, the benefit of which they would richly have repaid by the wealth

plus précieux que les richesses, qu'ils vous apportoient. Mais ici la politique partiale des Bernois s'épouvanta. " Si nous faisons participer ces fugitifs à notre droit de Bourgeoisie, la fortune nous sera commune; mais comment élever des mortels au rang des dieux? Si nous les laissons confondus parmi nos sujets, nos sujets recueilleront le fruit de leur industrie." Ils conclurent enfin avec l'ambassadeur de Porsenna—

—— Qu'il vaut mieux, qu'un roi sur le trône affermi
Commande à des sujets, malheureux, mais soumis,
Que d'avoir à dompter, au sein de l'abondance,
D'un peuple trop heureux l'indocile arrogance.

Ces exilés, las d'essuyer des refus, où ils devoient s'attendre à des prières, passèrent en Hollande, en Prusse, et en Angleterre, où les souverains savoient mieux profiter de cette occasion unique. Il en resta une partie dans le Pays de Vaud, mais c'étoit la

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wealth which they brought with them, and their skill in manufactures, still more valuable. But the narrow policy of Berne took the alarm. " If we make these men citizens of Berne, their interests will coincide with our own. But is it fit that mortals should be raised to the rank of gods? If they are mixed with the mass of our subjects, our subjects will be enriched by their industry." They concluded therefore, with the ambassadors of Porsenna—" that it was more desirable for a prince to govern a poor but submissive people, than to contend with the unruly passions of men pampered by prosperity."

The emigrants, disgusted at being repeatedly refused what they ought to have been requested to accept, travelled to Holland, Prussia and England, whose rulers had the good sense to avail themselves of an emergency as favourable as it was singular. A part of them indeed remained in the Païs de Vaud, but the

la partie la plus pauvre, et la plus fainéante, qui n'avoit ni le moyen, ni la volonté d'aller plus loin.

A peine ces malheureux commençoient ils à oublier leurs souffrances passées que l'expérience leur fit sentir, que pour fuir les persécutions, il faut fuir les hommes. La partie souveraine de l'état avoit sucé avec le lait, toute la dureté du systême de Calvin, théologien atrabilaire, qui aimoit trop la liberté, pour souffrir que les Chrétiens portassent d'autres fers que les siens. D'ailleurs sa conformité avec les idées d'un célèbre philosophe, intéressoit l'honneur du nom Allemand à le soutenir. Comme les sentimens s'étoient adoucis dans le Pays de Vaud, en proportion avec les mœurs, il falloit y envoyer des formulaires, et des inquisiteurs, destinés à faire autant d'hypocrites qu'ils pourroient, non à la vérité par le fer et le feu, mais par les menaces et les privations d'emploi.

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poorest and the idlest, who had neither money nor spirit to travel farther.

These unhappy fugitives had no sooner begun to forget their past sufferings, than they learned by fatal experience that, in order to avoid persecution, it was necessary to fly from the society of men. The sovereigns of the country in which they had settled had imbibed the severe system of Calvin, a stern theologian, who loved liberty too well, to endure that Christians should wear any other chains than those imposed by himself. His near conformity in opinion with a celebrated German philosopher, interested the honour of the German name in supporting his doctrines. But in the Païs de Vaud the asperity of religious opinions had softened with the improvement of society. It became necessary, therefore, to send thither formulas and inquisitors, designed to make as many hypocrites as possible, not indeed by fire and sword, but by threats and deposition from office.

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En soutenant les droits de l'humanité, je n'outre point les maximes de la tolérance. Je veux bien que le magistrat ne distribue les récompenses du public, qu'à ceux qui enseignent la religion du public. Je ne lui défends pas même de contenir dans le silence ces novateurs trop hardis qui voudroient éclairer le peuple sur certains objets où l'erreur fait son bonheur. Mais que le souverain se prêtant avec chaleur aux minuties théologiques, décide des questions qu'on ne peut décider, assurément il est absurde. Qu'imposant des confessions de foi, il ne laisse à des pasteurs vieillis dans le ministère, et qui ne demandoient qu'à se taire, que le choix du mensonge ou de la mendicité, assurément il est injuste. Mais la persécution cessa. Qui la fit cesser? Un sentiment de honte? les larmes des sujets? ou bien la crainte qu'inspira l'entreprise d'un Davel, enthousiaste il est vrai, mais enthousiaste pour le bien public? Encore même

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In supporting the rights of man, I would not carry too far the maxims of toleration. It is just that public rewards should be bestowed only on those who teach the religion of the public; and those bold innovators, who would impart a dangerous light to the people, may very properly be restrained by the arm of the magistrates. But it surely is absurd, that the sovereign should interfere in theological minutiæ, and take part warmly in questions which are incapable of being decided. It is particularly unjust, that he should impose confessions of faith on old ministers, who wish to avoid disputation; leaving them the miserable alternative of falsehood or beggary. But this persecution has now ceased. What put an end to it? It was not shame, nor the tears of the people, but the boldness of Davel, that meritorious enthusiast.

même il règne à Lausanne une inquisition sourde. Les noms d'Arminien et de Socinien remplissent encore ces lettres où de tres honnêtes gens rendent compte à leurs protecteurs des sentimens de leurs concitoyens; et c'est suivant ces indices que les places se distribuent.

Je viens, non pas d'épuiser, mais d'indiquer quelques défauts qui se trouvent dans votre puissance législative. Passons à l'exécutrice. Celle-ci est la force publique, comme l'autre est la volonté publique. Mais un seul corps, un seul homme, peut délibérer et décider pour toute une nation. Il ne peut tout seul agir pour elle. L'administration politique, composée d'un nombre infini de branches, veut qu'un grand nombre d'officiers, soumis les uns aux autres, s'employent à faire jouer la machine à laquelle le maître ne peut que donner le mouvement général. Les honneurs,

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Even to the present day, a secret inquisition still reigns at Lausanne; where the names of Arminian and Socinian are often mentioned in the letters written by very honest people to their patrons of Berne; and offices are often given or withheld according to the reports made of the religious tenets of the candidates.

Having made these strictures on your legislature, which by no means exhaust the subject, I proceed to consider the defects of your executive power; which is the public force, as the legislature ought to be the public will. But a single council, or a single man, may deliberate and resolve for a whole nation; the executive power, on the contrary, requires the exertions of many: as it is composed of a great variety of branches, many officers, subordinate one to the other, must actuate the different parts of the machine, to which the chief magistrate can only communicate the first

neurs, et les avantages, que les loix attachent à ces emplois, doivent être ouverts à tous les citoyens, que leurs talens et leur éducation ont mis en état de les remplir. Les fardeaux leur sont communs à tous, les récompenses doivent l'être aussi. Un gouvernement monarchique satisfait aisément à ces justes prétensions. A l'exception de quelques courtisans, qui approchent la personne du prince d'assez près, pour substituer la flatterie aux services, tous ses sujets lui sont égaux. Dès qu'un homme a du mérite, ou, si l'on veut de la faveur, on ne lui demande point s'il est Normand ou Provençal. D'Epernon étoit Gascon; Richelieu, Champenois; Mazarin, Romain. Mais dans les républiques aristocratiques, les souverains composés de toute une ville veulent être législateurs en corps, et partager entre eux en détail tous les emplois considérables.

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first general movement. The honours and emoluments legally attached to such offices, ought to be open to all those citizens who are properly qualified for discharging them. Each individual, as he bears a share of the public burdens, is entitled also to a share of the public rewards. This just arrangement is easily maintained in monarchies; where, with the exception of a few courtiers, who, by being continually about the prince's person, have an opportunity of substituting flattery instead of real services, all the inhabitants of the kingdom are treated with comparative equity. In France, provided a man has court-favour or merit, the question is never asked whether he comes from Provence or Normandy. D'Epernon was born in Gascony; Richelieu, in Champagne; Mazarine, in Rome. But in aristocratical republics, the citizens of one town are not contented with being sovereigns collectively, unless they individually appropriate all offices of honour or emo-

rables. Les talens, les lumières, dans votre pays, sont inutiles pour quiconque n'est pas né Bernois, et dans un autre sens ils sont également inutiles pour qui l'est. Le sujet se voit condamné par sa naissance à ramper dans une honteuse obscurité. Le désespoir le saisit; il néglige ce qui ne le peut méner à rien, et le grand homme ne devient qu'un homme agréable. Si je parlois de faire participer les sujets aux Bailliages, les Bernois crieroient au sacrilège; les Bailliages sont le patrimoine de l'état, et nous sommes l'état. Il est vrai qu'on vous laisse les Lieutenances Baillivales; mais vous savez assez qu'on y mêle certaines stipulations, de façon que, si le nouveau magistrat ne vit pas quelque tems, sa famille perd au marché.

Privés

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lument. In the canton of Berne talents and information are not of the smallest use to any one who is not born in the capital; and in another sense they are useless to those born there; because they *must* make their way without them. Their subjects in the Païs de Vaud are condemned, by the circumstances of their birth, to a condition of shameful obscurity. They naturally become, therefore, a prey to despair; and neglecting to cultivate talents which they can never enjoy an opportunity to display, those who had capacities for becoming great men are contented with making themselves agreeable companions. Should I propose that the subjects obtained a right to hold the lucrative employments of *Baillis*, or governors of districts, the aristocratical families of Berne would think me guilty of a crime little less than sacrilege. "The emoluments of these offices form the patrimony of the state; and we are the state." It is true, that you in the Païs de Vaud may be deputies to the Baillis; but the advantages belonging to that subordinate magistracy are obtained on certain conditions, which, unless the holder of the office lives a certain number of years, renders his bargain a very bad one for his family.

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Privés de ressources, que reste il aux gentilshommes du Pays de Vaud? le service étranger. Mais on n'a pas manqué de leur rendre cette carrière des plus épineuses, et de leur y fermer l'accès des grades un peu élevés. Je ne dirai rien du brillant service de France. Les dépenses sont inévitables, et la paye si modique que l'enseigne se ruine, le capitaine vit à peine, et même le colonel ne peut amasser. Ainsi vous devez bénir le soin paternel du souverain qui a dressé toutes les capitulations, de manière à ne vous point introduire en tentation. Ne parlons que du service des Etats Généraux, service plus utile que riant, ou l'on s'ennuye et s'enrichit. Par le traité de 1712, le Canton de Berne accorda vingt quatre compagnies à leurs Hautes Puissances, et promit de permettre qu'on en fit toujours des recrues dans leurs états. Seize compagnies étoient destinées aux Bernois, et les souverains

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What encouragement is then left for the gentlemen of the Païs de Vaud? That of foreign service. But to them, even this road to preferment is extremely difficult, and to attain the higher ranks is impossible. I speak not of the brilliant service of France: in that country, expense is unavoidable; the ensign is ruined, the captain can scarcely live, and the colonel cannot save money. You are therefore obliged to the paternal care of the magistrates of Berne, whose treaties for supplying troops to France do not lead you into temptation. Let us only consider the service of Holland, a service more profitable than showy, where officers have nothing to do but to grow rich. By the treaty of 1712, the Canton of Berne granted the use of twenty-four companies to their High Mightinesses, and promised that they should always be allowed to recruit them in their territories. But the command of sixteen of those companies was engrossed by the citizens of Berne,

rains partageoient avec leurs sujets les huit autres compagnies, dont on daignoit laisser l'entrée ouverte à ceux ci: ainsi à ne supposer le crédit des Bernois qu'égal à celui des sujets, pour parvenir à ces huit dernières compagnies, ce peuple roi en posséderoit toujours vingt, sur vingt quatre. La proportion est honnête, si l'on fait attention qu'il y a dans le Canton près de cent mille hommes en état de porter les armes, dont il n'y en a pas huit cens, bourgeois de Berne. D'ailleurs les petits bourgeois, à qui ce nom seul inspire de la fierté, aiment mieux croupir dans la misère à Berne, que de se faire par leur travail un état vraiment respectable. Ainsi dans toutes ces troupes, je doute qu'on puisse trouver cinquante Bernois qui ne soient pas officiers.

Ces malheurs, me dites vous, ne sont que pour les gentilshommes; c'est à dire, pour la partie la plus

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Berne, and the remaining eight were left common between them and their subjects in the Païs de Vaud. On the supposition, then, that the interest of both classes of candidates for those companies is equal, the sovereign people will obtain four out of the eight, and twenty out of the whole twenty-four. This proportion appears the more unreasonable, when it is considered that in the canton there are above an hundred thousand men fit to bear arms, of whom scarcely eight hundred are citizens of Berne. Besides, the poorer classes of citizens, proud merely of this title, prefer living in idleness at Berne to honourable exertions abroad, by which they might better their condition. I doubt, therefore, whether fifty citizens of Berne, who are not officers, will be found in the whole of the Swiss Dutch troops.

These inconveniences, you will tell me, are only felt by men of family; that is to say, by the most respectable, but least numerous,

plus respectable, mais la moins nombreuse, des citoyens. Ils s'évanouissent dans ces maximes générales et égales que vous venez d'établir. La tyrannie de vos Baillis s'y évanouit elle aussi? Le peuple, nom si cher à l'humanité, en sent tout le joug. Je ne vous conterai point des histoires de leurs oppressions. Vous me chicaneriez sur la vérité des faits, et puis vous me diriez, qu'il ne faut jamais conclure du particulier au général, et vous auriez raison. Il vaut mieux faire sentir l'étendue de leur pouvoir, et laisser à votre connoissance du cœur humain, à juger de l'usage qu'ils en font. Chaque Bailli est à la fois chef de la justice, de la milice, des finances, et de la religion. Comme juge, il décide sans appel jusqu'à la somme de cent francs, somme très modique pour vous, mais qui fait la fortune d'un paysan; et il décide seul, car ses

merous, portion of the community; and they disappear amidst the general equity and impartiality of the public administration. But does the tyranny of the *bailiffs* disappear also? The people, a name so dear to humanity, feel the full weight of their oppression. I will not have recourse to particular examples; because you might call in question the authenticity of facts, or object with reason, that general conclusions are not to be drawn from particular principles. I shall be contented with pointing out the extent of their power, and leave to your own knowledge of human nature to infer the abuses with which it must be accompanied. In his own district every bailiff is at the head of religion, of the law, the army, and the finances. As judge, he decides, without appeal, all causes to the amount of an hundred franks; a sum of little importance to a gentleman, but which often makes the whole fortune of a peasant; and he decides alone, for the voice

ses assesseurs n'ont pas voix pondérative. Il donne, ou plutôt il vend, presque tous les emplois dans son bailliage. Si l'on veut appeller de ses sentences, il n'y a plus de tribunal à Moudon; il faut aller à Berne, et quel paysan veut se ruiner à la poursuite de la justice? S'il cherche encore à faire punir son tyran, il demande l'entrée en conseil. L'Avoyer l'accorde, peut-être avec beaucoup de difficulté; et à force de fatigues et de dépenses il parvient à pouvoir plaider devant un tribunal lié avec son baillif par le sang, et plus encore par une conformité de forfaits, ou d'intérêts.

Votre pays est épuisé par les impôts, tout modiques qu'ils sont. Développons cette idée. Pendant que les pays les plus riches de l'Europe s'abyment de dépenses et de dettes, et mettent en œuvre des moyens, qui feroient trembler le plus hardi dissipateur,

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voice of his assessors has not any weight in the scale. He confers, or rather he sells, all the employments in his district. When the injured party wishes to appeal from his sentence, as there is no court of justice at Moudon, he is obliged to remove the cause to Berne; and how few peasants can bear this expense? But if his eagerness to punish his tyrant carries him thither, it is not without many difficulties on his part that the Avoyer, or chief magistrate, grants him admission into the council; where, after all his trouble and expense, he is finally allowed to plead his cause before a tribunal, the members of which are connected with his oppressor by the ties of blood, and still more by a conformity of interests and crimes.

Your taxes, moderate as they are, exhaust the country. This observation requires to be explained. While the great kingdoms of Europe, loaded with expenses and debts, are driven to expedients which would alarm the wildest prodigal, Berne is the only state

sipateur, le Canton de Berne est le seul qui amasse des trésors. Le secret de l'état est si bien gardé, qu'il est difficile de le deviner. Stanian, ambassadeur d'Angleterre à Berne, qui avoit un esprit d'observation et de grandes facilités pour se bien informer, estimoit, il y a quarante ans, les sommes qu'il avoit dans les fonds publics de Londres à trois cens milles livres sterling, ou sept millions, et tout ce qui étoit resté dans le trésor de Berne, ou dispersé dans les autres banques de l'Europe, à dix huit cens mille livres sterling, ou quarante trois millions. On peut croire que ces trésors n'ont pas diminués depuis l'an 1722. Le moyen que le Canton employe pour s'enrichir est très simple. Il dépense beaucoup moins qu'il ne reçoit. Mais que reçoit il? Je l'ignore; mais je vais tâcher de le deviner. Les douze bailliages du Pays de Vaud rendent dans leurs six ans, à peu près cinq cens mille

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state which has amassed a large treasure. The secret has been so well kept, that it is not easy to ascertain its amount. Stanyan, the British envoy at Berne, a man inquisitive and possessed of good means of information, estimated forty years ago the money belonging to that republic, in the English funds, at three hundred thousand pounds, or seven millions of Swiss livres; and the sums remaining in the treasury of Berne, or dispersed through the other funds or banks of Europe, at eighteen hundred thousand pounds sterling, or forty-three millions Swiss. These treasures have not probably diminished since the year 1722. The Canton enriches itself by the simple means of receiving much and expending little. But what is the amount of its receipts? I know not, but I will try to discover it. The twelve bailiwics, or districts, of the Païs de Vaud pay, one with another, during the six years that they are governed

mille livres de Suisse, les uns portant les autres. Le revenu de douze, peut donc monter à un million de livres de rente. J'ai toujours entendu dire que les Baillis prennent le dix pour cent sur les revenus du souverain. Le voilà donc ce revenu d'un million par année. En rabattant les cent mille livres des Baillis, je compterois encore cent mille écus pour les charges de l'état, ce qui n'est point une supposition bâtie en l'air. Les autres deux cens mille écus, qui, dans un autre pays, fourniroient à l'entretien d'une cour et d'une armée, dont les dépenses feroient retomber sur la terre la rosée qui en étoit tirée, vont ici s'enfouir dans les coffres du souverain, ou se disperser dans les banques publiques, et précaires de l'Europe, pour être un jour une proye à l'infidélité d'un commis, ou à l'ambition d'un conquérant. Cette perte continuelle

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governed by the same magistrate, five hundred thousand Swiss livres. The contributions, therefore, of all the twelve amount to a million of livres annually. I have always been told that the bailiffs, or governors, retain ten *per cent.* on the revenues raised within their respective jurisdictions. The million of revenue, diminished by an hundred thousand livres consumed in the appointments of the *bailiffs*, is reduced to three hundred thousand crowns; of which one hundred thousand may be allowed for the expenses of the state, a sum not chosen at random; and the other two hundred thousand crowns, which in other countries would be employed in the maintenance of a court and army, whose incomes would circulate through the general mass of the people on whom they had been raised, are here buried in the coffers of the sovereignty, or dispersed through the precarious banks of Europe, to become one day a prey to the knavery of a clerk, or the ambition of

tinuelle des espèces éteint l'industrie, empêche tout effort, qui ne se peut faire sans argent, et appauvrit insensiblement le pays.

Tels sont vos maux, Monsieur. Eh bien! me repondez vous, n'avez vous sondé nos playes que pour en aigrir la douleur? Quel conseil nous donnez vous? Aucun, si vous ne m'avez pas déjà prévenu. Il y a une voye que je puis vous conseiller, c'est celle de la remontrance. Mais il y a des maux tellement enracinés dans la constitution d'un état, que Platon lui même n'eût pas espéré du succès pour une pareille députation. Ne tiendront ils pas contre les remontrances, eux qui ont pu tenir contre deux cens ans de fidélité et de services? Il y a un autre remède plus prompt, plus entier, plus glorieux: Guillaume Tell vous l'eût conseillé; mais je ne vous le conseille point. Je sais que l'esprit du citoyen, comme celui de la charité, souffre

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of a conqueror. This continual absorption of specie extinguishes industry, deadens every enterprise that requires the aid of money, and gradually impoverishes the country.

These, Sir, are your hardships. But I think you will say to me, "Have you thus probed our wounds merely to make us feel their smart? What advice do you give us?" None, unless you have already anticipated it. I would indeed advise you to remonstrate. But there are evils so deeply rooted in governments, that Plato himself would despair of curing them. What could you expect to obtain from those masters by remonstrances, who have remained during two centuries insensible to the merit of your faithful service? There is another remedy, more prompt, more perfect, and more glorious. William Tell would have prescribed it; I do not. I know that the spirit of a good citizen is, like that of charity, long-suffering, and hoping all things. The citizen is in the

souffre beaucoup, et espère longtems. Il a raison. Il connoit les malheurs attachés à la soumission. Il ignore ceux que la résistance pourroit entrainer. Vous, qui me connoissez, Monsieur, vous savez combien je respecte ces principes amis de la paix et des hommes. Tribun séditieux, je ne chercherai jamais à faire secouer au peuple le joug de l'autorité, pour le conduire du murmure, à la sédition ; de la sédition, à l'anarchie ; et de l'anarchie, peut-être, au despotisme.

Cependant avec la franchise, qui a partout conduit ma plume, je vais détruire quelques monstres de romans, qui vous peuvent effrayer. Que vous préfériez le parti de l'enterprise ou celui du repos, je voudrois que ce fût la raison, et non le préjugé, qui vous dictât ce parti.

Les Bernois ont les droits sur votre obéissance ; vous craignez de leur faire une injustice en la retirant.

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the right ; since he knows the evils resulting from his submission, but knows not the greater evils which might be produced by his resistance. You know me too well to be ignorant how much I respect those principles, so friendly to the interests of peace and of human kind. I will never, in the language of a seditious tribune, persuade the people to shake off the yoke of authority, that they may proceed from murmur to sedition, from sedition to anarchy, and from anarchy perhaps to despotism.

Yet, with the freedom which has hitherto guided my pen, I will endeavour to destroy some giants of romance, which might otherwise inspire you with vain terror. Whether you prefer the road of bold enterprise or cautious repose, I wish that reason, not prejudice, should dictate your choice.

The magistrates of Berne have a right to expect your obedience; you fear to do them wrong in withholding it.

N° X.

Mr. GIBBON *to Mrs.* PORTEN.

DEAR MADAM, Lausanne, 1756.

FEAR no reproaches for your negligence, however great; for your silence, however long. I love you too well to make you any. Nothing, in my opinion, is so ridiculous as some kind of friends, wives, and lovers, who look on no crime as so heinous as the letting slip a post without writing. The charm of friendship is liberty; and he that would destroy the one, destroys, without designing it, the better half of the other. I compare friendship to charity, and letters to alms; the last signifies nothing without the first, and very often the first is very strong, although it does not shew itself by the other. It is not good-will which is wanting, it is only opportunities or means. However, one month---two months---three months---four months—I began not to be angry, but to be uneasy, for fear some accident had happened to you. I was often on the point of writing, but was always stopped by the hopes of hearing from you the next post. Besides, not to flatter you, your excuse is a very bad one. *You cannot entertain me by your letters.* I think I ought to know that better than you; and I assure you that one of *your plain sincere letters* entertains me more than the most polished one of Pliny or Cicero. 'Tis your heart speaks, and I look on your heart as much better in its way than either of their heads.

Out of pure politeness I ought to talk of * * * * * * * * before myself. I was some hours with him in this place, that is to say, almost all the time he was here. I find him always * * * * * * * * *, always good-natured, always amusing, and always trifling. I asked him some questions about Italy; he told me, he hurried out of it as soon as he could, because there was no French comedy, and he did not love the Italian opera. I let slip some words of the pleasure he would have of seeing his native country again, on account of the services he could render her in parliament. "Yes, (says he,) I want vastly to be at London; there are three years since I have seen Garrick." He spoke to me of you, and indeed not only with consideration, but with affection. Were there nothing else valuable in his character, I should love him, because he loves you. He told me he intended to see you as soon as he should be in England; I am glad he has kept his word. I was so taken up with my old friend, that I could not speak a word to * * * * * *. He appeared, however, a good, sensible, modest young man. Poor Minorca indeed thus lost! but poor Englishmen who have lost it! I think the second exclamation still stronger than the first. Poor Lord Torrington! I can't help pitying him. What a shameful uncle he has! I shall lose all my opinion of my countrymen, if the whole nation, Whigs, Tories, Courtiers, Jacobites, &c. &c. &c. are not unanimous in detesting that man. Pray is there any truth in a story we had here, of a brother

ther of Admiral Byng's having killed himself out of rage and shame? I did not think he had any brothers alive. It is thought here that Byng will be acquitted. I hope not. Though I do not love rash judgments, I cannot help thinking him guilty.

You ask me, when I shall come into England? How should I know it? The 14th of June I wrote to my father, and saying nothing of my return, which I knew would have been to no purpose, I desired him to give me a fixed allowance of 200*l.* a-year, or, at least, to allow me a servant. No answer. About a fortnight ago I renewed my request; and I cannot yet know what will be my success. I design to make a virtue of necessity, to keep quiet during this winter, and to put in use all my machines next spring, in order to come over.* I shall write the strongest, and at the same time the most dutiful letter I can imagine to my father. If all that produces no effect, I don't know what I can do.

You talk to me of my cousin Ellison's wedding; but you don't say a word of who she is married to. Is it Elliot? Though you have not seen my father yet, I suppose you have heard of him. How was he in town? His wife, was she with him? Has marriage produced any changement in his way of living? Is he to be always at Beriton, or will he come up to London in winter? Pray have you

* This Letter is a curious specimen of the degree in which Mr. Gibbon had lost the English language in a short time.

ever seen my mother-in-law, or heard any thing more of her character? Compliments to every body that makes me compliments: to the Gilberts, to the Comarques, to Lord Nuneham, &c. When you see the Comarques again, ask them if they did not know, at Putney, Monsieur la Vabre, and his daughters; perhaps you know them yourself. I saw them lately in this country; one of them very well married.

The Englishman who lodges in our house, is little sociable, at least for a reasonable person. My health always good, my studies pretty good. I understand Greek pretty well. I have even some kind of correspondence with several learned men, with Mr. Crevier of Paris, with Mr. Breitinger of Zurich, and with Mr. Allamand, a clergyman of this country, the most reasonable divine I ever knew. Do you never read now? I am a little piqued that you say nothing of Sir Charles Grandison; if you have not read it yet, read it for my sake. Perhaps Clarissa does not encourage you; but, in my opinion, it is much superior to Clarissa. When you have read it, read the letters of Madame de Sevigné to her daughter; I don't doubt of their being translated into English. They are properly what I called in the beginning of my letter, letters of the heart; the natural expressions of a mother's fondness; regret at their being at a great distance from one another, and continual schemes to get together again. All that, won't it please you? There is scarce any thing else in six whole volumes: and notwithstanding that, few people read them

them without finding them too short. Adieu: my paper is at an end. I don't dare to tell you to write soon. Do it, however, if you can. Your's affectionately,

E. GIBBON.

N° XI.

Rev. Dr. WALDGRAVE* *to* EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. junior.*

Washington, near Storrington,
Dec. 7, 1758.

DEAR SIR,

I HAVE read nothing for some time (and I keep reading on still) that has given me so much pleasure as your letter, which I received by the last post. I rejoice at your return to your country, to your father, and to the good principles of truth and reason. Had I in the least suspected your design of leaving us, I should immediately have put you upon reading Mr. Chillingworth's Religion of Protestants; any one page of which is worth a library of Swiss divinity. It will give me great pleasure to see you at Washington; where I am, I thank God, very well and very happy. I desire my respects to Mr. Gibbon; and am, with very great regard, dear Sir,

Your most affectionate humble servant,

THO. WALDGRAVE.

* Tutor to Mr. Gibbon when he first went to Magdalen College, Oxford. S.

N° XII.

Mr. GIBBON *to his* FATHER.

DEAR SIR, 1760.

AN address in writing, from a person who has the pleasure of being with you every day, may appear singular. However, I have preferred this method, as upon paper I can speak without a blush, and be heard without interruption. If my letter displeases you, impute it, dear Sir, only to yourself. You have treated me, not like a son, but like a friend. Can you be surprised that I should communicate to a friend, all my thoughts, and all my desires? Unless the friend approve them, let the father never know them; or at least, let him know at the same time, that however reasonable, however eligible, my scheme may appear to me, I would rather forget it for ever, than cause him the slightest uneasiness.

When I first returned to England, attentive to my future interest, you were so good as to give me hopes of a seat in parliament. This seat, it was supposed, would be an expense of fifteen hundred pounds. This design flattered my vanity, as it might enable me to shine in so august an assembly. It flattered a nobler passion; I promised myself that by the means of this seat I might be one day the instrument of some good to my country. But I soon perceived how little a mere virtuous inclination, unassisted by talents, could contribute towards

towards that great end; and a very short examination discovered to me, that those talents had not fallen to my lot. Do not, dear Sir, impute this declaration to a false modesty, the meanest species of pride. Whatever else I may be ignorant of, I think I know myself, and shall always endeavour to mention my good qualities without vanity, and my defects without repugnance. I shall say nothing of the most intimate acquaintance with his country and language, so absolutely necessary to every senator. Since they may be acquired, to allege my deficiency in them, would seem only the plea of laziness. But I shall say with great truth, that I never possessed that gift of speech, the first requisite of an orator, which use and labour may improve, but which nature alone can bestow. That my temper, quiet, retired, somewhat reserved, could neither acquire popularity, bear up against opposition, nor mix with ease in the crowds of public life. That even my genius (if you will allow me any) is better qualified for the deliberate compositions of the closet, than for the extemporary discourses of the parliament. An unexpected objection would disconcert me; and as I am incapable of explaining to others, what I do not thoroughly understand myself, I should be meditating while I ought to be answering. I even want necessary prejudices of party, and of nation. In popular assemblies, it is often necessary to inspire them; and never orator inspired well a passion, which he did not feel himself. Suppose me even mistaken in my own character; to set out with

the repugnance such an opinion must produce, offers but an indifferent prospect. But I hear you say, it is not necessary that every man should enter into parliament with such exalted hopes. It is to acquire a title the most glorious of any in a free country, and to employ the weight and consideration it gives, in the service of one's friends. Such motives, though not glorious, yet are not dishonourable; and if we had a borough in our command, if you could bring me in without any great expense, or if our fortune enabled us to despise that expense, then indeed I should think them of the greatest strength. But with our private fortune, is it worth while to purchase at so high a rate, a title, honourable in itself, but which I must share with every fellow that can lay out fifteen hundred pounds? Besides, dear Sir, a merchandise is of little value to the owner, when he is resolved not to sell it.

I should affront your penetration, did I not suppose you now see the drift of this letter. It is to appropriate to another use the sum with which you destined to bring me into parliament; to employ it, not in making me great, but in rendering me happy. I have often heard you say yourself, that the allowance you had been so indulgent as to grant me, though very liberal in regard to your estate, was yet but small, when compared with the almost necessary extravagancies of the age. I have indeed found it so, notwithstanding a good deal of economy, and an exemption from many of the common expenses of youth. This, dear Sir, would be a way of supplying these deficiencies,

ciencies, without any additional expense to you. But I forbear. If you think my proposals reasonable, you want no entreaties to engage you to comply with them; if otherwise, all will be without effect.

All that I am afraid of, dear Sir, is, that I should seem not so much asking a favour, as this really is, as exacting a debt. After all I can say, you will still remain the best judge of my good, and your own circumstances. Perhaps, like most landed gentlemen, an addition to my annuity would suit you better, than a sum of money given at once; perhaps the sum itself may be too considerable. Whatever you shall think proper to bestow upon me, or in whatever manner, will be received with equal gratitude.

I intended to stop here; but as I abhor the least appearance of art, I think it will be better to lay open my whole scheme at once. The unhappy war which now desolates Europe, will oblige me to defer seeing France till a peace. But that reason can have no influence upon Italy, a country which every scholar must long to see; should you grant my request, and not disapprove of my manner of employing your bounty, I would leave England this autumn, and pass the winter at Lausanne with M. de Voltaire and my old friends. The armies no longer obstruct my passage, and it must be indifferent to you, whether I am at Lausanne or at London during the winter, since I shall not be at Beriton. In the spring I would cross the Alps, and after some stay in Italy, as the war must then

be

be terminated, return home through France; to live happily with you and my dear mother. I am now two-and-twenty; a tour must take up a considerable time, and though I believe you have no thoughts of settling me soon, (and I am sure I have not,) yet so many things may intervene, that the man who does not travel early, runs a great risk of not travelling at all. But this part of my scheme, as well as the whole, I submit entirely to you.

Permit me, dear Sir, to add, that I do not know whether the complete compliance with my wishes could increase my love and gratitude; but that I am very sure, no refusal could diminish those sentiments with which I shall always remain, dear Sir,

Your most dutiful and obedient son and servant,

E. GIBBON, junior.

N° XIII.

Mr. MALLET *to Mr.* GIBBON.

DEAR SIR, 1761.

I COULD not procure you a ticket for the coronation, without putting you to the expense of ten guineas. But I now send you something much more valuable, which will cost you only a groat. When will your father or you be in town? Desire Becket to send me one of your books, well bound, for myself: all the other copies I gave away, as Duke Desenany drunk out ten dozen of Lord Bolingbroke's

Bolingbroke's Champagne in his absence—to your honour and glory. I need not tell you that I am,

most affectionately,
the Major's and your
very humble servant,
D. MALLET.

Turn over, read, and be delighted.
Let your father too read.

J'AI lu avec autant d'avidité que de satisfaction le bon et agréable ouvrage, dont l'auteur m'a fait présent. Je parle comme si M. Gibbon ne m'avoit pas loué, et même un peu trop fort. J'ai lu le livre d'un citoyen du monde, d'un véritable homme de lettres, qui les aime pour elles mêmes, sans exception ni prévention, et qui joint à beaucoup d'esprit, le bon sens plus rare que l'esprit, ainsi qu'une impartialité qui le rend juste et modeste, malgré l'impression qu'il a dû recevoir des auteurs sans nombre qu'il a lus, et très bien lus. J'ai donc dévoré ce petit ouvrage, auquel je desirerois de bon cœur

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I READ with as much eagerness as pleasure the excellent and agreeable work with which the author presented me. I speak as if Mr. Gibbon had not praised me, and that too warmly. His work is that of a real man of letters, who loves them for their own sake, without exception or prejudice; and who unites with much talent the more precious gift of good sense, and an impartiality that displays his candour and justice, in spite of the bias that he must have received from the innumerable authors whom he has read and studied. I have therefore perused, with the greatest avidity,

cœur une plus grande étendue, et que je voudrois faire lire à tout le monde.

Je témoigne aussi à My Lady Hervey, l'obligation que je lui ai, de m'avoir fait connoître un auteur qui prouve à chaque mot, que la littérature n'est ennemie que de l'ignorance et des travers, qui mérite d'avoir des Maty pour amis, et qui d'ailleurs honore et fortifie notre langue par l'usage que son esprit en sait faire. Si j'étois plus savant, j'appuyerois sur le mérite des discussions, et sur la justesse des observations.

CAYLUS.

N° XIV.

GEO. LEWIS SCOTT, *Esquire*,* *to* EDWARD GIBBON, *junior*.

SUPPOSING you settled in quarters, dear Sir, I obey your commands, and send you my thoughts, relating to the pursuit of your mathematical stu-

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avidity, this little work; and wish that it was more extensive, and read universally.

I would also express my thanks to Lady Hervey, for making me acquainted with an author who proves in every page that learning is hostile only to ignorance and prejudice; who deserves to have a Maty for his friend, and who adds honour and strength to our language by the use which he so ably makes of it. Were I more learned I should dwell on the merit of the discussions, and the justness of the observations.

* A very able mathematician.

dies.

dies. You told me, you had read Clairaut's Algebra, and the three first books of l'Hopital's Conic Sections. You did not mention the Elements of Geometry you had perused. Whatever they were, whether Euclid's, or by some other, you will do well, if you have not applied yourself that way for some time past, to go over them again, and render the conclusions familiar to your memory. You may defer, however, a very critical inquiry into the principles and reasoning of geometers, till Dr. Simson's new edition of Euclid (now in the press) appears. I would have you study that book well; in the mean time recapitulate Clairaut and l'Hopital, so far as you have gone, and then go through the remainder of the Marquis's books with care. The fifth book will be an Introduction to the "*Analyse des Infiniment petits;*" to which I would advise you to proceed, after finishing the Conic Sections. The *Infiniment petits* may want a comment; Crousaz has written one, but it is a wretched performance: he did not understand the first principles of the science he undertook to illustrate; and his geometry shews, that he did not understand the first principles of geometry. There is a posthumous work of M. Varignon's, called *Eclaircissemens sur l'Analyse des Infiniment petits*, Paris, 1725, 4to. This will be often of use to you. However, it must be owned, that the notion of the *Infiniment petits*, or *Infinitesimals*, as we call them, is too bold an assumption, and too remote from the principles of the ancients, our masters in geometry; and

and has given a handle to an ingenious author (Berkeley, late Bishop of Cloyne) to attack the logic of modern mathematicians. He has been answered by many, but by none so clearly as by Mr. Maclaurin, in his Fluxions, (2 vols. in 4to.) where you will meet with a collection of the most valuable discoveries in the mathematical and physico-mathematical sciences. I recommend this author to you; but whether you ought to read him immediately after M. de l'Hopital, may be a question. I think you may be satisfied at first with reading his introduction, and chap. 1. book I. of the grounds of the Method of Fluxions, and then proceed to chap. 12. of the same book, § 495 to § 505 inclusive, where he treats of the Method of Infinitesimals, and of the Limits of Ratios. You may then read chap. 1. book II. § 697 to § 714 inclusive; and this you may do immediately after reading the first section of the *Analyse des Infiniment petits:* or if you please, you may postpone a critical inquiry into the principles of Infinitesimals and Fluxions, till you have seen the use and application of this doctrine in the drawing of Tangents, and in finding the Maxima and Minima of Geometrical Magnitudes. *Annal. des Infin. pet.* § 2 *and* 3.

When you have read the beginning of l'Hopital's 4th sect. to sect. 65 inclusive, you may read Maclaurin's chap. 2, 3, and 4; where he fully explains the nature of these higher orders of Fluxions, and applies the notion to geometrical figures. Your principles

principles being then firmly established, you may finish M. de l'Hopital.

Your next step must be to the inverse method of Fluxions, called by the French *calcul intégral.* Monsieur de Bougainville has given us a treatise upon this subject, Paris, 1754, 4to. under the title *Traité du Calcul intégral pour servir de suite à l'Analyse des Infiniment petits.* You should have it; but though he explains the methods hitherto found out for the determination of Fluents from given Fluxions, or in the French style, *pour trouver les intégrales des différences donneés;* yet as he has not shewn the use and application of this doctrine, as de l'Hopital did, with respect to that part which he treats of, M. de Bougainville's book is, for that reason, not so well suited to beginners as could be wished. You may therefore take Carré's book in 4to, printed at Paris, 1700, and entitled *Méthode pour la Mesure des Surfaces,* &c. *par l'Application du Calcul intégral.* Only I must caution you against depending upon him in his fourth section, where he treats of the centre of oscillation and percussion; he having made several mistakes there, as M. de Mairan has shewn, p. 196. *Mem. de l'Acad. Royale des Sciences,* édit. Paris, 1735. After Carré, you may read Bougainville.

I have recommended French authors to you, because you are a thorough master of that language, and because, by their studying style and clearness of expression, they seem to me best adapted to beginners. Our authors are often profound and acute,

acute, but their laconisms, and neglect of expression, often perplex beginners. I except Mr. Maclaurin, who is very clear; but then he has such a vast variety of matter, that a great part of his book is, on that account, too difficult for a beginner. I might recommend other authors to you, as a course of elements; for instance, you might read Mr. Thomas Simpson's Geometry, Algebra, Trigonometry, and Fluxions; all which contain a great variety of good things. In his Geometry he departs from Euclid without a sufficient reason. However, you may read him after Dr. Robert Simson's Euclid, or together with it, and take notice of what is new in Thomas Simpson. His Algebra you may join with Clairaut; and the rather that Clairaut has been sparing of particular problems, and has, besides, omitted several useful applications of Algebra. Simpson's Fluxions may go hand in hand with l'Hopital, Maclaurin, Carré, and Bougainville. If you come to have a competent knowledge of these authors, you will be far advanced, and you may proceed to the works of Newton, Cotes, the Bernoulli's, Dr. Moivre, &c. as your inclination and time will permit. Sir Isaac Newton's treatise of the Quadrature of Curves has been well commented by Mr. Stewart, and is of itself a good institution of Fluxions. Sir Isaac's Algebra is commented in several places by Clairaut, and in more in Maclaurin's Algebra; and Newton's famous Principia are explained by the *Minims Jacquirs et le Seur*, Geneva, 4 vols. 4to. Cotes is explained

explained by Don Walmesley, in his *Analyse des Mesures*, &c. Paris, 4to. You see you may find work enough. But my paper bids me subscribe myself, dear Sir,

Your most obedient servant,
GEO. LEWIS SCOTT.

Leicester Square, May 7, 1762.

P. S. But I recollect, a little late, that the books I have mentioned, excepting Newton's Principia, and the occasional problems in the rest, treat only of the abstract parts of the Mathematics; and you are, no doubt, willing to look into the concrete parts, or what is called Mixed Mathematics, and the Physico-mathematical Sciences. Of these the principal are, mechanics, optics, and astronomy. As to the principles of mechanics, M. d'Alembert has recommended M. Trabaud's *Principes du Mouvement et de l'Equilibre*, to beginners; and you cannot do better than to study this book. In optics we have Dr. Smith's complete System, 2 vols. 4to. I wish though, we had a good institution, short and clear; the Doctor's book entering into too great details for beginners. However, you may consider his first book, or popular Treatise, as an Institution, and you will from thence acquire a good deal of knowledge. In astronomy I recommend M. le Monnier's *Institutions Astronomiques*, in 4to. Paris, 1746. It is a translation from Keil's Astronomical Lectures, but with considerable additions. You should also have Cassini's *Elémens d' Astronomie*, 2 vols. 4to. As to the physical

causes of the celestial motions, after having read Maclaurin's account of Sir Isaac Newton's philosophical Discoveries, and Dr. Pemberton's View of Sir Isaac's Philosophy, you may read the great author himself, with the comment. But if you read Maclaurin's Fluxions throughout, you will find many points of Sir Isaac's philosophy well explained there. The theory of light and colours should be studied in Sir Isaac himself, in the English edition of his Optics, 8vo. there is a branch of the optical sciences which I have not mentioned, that is, Perspective. Dr. Brook Taylor's is the best system, but his style and expression are embarrassed and obscure. L'Abbé de la Caille has also given a good treatise of Perspective, at the end of his *Optique:* these are of use to painters; but the theory of mathematical projection in general is more extensive, and has been well treated of by old writers, Clavius, Aguillonius, Tacquet, and De Chules: and lately M. de la Caille has given a memoir among those of the *Acad. Roy. des Sciences* of Paris, *anno* 1741, *sur le calcul des projections en général.* This subject is necessary for the understanding of the theory of maps and planispheres. Mathematicians have also applied their art to the theory of sounds and music. Dr. Smith's Harmonics is the principal book of the kind.

Thus have I given you some account of the principal elementary authors in the different branches of mathematical knowledge, and it were much to be wished that we had a complete institution, or course, of all these things of a moderate size,

size, which might serve as an introduction to all the good original authors. Wolfius attempted this; his intention was laudable, but his book is so full of errors of the press, besides some of his own, that I cannot recommend him to a beginner. He might be used occasionally for the signification of terms, and for many historical facts relating to mathematics; and, besides, may be considered as a collector of problems, which is useful.

Besides the books I have mentioned, it might be of use to you to have M. Montucla's *Histoire des Mathématiques*, in 4to. 2 vols. You will there find a history of the progress of the mathematical sciences, and some account of the principal authors relating to this subject.

I mentioned to you in conversation, the superior elegance of the ancient method of demonstration. If you incline to examine this point, after being well versed in Euclid, you may proceed to Dr. Simson's Conic Sections; and to form an idea of the ancient analysis or method of investigating the solution of geometrical problems, read Euclid's Data, which Dr. Simson will publish, together with his new edition of Euclid; and then read his *Loci Plani*, in 4to. The elegance of the method of the ancients is confessed; but it seems to require the remembrance of a great multitude of propositions, and in complicated problems it does not seem probable that it can be extended so far as the algebraic method.

N° XV.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esquire, to Mrs.* GIBBON, Beriton.

DEAR MADAM, Paris, February the 12th, 1763.

YOU remember our agreement,—short and frequent letters. The first part of the treaty you have no doubt of my observing. I think I ought not to leave you any of the second. *A propos* of treaty: our definitive one was signed here yesterday, and this morning the Duke of Bridgewater and Mr. Neville went for London with the news of it. The plenipotentiaries sat up till ten o'clock in the morning at the ambassador of Spain's ball, and then went to sign this treaty, which regulates the fate of Europe.

Paris, in most respects, has fully answered my expectations. I have a number of very good acquaintance, which increase every day; for nothing is so easy as the making them here. Instead of complaining of the want of them, I begin already to think of making a choice. Next Sunday, for instance, I have only three invitations to dinner. Either in the houses you are already acquainted, you meet with people who ask you to come and see them, or some of your friends offer themselves to introduce you. When I speak of these connections, I mean chiefly for dinner and the evening. Suppers, as yet, I am pretty much a stranger to, and I fancy shall continue so; for Paris is divided into two species, who have but little communication

tion with each other. The one, who is chiefly connected with the men of letters, dine very much at home, are glad to see their friends, and pass the evenings till about nine, in agreeable and rational conversation. The others are the most fashionable, sup in numerous parties, and always play, or rather game, both before and after supper. You may easily guess which sort suits me best. Indeed, Madam, we may say what we please of the frivolity of the French, but I do assure you, that in a fortnight passed at Paris, I have heard more conversation worth remembering, and seen more men of letters among the people of fashion, than I had done in two or three winters in London.

Amongst my acquaintance I cannot help mentioning M. Helvetius, the author of the famous book *de l'Esprit*. I met him at dinner at Madame Geoffrin's, where he took great notice of me, made me a visit next day, has ever since treated me, not in a polite but a friendly manner. Besides being a sensible man, an agreeable companion, and the worthiest creature in the world, he has a very pretty wife, an hundred thousand livres a year, and one of the best tables in Paris. The only thing I dislike in him is his great attachment to, and admiration for, * * * *, whose character is indeed at Paris beyond any thing you can conceive. To the great civility of this foreigner, who was not obliged to take the least notice of me, I must just contrast the behaviour of * * * * * *

N° XVI.

Mr. GIBBON *to his* FATHER.

DEAR SIR, Paris, February 24, 1763.

I HAVE now passed nearly a month in this place, and I can say with truth, that it has answered my most sanguine expectations. The buildings of every kind, the libraries, the public diversions, take up a great part of my time; and I have already found several houses, where it is both very easy and very agreeable to be acquainted. Lady Hervey's recommendation to Madame Geoffrin was a most excellent one. Her house is a very good one; regular dinners there every Wednesday, and the best company of Paris, in men of letters and people of fashion. It was at her house I connected myself with M. Helvetius, who, from his heart, his head, and his fortune, is a most valuable man.

At his house I was introduced to the Baron d'Olbach, who is a man of parts and fortune, and has two dinners every week. The other houses I am known in, are the Duchess d'Aiguillon's, Madame la Comtesse de Froulay's, Madame du Bocage, Madame Boyer, M. le Marquis de Mirabeau, and M. de Forcemagne. All these people have their different merit; in some I meet with good dinners; in others, societies for the evening; and in all, good sense, entertainment, and civility; which, as I have no favours to ask, or business to transact with them, is sufficient for me. Their men of letters

ters are as affable and communicative as I expected. My letters to them did me no harm, but were very little necessary. My book had been of great service to me, and the compliments I have received upon it would make me insufferably vain, if I laid any stress on them. When I take notice of the civilities I have received, I must take notice too of what I have seen of a contrary behaviour. You know how much I always built upon the Count de Caylus: he has not been of the least use to me. With great difficulty I have seen him, and that is all. I do not, however, attribute his behaviour to pride, or dislike to me, but solely to the man's general character, which seems to be a very odd one. De la Motte, Mrs. Mallet's friend, has behaved very drily to me, though I have dined with him twice. But I can forgive him a great deal, in consideration of his having introduced me to M. d'Augny (Mrs. Mallet's son). Her men are generally angels or devils; but here I really think, without being very prone to admiration, that she has said very little too much of him. As far as I can judge, he has certainly an uncommon degree of understanding and knowledge, and, I believe, a great fund of honour and probity. We are very much together, and I think our intimacy seems to be growing into a friendship. Next Sunday we go to Versailles; the king's guard is done by a detachment from Paris, which is relieved every four days; and as he goes upon this command, it is a very good occasion for me to see the palace. I shall

not neglect, at the same time, the opportunity of informing myself of the French discipline.

The great news at present is the arrival of a very extraordinary person from the Isle of France in the East Indies. An obscure Frenchman, who was lately come into the island, being very ill, and given over, said, that before he died he must discharge his conscience of a great burden he had upon it, and declared to several people, he was the accomplice of Damien, and the very person who held the horses. Unluckily for him, the man recovered after this declaration, was immediately sent prisoner to Paris, and is just landed at Port l'Orient, from whence he is daily expected here, to unravel the whole mystery of that dark affair. This story (which at first was laughed at) has now gained entire credit, and I apprehend must be founded on real fact.

I am, dear Sir, most affectionately yours,

E. GIBBON.

N° XVII.

Mr. GIBBON *to Mr.* HOLROYD *at* Lausanne.

Boromean Islands, May 16th, 1764.

DEAR HOLROYD,

HURRY of running about, time taken up with seeing places, &c. &c. &c. are excellent excuses; but I fancy you will guess that my laziness and aversion to writing to my best friend are the real motives, and I am afraid you will have guessed right.

We

We are at this minute in a most magnificent palace, in the middle of a vast lake; ranging about suites of rooms without a soul to interrupt us, and secluded from the rest of the universe. We shall sit down in a moment to supper, attended by all the Count's household. This is the fine side of the medal: turn to the reverse. We are got here wet to the skin; we have crawled about fine gardens which rain and fogs prevented our seeing; and if to-morrow does not hold up a little better, we shall be in some doubt whether we can say we have seen these famous islands. Guise says yes, and I say no. The Count is not here; we have our supper from a paltry hedge alehouse, (excuse the bull,) and the servants have offered us beds in the palace, pursuant to their master's directions.

I hardly think you will like Turin; the court is old and dull; and in that country every one follows the example of the court. The principal amusement seems to be, driving about in your coach in the evening, and bowing to the people you meet. If you go while the Royal Family is there, you have the additional pleasure of stopping to salute them every time they pass. I had that advantage fifteen times one afternoon. We were presented to a lady who keeps a public assembly, and a very mournful one it is; the few women that go to it are each taken up by their cicisbeo; and a poor Englishman, who can neither talk Piedmontois nor play at Faro, stands by himself without one of their haughty nobility doing him the honour of speaking to him. You must not attribute

bute this account to our not having staid long enough to form connections. It is a general complaint of our countrymen, except of Lord * * * * who has been engaged for about two years in the service of a lady, whose long nose is her most distinguishing fine feature. The most sociable women I have met with are the king's daughters. I chatted for about a quarter of an hour with them, talked about Lausanne, and grew so very free and easy, that I drew my snuff-box, rapped it, took snuff twice, (a crime never known before in the presence chamber,) and continued my discourse in my usual attitude of my body bent forwards, and my fore finger stretched out.* As it might however have been difficult to keep up this acquaintance, I chiefly employed my time in seeing places, which fully repaid me in pleasure the trouble of my journey. What entertained me the most, was the museum and the citadel. The first is under the care of a M. Bartoli, who received us, without any introduction, in the politest manner in the world, and was of the greatest service to us, as I dare say he will be to you. The citadel is a stupendous work; and when you have seen the sub-

* This attitude continued to be characteristic of Mr. Gibbon, and an engraved representation of it was annexed to the first Edition of these Memoirs; but having been considered by several persons as a very unfavourable likeness, (which it undoubtedly is,) and rather as a caricature of Mr. Gibbon, it is now omitted: it is, however, certain, that Mr. Gibbon did not consider it in that light: he gave it to me himself. In its place is substituted an Engraving of the best likeness that exists of Mr. Gibbon. S.

terraneous

terraneous part of it, you will scarcely think it possible such a place can ever be taken. As it is however a regular one, it does not pique my curiosity so much as those irregular fortifications hewn out of the Alps, as Exiles, Fenestrelles, and the Brunette would have done, could we have spared the time necessary. Our next stage from Turin was Milan, where we were mere spectators, as it was not worth while to endeavour at forming connections for so very few days. I think you will be surprised at the great church, but infinitely more so at the regiment of Baden, which is in the citadel. Such steadiness, such alertness in the men, and such exactness in the officers, as exceeded all my expectations. Next Friday I shall see the regiment reviewed by General Serbelloni. Perhaps I may write a particular letter about it. From Milan we proceed to Genoa, and thence to Florence. You stare—But really we find it so inconvenient to travel like mutes, and to lose a number of curious things for want of being able to assist our eyes with our tongues, that we have resumed our original plan, and leave Venice for next year. I think I should advise you to do the same.

Milan, May 18th, 1764.

The next morning was not fair, but however we were able to take a view of the islands, which, by the help of some imagination, we conclude to be a very delightful, though not an enchanted place. I would certainly advise you to go there from Milan,

lan, which you may very well perform in a day and a half. Upon our return, we found Lord Tilney and some other English in their way to Venice. We heard a melancholy piece of news from them: Byng died at Bologna a few days ago of a fever. I am sure you will be all very sorry to hear it.

We expect a volume of news from you in relation to Lausanne, and in particular to the alliance of the Duchess with the Frog. Is it already concluded? How does the bride look after her great revolution? Pray embrace her and the adorable, if you can, in both our names; and assure them, as well as all the *Spring*,* that we talk of them very often, but particularly of a Sunday; and that we are so disconsolate, that we have neither of us commenced cicisbeos as yet, whatever we may do at Florence. We have drank the Duchess's health, not forgetting the little woman, on the top of Mount Cenis, in the middle of the Lago Maggiore, &c. &c. I expect some account of the said little woman. Who is my successor? I think Montagny had begun to supplant me before I went. I expect your answer at Florence, and your person at Rome; which the Lord grant. Amen.

* The society of young ladies mentioned in the Memoirs.

N° XVIII.

Mr. GIBBON *to Mr.* HOLROYD *at* Berlin.

DEAR HOLROYD, Beriton, Oct. 31, 1765.

WHY did I not leave a letter for you at Marseilles? For a very plain reason: because I did not go to Marseilles. But, as you have most judiciously added, why did not I send one? Humph. I own that nonplusses me a little. However, hearken to my history. After revolving a variety of plans, and suiting them as well as possible to time and finances, Guise and I at last agreed to pass from Venice to Lyons, swim down the Rhone, wheel round the south of France, and embark at Bourdeaux. Alas! At Lyons I received letters which convinced me that I ought no longer to deprive my country of one of her greatest ornaments. Unwillingly I obeyed, left Guise to execute alone the remainder of our plan, passed about ten delicious days at Paris, and arrived in England about the end of June. Guise followed me about two months afterwards, as I was informed by an epistle from him, which, to his great astonishment, I immediately answered. You perceive there is still some virtue amongst men. *Exempli gratiâ*, your letter is dated Vienna, October 12th, 1765; it made its appearance at Beriton, Wednesday evening, October 29th. I am at this present writing, sitting in my library, on Thursday morning, between the hours of twelve and one. I have ventured to suppose you still at Berlin; if not, I presume

presume you take care that your letters should follow you. This ideal march to Berlin is the only one I can make at present. I am under command: and were I to talk of a third sally as yet, I know some certain people who would think it just as ridiculous as the third sally of the renowned Don Quixote. All I ever hoped for was, to be able to take the field once more, after lying quiet a couple of years. I must own that your executing your tour in so complete a manner gives me a little selfish spleen. If I make a summer's escape to Berlin, I cannot hope for the companion I flattered myself with. I am sorry however I have said so much; but as it is difficult to increase your Honour's proper notions of your own perfections, I will e'en let it stand. Indeed I owed you something for your account of the favourable reception my book has met with. I see there are people of taste at Vienna, and no longer wonder at your liking it. Since the court is so agreeable, a thorough reformation must have taken place. The stiffness of the Austrian etiquette, and the haughty magnificence of the Hungarian princes, must have given way to more civilized notions. You have (no doubt) informed yourself of the forces and revenues of the empress. I think (however unfashionably) we always esteemed her. Have you lost or improved that opinion? Princes, like pictures, to be admired, must be seen in their proper point of view, which is often a pretty distant one. I am afraid you will find it peculiarly so at Berlin.

I need

I need not desire you to pay a most minute attention to the Austrian and Prussian discipline. You have been bit by a mad serjeant as well as myself; and when we meet, we shall run over every particular which we can approve, blame, or imitate. Since my arrival, I have assumed the august character of Major, received returns, issued orders, &c. &c. &c. I do not intend you shall have the honour of reviewing my troops next summer. Three fourths of the men will be recruits; and during my pilgrimage, discipline seems to have been relaxed. But I summon you to fulfil another engagement. Make me a visit next summer. You will find here a bad house, a pleasant country in summer, some books, and very little *strange* company. Such a plan of life for two or three months must, I should imagine, suit a man who has been for as many years struck from one end of Europe to the other like a tennis-ball. At least I judge of you by myself. I always loved a quiet, studious, indolent life; but never enjoyed the charms of it so truly, as since my return from an agreeable but fatiguing course of motion and hurry. However I shall hear of your arrival, which can scarcely be so soon as January 1766, and shall probably have the misfortune of meeting you in town soon after. We may then settle any plans for the ensuing campaign.

En attendant, (admire me, this is the only scrap of foreign lingo I have imported into this epistle—if you had seen that of Guise to me!) let me tell you a piece of Lausanne news. Nanette Grand is married

married to Lieutenant Colonel Prevost. Grand wrote to me; and by the next post I congratulated both father and daughter. There is exactness for you. The Curchod (Madame Necker) I saw at Paris. She was very fond of me, and the husband particularly civil. Could they insult me more cruelly? Ask me every evening to supper; go to bed, and leave me alone with his wife—what an impertinent security! it is making an old lover of mighty little consequence. She is as handsome as ever, and much genteeler; seems pleased with her fortune rather than proud of it. I was (perhaps indiscreetly enough) exalting Nanette d'Illens's good luck and the fortune. What fortune? (said she, with an air of contempt)—not above twenty thousand livres a-year. I smiled, and she caught herself immediately.—"What airs I give myself in despising twenty thousand livres a-year, who a year ago looked upon eight hundred as the summit of my wishes."

I must end this tedious scrawl. Let me hear from you: I think I deserve it. Believe me, dear Holroyd, I share in all your pleasures, and feel all your misfortunes. Poor Bolton!* I saw it in the newspaper.

* Theophilus Bolton, Esq. a very amiable man, of considerable talents, descended from Sir Richard Bolton, Lord Chancellor of Ireland in the reign of Charles I. and great nephew to Theophilus Bolton, Archbishop of Cashel. He made the tour with Major Ridley and Mr. Holroyd from Lausanne as far as Naples. On the road from Rome to Cajeta, he broke a blood vessel. After passing some time at Naples, the physicians recommended to him a sea voyage.

newspaper. Is Ridley* with you? I suspect not: but if he is, assure him I do not forget him though he does me. Adieu; and believe me, most affectionately yours,

E. GIBBON, Junior.

N° XIX.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to* J. HOLROYD, *Esq.*

DEAR HOLROYD, Beriton, April 29, 1767.

I HAPPENED to-night to stumble upon a very odd piece of intelligence in the St. James's Chronicle; it related to the marriage of a certain Monsieur Olroy,† formerly Captain of Hussars. I do not know how it came into my head that this Captain of Hussars was not unknown to me, and that he might possibly be an acquaintance of yours. If I am not mistaken in my conjecture, pray give my compliments to him, and tell him from me, that I am at least as well pleased that he is married as if I were so myself. Assure him, however, that though as a philosopher I may prefer celibacy, yet as a politician I think it highly proper that the species should be propagated by the usual method; assure him even that I am convinced, that if celi-

voyage. Commodore Harrison most kindly took him and Mr. Holroyd on board the Centurion man of war; and two days after their arrival in the harbour of Genoa, Mr. Bolton died of a consumption.

* Son of Sir Mathew Ridley of Northumberland, Baronet, Major in the Welsh Fusileers. He had served during the seven years war under Prince Ferdinand in Germany.

† The name was so spelt in the newspapers.

bacy is exposed to fewer miseries, marriage can alone promise real happiness, since domestic enjoyments are the source of every good. May such happiness, which is bestowed on few, be given to him; the transient blessings of beauty, and the more durable ones of fortune, good sense, and an amiable disposition.

I can easily conceive, and as easily excuse you, if you have thought mighty little this winter of your poor rusticated friend. I have been confined ever since Christmas, and confined by a succession of very melancholy occupations. I had scarcely arrived at Beriton, where I proposed staying only about a fortnight, when a brother of Mrs. Gibbon's died unexpectedly, though after a very long and painful illness. We were scarcely recovered from the confusion which such an event must produce in a family, when my father was taken dangerously ill, and with some intervals has continued so ever since. I can assure you, my dear Holroyd, that the same event appears in a very different light when the danger is serious and immediate; or when, in the gaiety of a tavern dinner, we affect an insensibility that would do us no great honour were it real. My father is now much better; but I have since been assailed by a severe stroke—the loss of a friend. You remember, perhaps, an officer of our militia, whom I sometimes used to compare to yourself. Indeed, the comparison would have done honour to any one. His feelings were tender and noble, and he was always guided by them: his principles were just and generous, and he acted up

to

to them. I shall say no more, and you will excuse my having said so much, of a man with whom you were unacquainted; but my mind is just now so very full of him, that I cannot easily talk, or even think, of any thing else. If I know you right, you will not be offended at my *weakness*.

What rather adds to my uneasiness, is the necessity I am under of joining our militia the day after to-morrow. Though the lively hurry of such a scene might contribute to divert my ideas, yet every circumstance of it, and the place itself, (which was that of his residence,) will give me many a painful moment. I know nothing would better raise my spirits than a visit from you; the request may appear unseasonable, but I think I have heard you speak of *an uncle* you had near Southampton. At all events, I hope you will snatch a moment to write to me, and give me some account of your present situation and future designs. As you are now fettered, I should expect that you will not be such a *hic et ubique*,* as you have been since your arrival in England. I stay at Southampton from the first to the twenty-eighth of May, and then propose making a short visit to town: if you are any where in the neighbourhood of it, you may depend upon seeing me. I shall then concert measures for seeing a little more of you next winter, than I have lately done, as I hope to take a pretty long spell in town. I sup-

* The motto of the regiment called Royal Foresters, in which Mr. Holroyd had been Captain.

pose Guise has often fallen in your way: he has never once written to me, nor I to him: in the country we want materials, and in London we want time. I ought to recollect, that you even want time to read my unmeaning scrawl. Believe, however, my dear Holroyd, that it is the sincere expression of a heart entirely yours.

N° XX.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esquire, to* GEORGE LEWIS SCOTT, *Esquire.*

DEAR SIR,

As I know the value of your time, and as I have already borrowed some of it, I will not increase the debt by an idle preamble.

When I was in Switzerland, I contracted an intimate friendship with Mr. Deyverdun, a young gentleman of one of the best families of that country. Misfortunes have since that time ruined his fortune, and he is at present in a situation very inadequate to his birth and merit, a clerk in one of our Secretaries of State's offices. As the dull mechanic labour of his post still leaves him many leisure hours, he has formed a design of filling them by a work of which he is very capable, and which will perhaps do him some honour. Observing that since the time Dr. Maty discontinued his Journal Britannique, foreigners have often complained they had no tolerable account of English literature, he purposes supplying that deficiency. His understanding (I think I do not indulge a friend's partiality)

tiality) is an exceeding good one, his taste is delicate, his knowledge extensive; he is critically acquainted with our language, and writes very well his own. I have promised him all the little assistance in my power, and cannot help thinking that the union of two friends of different nations, whose genius, language, and even prejudices are so very opposite, may give a peculiar advantage to our works. Besides the extracts which form the basis of every journal, Mr. Deyverdun proposes to introduce two other branches, which, though equally interesting, have been much more neglected, the History of the Theatre and of the Polite Arts; and 2, The Manners of Nations, at least as much of them as a foreigner can describe or strangers understand; characterizing anecdotes, occasional memoirs of singular men or things, &c. will serve to illustrate this part. The plan of the first volume is already formed, and the execution is in great forwardness. This volume will comprize a General Review of the present year; (success, time, and the advice of our booksellers must determine the periods of our future publications.) It will contain the following articles:—L'Histoire de Henri II. par my Lord Lyttleton. 2. Le Nouveau Guide de Bath. 3. Histoire de la Société Civile, par Ferguson. 4. Conclusion des Mémoires de Miss Sidney Biddulph. 5. Témoignages Juifs et Payens en faveur du Christianisme, tome 4e, par le Docteur Lardner. 6. Lettres de my Lady Wortley Montague. Tome 7e De La Physique. 8. La Théologie. 9. Le Théâtre et Beaux Arts. 10. Les Mœurs.

11. Nouvelles Littéraires. You see, Sir, what a medley we have thrown together, but various stomachs, we think, require various food. Some can support nothing but novels, others can digest even divinity, and here we have provided accordingly a therogia who will serve them in their own way.

We were however both very conscious that though we were masters of no part of learning, yet there was one of the principal walks which we were peculiarly strangers to, that of the physical and mathematical sciences. This great obstacle was very near destroying our rising scheme, till at last despair gave me a kind of courage, I believe I might as well call it temerity; at last, dear Sir, I determined to apply to you. It would be impertinent in me to say that you are able to oblige us; I shall only say, that from my knowledge of your private character, I had some reason to hope that your inclination would be equal to your ability. What we desire are three or four abstracts every year of the best philosophical works that appear during that interval. To you, dear Sir, the task could not be a difficult one. For your own amusement you will probably peruse those works, and ideas so familiar to you will be very easily thrown upon paper. You will determine much better than we can pretend to do what book would be the properest, if you should condescend to grace our first volume with so great an ornament; but I could wish you would introduce a short Tableau of the present State of the Physical and Mathematical Sciences in this country, as it is the method

method we have agreed to follow in most of our first extracts. Though I know, dear Sir, that you perfectly understand the French language, yet as you may not be accustomed to write in it, every piece you honour us with shall be carefully translated, and if you desire it, submitted to your correction.

Such, dear Sir, is our plan. I flatter myself it will in some degree interest you, and that you will assist us with your advice as well as your pen. At least I will venture to say, that if you are ashamed of the authors, you never will be ashamed of the men. My friend's undertaking is founded upon the most liberal principles. He is well apprized of the small profit to be made from his labour, and resolved to avoid equally flattery and abuse.

If your present occupations should not allow you to assist us, I beg, dear Sir, that you would keep our secret, and that you would believe me,

With great respect,
Your most obedient humble servant,
EDWARD GIBBON, Junior.

Beriton, Oct. 19th, 1767.

N° XXI.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to* JOHN BAKER HOLROYD, *Esq.* Sheffield-Place.

DEAR HOLROYD, London, 1772.

THE sudden change from the sobriety of Sheffield-place to the irregularities of this town, and to

the wicked company of Wilbraham,* Clarke,† and Damer,‡ &c. having deranged me a good deal, I am forced to employ one of my secretaries to acquaint you with a piece of news I know nothing about myself. It is certain some extraordinary intelligence is arrived this morning from Denmark, and as certain that the levee was suddenly prevented by it. The particulars of that intelligence are variously and obscurely told. It is said, that the king had raised a little physician to the rank of minister and Ganymede; such a mad administration had so disgusted all the nobility, that the fleet and army had revolted, and shut up the king in his palace. *La Reine se trouve mélée là dedans;* and it is reported that she is confined, but whether in consequence of the insurrection, or some other cause, is not agreed. Such is the rough draft of an affair that nobody yet understands. *Embrassez, de ma part, Madame, et le reste de la chère famille.*

GIBBON.

Et plus bas—WILBRAHAM, Sec.

* George Wilbraham, Esq. of Delamere Lodge, Cheshire.

† Godfrey Clarke, Esq. Member for Derbyshire, who made the tour of Italy at the same time as Mr. Gibbon.

‡ The Hon. John Damer, eldest son of Lord Milton, afterwards created Earl of Dorchester.

N° XXII.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to* J. B. HOLROYD, *Esq.*

Boodle's, 10 o'clock, Monday night, Feb. 3d, 1772.

I LOVE, honour, and respect, every member of Sheffield-Place; even my great enemy *Datch, to whom you will please to convey my sincere wishes, that no *simpleton* may wait on him at dinner, that his wise papa may not shew him any pictures, and that his much wiser mamma may chain him hand and foot, in direct contradiction to Magna Charta and the bill of rights.

It is difficult to write news, because there is none. Parliament is perfectly quiet; and I think that Barré,† who is just now playing at whist in the room, will not have exercise of the lungs, except, perhaps, on a message much talked of, and soon expected, to recommend it to the wisdom of the House of Commons to provide a proper future remedy against the improper marriages of the younger branches of the Royal Family. The noise of Lutterel is subsided, but there was some foundation for it. The Colonel's expenses in his bold enterprise were yet unpaid by government. The hero threatened, assumed the patriot, received a sop, and again sunk into the courtier. As to Denmark, it seems now that the king, who was totally unfit for government, has only passed from the

* The name by which John William, the son of Mr. Holroyd, called himself.

† Colonel Barré.

hands

hands of his queen wife, to those of his queen mother-in-law. The former is said to have indulged a very *vague* taste in her amours. She would not be admitted into the Pantheon, whence the *gentlemen proprietors* exclude all beauty, unless unspotted and immaculate (tautology by the bye). *The gentlemen proprietors*, on the other hand, are friends and patrons of the leopard beauties. Advertising challenges have passed between the two great factions, and a bloody battle is expected Wednesday night. *A propos*, the Pantheon, in point of ennui and magnificence, is the wonder of the eighteenth century and of the British empire. Adieu.

N° XXIII.

The Same to the Same.

Boodle's, Saturday night, Feb. 8th, 1772.

Though it is very late, and the bell tells me that I have not above ten minutes left, I employ them with pleasure in congratulating you on the late victory of our dear mamma the Church of England. She had last Thursday seventy-one rebellious sons, who pretended to set aside her will on account of insanity: but two hundred and seventeen worthy champions, headed by Lord North, Burke, Hans Stanley, Charles Fox, Godfrey Clarke, &c. though they allowed the thirty-nine clauses of her testament were absurd and unreasonable, supported the validity of it with infinite humour. By the bye, Charles Fox prepared himself for that holy war, by passing twenty-two hours in the pious exercise

cise of hazard; his devotion cost him only about 500l. *per* hour—in all 11,000l. Gaby lost 5000l. This is from the best authority. I hear too, but will not warrant it, that W. H. by way of paying his court to L. C. has lost this winter 12,000l. How I long to be ruined!

There are two county contests, Sir Thomas Egerton and Colonel Townley in Lancashire, after the county had for some time gone a-begging. In Salop, Sir Watkin, supported by Lord Gower, happened by a punctilio to disoblige Lord Craven, who told us last night, that he had not quite 9,000l. a-year in that county, and who has set up Pigot against him. You may suppose we all wish for Got Amighty* against that black devil.

I am sorry your journey is deferred. Compliments to Datch. As he is now in durance, great minds forgive their enemies, and I hope he may be released by this time.——Coming, Sir. Adieu.

You see the Princess of W. is gone. Hans Stanley says, it is believed the Empress Queen has taken the same journey.

N° XXIV.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to* J. B. HOLROYD, *Esq.*

DEAR HOLROYD, London, Feb. 13th, 1772.

THE papers and plans arrived safe in town last night, and will be in your hands in their intact

* Alluding to the Welsh opinion that Sir Watkin was in Wales nearly as great a personage.

virgin

virgin state in a day or two. Consider them at leisure, if that word is known in the rural life. Unite, divide, but (above all) *raise*. Bring them to London with you: I wait your orders; nor shall I, for fear of tumbling, take a single step till your arrival, which, on many accounts, I hope will not be long deferred.

Clouds still hover over the horizon of Denmark. The public circumstances of the revolution are related, and, I understand, very exactly, in the foreign papers. The secret springs of it still remain unknown. The town indeed seems at present quite tired of the subject. The Princess's death, her character, and what she left, engross the conversation. She died without a will; and as her savings were generally disposed of in charity, the small remains of her personal fortune will make a trifling object when divided among her children. Her favourite, the P. of B. very properly insisted on the king's immediately sealing up all the papers, to secure her from the idle reports which would be so readily swallowed by the great English monster. The business of Lord and Lady * * * * * is finally compromised, by the arbitration of the Chancellor and Lord Camden. He gives her 1,200l. a-year separate maintenance, and 1,500l. to set out with: but as her Ladyship is now a new face, her husband, who has already bestowed on the public seventy young beauties, has conceived a violent but hopeless passion for his chaste moiety. Her brother told me that he has now in his hands a counter affidavit of Countess Deschoff, in which she

she declares that she received a sum of money to swear the former, the contents of which are totally false! Such infamous conduct may blast her, but can never acquit the other. Lord Chesterfield is dying. County oppositions subside. Adieu.

Entirely yours.

N° XXV.

The Same to the Same.

DEAR HOLROYD, Feb. 21st, 1772.

* * * * * * * * * *

HOWEVER, notwithstanding my indignation, I will employ five minutes in telling you two or three recent pieces of news.

1. Charles Fox is commenced patriot, and is already attempting to pronounce the words *country, liberty, corruption,* &c.; with what success, time will discover. Yesterday he resigned the Admiralty. The story is, that he could not prevail on ministry to join with him in his intended repeal of the marriage act, (a favourite measure of his father, who opposed it from its origin,) and that Charles very judiciously thought Lord Holland's friendship imported him more than Lord North's.

2. Yesterday the marriage message came to both Houses of Parliament. You will see the words of it in the papers: and, thanks to the submissive piety of this session, it is hoped that the princes of the next generation will not find it so easy as their uncles have done, to expose themselves and burthen the public.

3. To-day

3. To-day the House of Commons was employed in a very odd way. Tommy Townshend moved, that the sermon of Dr. Knowell, who preached before the House on the 30th of January, (*id est*, before the Speaker and four members,) should be burnt by the common hangman, as containing arbitrary, tory, high-flown doctrines. The House was nearly agreeing to the motion, till they recollected that they had already thanked the Preacher for his excellent discourse, and ordered it to be printed. Knowell's bookseller is much obliged to the Right Honourable Tommy Townshend.

When do you come to town? I want money, and am tired of sticking to the earth by so many roots. *Embrassez de ma part*, &c. Adieu.

Ever yours.

N° XXVI.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esquire, to Mrs.* GIBBON, Beriton.

DEAR MADAM, London, March 21st, 1772.

I HAVE advanced with some care and some success in gaining an idea of the Lenborough estate. The tenants are at will, and, from a comparison of my rents with the neighbouring ones, particularly Lord * * * *, there is great probability that my estate is very much under-let. My friend Holroyd, who is a most invaluable counsellor, is strongly of that opinion. Sir * * * * * * is just come home. I am sorry to see many alterations, and little improvement. From an honest wild English buck, he

he is grown a *philosopher*. Lord * * * * displeases every body by the affectation of consequence: the young baronet disgusts no less by the affectation of wisdom. He speaks in short sentences, quotes Montagne, seldom smiles, never laughs, drinks only water, professes to command his passions, and intends to marry in five months. The two lords, his uncle, as well as * * * *, attempt to shew him, that such behaviour, even were it reasonable, does not suit this country. He remains incorrigible, and is every day losing ground in the good opinion of the public, which at his first arrival ran strongly in his favour. Deyverdun is probably on his journey towards England, but is not yet come.

I am, dear Madam, &c. &c. &c.

N° XXVII.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to* J. B. HOLROYD, *Esq.*

DEAR HOLROYD, Pall-Mall, May 16th, 1772.

I WISH you lived nearer, or even that you could pass a week at Beriton. When shall you be at Richmond? or would there be any *use* in my going down to Sheffield for a day or two? In you alone I put my trust, and without you I should be perplexed, discouraged, and frightened; for not a single fish has yet bit at the Lenborough bait.

I dined the other day with Mr. Way at Boodle's. He told me, that he was just going down to Sheffield-Place. As he has probably unladen all the politics, and Mrs. Way all the scandal of the town, I shall

I shall for *the present only* satisfy myself with the needful; among which I shall always reckon my sincere compliments to Madame, and my profound respects for Mr. Datch.

I am, dear Holroyd,
Truly yours.

It is confidently asserted that the Emperor and King of Prussia are to run for very deep stakes over the Polish course. If the news be true, I back Austria against the aged horse, provided little Laudohn rides the match.

N. B. Crossing and jostling allowed.

N° XXVIII.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esquire, to Mrs.* HOLROYD, *Senior.*

Beriton, near Petersfield, Hampshire,
MADAM, July 17th, 1772.

THERE is not any event which could have affected me with greater surprise and deeper concern, than the news in last night's paper, of the death of our poor little amiable friend Master Holroyd, whom I loved, not only for his parents' sake, but for his own. Should the news be true, (for even yet I indulge some faint hopes,) what must be the distress of our friends at Sheffield! I so truly sympathize with them, that I know not how to write to Holroyd; but must beg to be informed of the state of the

the family by a line from you. I have some company and business here, but would gladly quit them, if I had the least reason to think that my presence at Sheffield would afford comfort or satisfaction to the man in the world whom I love and esteem most. I am, Madam, your most obedient humble Servant, &c.

N° XXIX.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esquire, to* J. B. HOLROYD, *Esquire.*

MY DEAR HOLROYD, Beriton, July 30th, 1772.

IT was my intention to set out for Sheffield as soon as I received your affecting letter, and I hoped to have been with you to-day; but walking very carelessly yesterday morning, I fell down, and put out a small bone in my ancle. I am now under the surgeon's hands, but think, and most earnestly hope, that this little accident will not delay my journey longer than the middle of next week. I share, and wish I could alleviate, your feelings. I beg to be remembered to Mrs. Holroyd. I am, my dear Holroyd, most truly yours.

N° XXX.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esquire, to Mrs.* GIBBON, Beriton.

DEAR MADAM, Sheffield-Place, August 7th, 1772.

I SET out at six yesterday morning from Uppark, and got to Brighthelmstone about two; a very thin

season, every body gone to Spa. In the evening I reached this place. My friend appears, as he ever will, in a light truly respectable; concealing the most exquisite sufferings under the show of composure, and even cheerfulness, and attempting, though with little success, to confirm the weaker mind of his partner. I find, my friend expresses so much uneasiness at the idea of my leaving him again soon, that I cannot refuse to pass the month here. If Mr. Scott, as I suppose, is at Beriton, he has himself too high a sense of friendship not to excuse my neglecting him. I had some hopes of engaging Mr. and Mrs. Holroyd to make an excursion to Portsmouth, Isle of Wight, Southampton, &c. in which case they would spend a few days at Beriton. A sudden resolution was taken last night in favour of the tour. We set out, Mr. and Mrs. Holroyd, Mr. Fauquier, and myself, next Thursday, and shall dine at Beriton the following day, and stay there, most probably, three or four days. A farm-house, without either cook or housekeeper, will afford but indifferent entertainment; but we must *exert*, and they must *excuse*. Our tour will last about a fortnight; after which my friend presses me to return with him, and in his present situation I shall be at a loss how to refuse him.

I am, dear Madam, &c. &c. &c.

N° XXXI.

Dr. HURD, (*afterwards Bishop of* Worcester) *to Mr.* GIBBON.

SIR, Thurcaston, August 29th, 1772.

YOUR very elegant letter on the antiquity and authenticity of the book of Daniel, (just now received,) finds me here, if not without leisure, yet without books, and therefore in no condition to enter far into the depths of this controversy; which indeed is the less necessary, as every thing that relates to the subject will come of course to be considered by my learned successors in the new lecture. For as the prophecies of Daniel made an important link in *that chain, which*, as you say, *has been let down from heaven to earth*, (but not by the author of the late sermons, who brought into view only what he had not invented,) the grounds on which their authority rests will, without doubt, be carefully examined, and, as I suppose, firmly established.

But in the mean time, and to make at least some small return for the civility of your address to me, I beg leave to trouble you with two or three short remarks, such as occur to me on reading your letter.

Your main difficulties are these two: 1. That the author of the book of Daniel is too clear for a prophet; as appears from his prediction of the Persian and Macedonian affairs; and, 2. too fabulous for a contemporary historian; as is evident,

you suppose, from his mistakes, particularly in the sixth chapter.

1. The first of these difficulties is an extraordinary one. For why may not prophecy, if the inspirer think fit, be as clear as history? Scriptural prophecy, whence your idea of its obscurity is taken, is *occasionally* thus clear, I mean after the event; and Daniel's prophecy of the revolutions in the Grecian empire, would have been obscure enough to Porphyry himself before it.

But your opinion, after all, when you come to explain yourself, really is, as one should expect, that, as a prophet, Daniel is not clear enough; for you enforce the old objection of Porphyry, by observing, that where a pretended prophecy is clear to a certain point of time, and afterwards obscure and shadowy, there common sense leads one to conclude that the author of it was an impostor.

This reasoning is plausible, but not conclusive, unless it be taken for granted, that a prophecy must, in all its parts, be equally clear and precise: whereas, on the supposition of real inspiration, it may be fit, I mean it may suit with the views of the inspirer, to predict some things with more perspicuity, and in terms more obviously and directly applicable to the events in which they were fulfilled, than others. But further, this reasoning, whatever force it may have, has no place here; at least you evidently beg the question when you urge it; because the persons you dispute against maintain, that the subsequent prophecies of Daniel are equally distinct with those preceding ones concerning

cerning the Persian and Macedonian empires, at least so much of them as they take to have been fulfilled; and that to judge of the rest, we must wait for the conclusion of them.

However, you admit that the suspicion arising from the clearest prophecy may be removed by direct positive evidence that it was composed before the event. But then you carry your notions of that evidence very far, when you require, "that the existence of such a prophecy, prior to its accomplishment, should be proved by the knowledge of its being generally diffused amongst an enlightened nation previous to that period, and its public existence attested by an unbroken chain of authentic writers."

What you here claim as a matter of *right*, is, without question, very desirable, but should, I think, be accepted, if it be given at all, as a matter of *favour*. For what you describe is the utmost evidence that the case admits: but what right have we in this, or any other subject whatever of natural or revealed religion, to the utmost evidence? Is it not enough that the evidence be sufficient to induce a reasonable assent? and is not that assent reasonable, which is given to real evidence, though of an inferior kind, when uncontrolled by any greater? And such evidence we clearly have for the authenticity of the book of Daniel, in the reception of it by the Jewish nation down to the time of Jesus, whose appeal to it supposes and implies that reception to have been constant and general: not to observe, that the testimony of Jesus is fur-

ther supported by all the considerations that are alleged for his own divine character. To this evidence, which is positive so far as it goes, you have nothing to oppose but surmise and conjectures; that is, nothing that deserves to be called evidence. But I doubt, Sir, you take for granted that the claim of inspiration is never to be allowed, so long as there is a possibility of supposing that it was not given.

2. In the second division of your letter, which is longer, and more elaborate, than the first, you endeavour to shew that the *historical* part of the book of Daniel, chiefly that of the sixth chapter, is false and fabulous, and as such, confutes and overthrows the *prophetical.* What you advance on this head, is contained under *five* articles:

1. You think it strange that Daniel, or any other man, should be promoted to a secret office of state, *for his skill in divination.*

But here, first, you forget that Joseph was thus promoted for the same reason. Or, if you object to this instance, what should hinder the promotion either of Joseph or Daniel, (when their skill in divination had once brought them to the notice and favour of their sovereign,) for what you call *mere human accomplishments?* For such assuredly both these great men possessed, if we may believe the plain part of their story, which asserts of Joseph, and indeed proves, that he was in no common degree *discreet and wise;* and of Daniel, that *an excellent spirit was found in him;* nay, that *he had knowledge and skill in all learning and wisdom,* over

over and above his *understanding in all visions and dreams.* In short, Sir, though princes of old might not make it a rule to chuse their ministers out of their soothsayers, yet neither would their being soothsayers, if they were otherwise well accomplished, prevent them from being ministers. Just as in modern times, though churchmen have not often, I will suppose, been made officers of state, even by bigotted princes, because they were churchmen; yet neither have they been always excluded from serving in those stations when they have been found eminently qualified for them.

2. Your next exception is, that a combination could scarce have been formed in the court of Babylon against the favourite minister, (though such factions are common in other courts,) because the courtiers of Darius *must have apprehended that the piety of Daniel would be asserted by a miraculous interposition;* of which they had seen a recent instance. And here, Sir, you expatiate with a little too much complacency on the strange indifference which the ancient world shewed to the gift of miracles. You do not, I dare say, expect a serious answer to this charge; or if you do, it may be enough to observe, what I am sure your own reading and experience must have rendered very familiar to you, that the strongest belief, or conviction of the mind, perpetually gives way to the inflamed selfish passions; and that, when men have any scheme of interest or revenge much at heart, they are not restrained from pursuing it, though the scaffold and the axe stand before them in full

view, and have perhaps been streaming but the day before with the blood of other state-criminals. I ask not, whether miracles have ever *actually* existed, but whether you do not think that multitudes have been firmly *persuaded* of their existence; and yet their indifference about them, is a fact which I readily concede to you.

3. Your third criticism is directed against what is said of *the law of the Medes and Persians, that it altereth not;* where I find nothing to admire, but the extreme rigour of Asiatic despotism. For I consider this irrevocability of the law, when once promulgated by the sovereign, not as contrived to be a check on his will, but rather to shew the irresistible and fatal course of it. And this idea was so much cherished by the despots of Persia, that, rather than revoke the iniquitous law, obtained by surprise, for exterminating the Jews, Ahasuerus took the part, as we read in the book of Esther, (and as Baron Montesquieu, I remember, observes,) to permit the Jews to defend themselves against the execution of it; whence we see how consistent this law is with the determination of the judges, quoted by you from Herodotus, "that it was lawful for the king to do whatever he *pleased*:" for we understand that he did *not* please that this law, when once declared by him, should be altered.

You add under this head, "May I not assert that the Greek writers, who have so copiously treated of the affairs of Persia, have not left us the smallest vestige of a restraint, equally injurious to the monarch and prejudicial to the people?" I have

have not the Greek writers by me to consult, but a common book I chance to have at hand, refers me to one such vestige, in a very eminent Greek historian, Diodorus Siculus. *Lowth's Comment. in loc.*

4. A fourth objection to the historic truth of the book of Daniel is taken, with more plausibility, from the matter of this law, which, as you truly observe, was very strange for the king's counsellor to advise, and for any despot whatever to enact.

But, 1. I a little question whether prayer was so constant and considerable a part of Pagan worship as is supposed; and if it was not, the prejudices of the people would not be so much shocked by this interdict as we are ready to think. Daniel indeed prayed three times a day; but the idolaters might content themselves with praying now and then at a stated solemnity. It is clear, that when you speak of *depriving men of the comforts, and priests of the profits, of religion*, you have Christian, and even modern principles and manners in your eye: perhaps in the *comforts*, you represented to yourself a company of poor inflamed Huguenots under persecution; and in the *profits*, the lucrative trade of popish masses. But be this as it may, it should be considered, 2. That this law could not, in the nature of the thing, suppress all prayer, if the people had any great propensity to it. It could not suppress *mental* prayer; it could not even suppress *bodily* worship, if performed, as it easily might be, in the night, or in secret. Daniel, it was well known, was used to pray in open day-light,

day-light, and in a place exposed to inspection, from his usual manner of praying; which manner, it was easily concluded, so zealous a votary as he was, would not change or discontinue, on account of the edict. Lastly, though the edict passed for thirty days, to make sure work, yet there was no doubt but the end proposed would be soon accomplished, and then it was not likely that much care would be taken about the observance of it.

All this put together, I can very well conceive that extreme envy and malice in the courtiers might suggest the idea of such a law, and that an impotent despot might be flattered by it. Certainly, if what we read in the third chapter be admitted, that *one* of these despots required all people, nations, and language, to worship his image on pain of death, there is no great wonder that *another* of them should demand the exclusive worship of himself for a month; nay, perhaps, he might think himself civil, and even bounteous to his gods, when he left them a share of the other eleven. For as to the presumption,

> " Nihil est quod credere de se
> Non possit, cum laudatur diis æqua potestas.

5. A fifth, and what you seem to think the strongest, objection to the credit of the book of Daniel is, that " no such person as Darius the Mede is to be found in the succession of the Babylonish princes," (you mean as given in Ptolemy's canon and the Greek writers,) " between the time of Nebuchadnezzar and that of Cyrus." In saying this,

this, you do not forget or disown what our ablest chronologers have said on the subject; but then you object that Xenophon's Cyaxares (to serve a turn) has been made to personate Darius the Mede; and yet that Xenophon's book, whether it be a romance or a true history, overturns the use which they have made of this hypothesis.

I permit myself perhaps to be too much flattered by your civility in referring me to my own taste, rather than to the authority of Cicero: but the truth is, I am much disposed to agree with you, that, "if we unravel with any care the fine texture of the Cyropœdia, we shall discover in every thread the Spartan discipline and the philosophy of Socrates." But then, as the judicious author chose to make so recent a story as that of Cyrus, and one so well known, the vehicle of his political and moral instructions, he would be sure to keep up to the truth of the story as far as might be; especially in the leading facts, and in the principal persons, as we may say, of the drama. This obvious rule of decorum such a writer as Xenophon could not fail to observe; and therefore, on the supposition that his Cyropœdia is a romance, I should conclude certainly that the outline of it was genuine history. But,

2. If it be so, you conclude that there is no ground for thinking that Darius the Mede ever reigned at Babylon, because Cyaxares himself never reigned there.

Now, on the idea of Xenophon's book being a romance, there might be good reason for the author's

author's taking no notice of the short reign of Cyaxares, which would break the unity of his work, and divert the reader's attention too much from the hero of it: while yet the omission could hardly seem to violate historic truth, since the lustre of his hero's fame, and the real power which, out of question, he reserved to himself, would make us forget or overlook Cyaxares. But, as to the fact, it seems no way incredible that Cyrus should concede to his royal ally, his uncle, and his father-in-law, (for he was all these,) the *nominal* possession of the sovereignty; or that he should *share* the sovereignty with him; or, at least, that he should leave the *administration*, as we say, in his hands at Babylon, while he himself was prosecuting his other conquests at a distance. Any of these things is supposable enough: and I would rather admit any of them than reject the express, the repeated, the circumstantial testimony of a not confessedly fabulous historian.

After all, Sir, I should forfeit, I know, your good opinion, if I did not acknowledge that some, at least, of these circumstances are such as one should not, perhaps, expect at first sight. But then such is the condition of things here; and what is true in human life, is not always, I had almost said, not often, that which was previously to be expected; whence an ordinary romance is, they say, more *probable* than the best history.

But should any or all of these circumstances convince you perfectly, that some degree of error or fiction is to be found in the book of Daniel, it would

would be too precipitate to conclude that therefore the whole book was of no authority; for, at most, you could but infer, that the historical part, in which those circumstances are observed, namely, the 6th chapter, is not genuine; just as you know has been judged of some other historical tracts which had formerly been inserted in the book of Daniel. For it is not with these collections, which go under the names of the Prophets, as with some regularly connected system, where a charge of falsehood, if made good against one part, shakes the credit of the whole. Fictitious histories may have been joined to true prophecies, when all that bore the name of the same person, or any way related to him, came to be put together in the same volume: but the detection of such misalliance could not affect the prophecies; certainly not those of Daniel, which respect *the latter times;* for these have an intrinsic evidence in themselves, and assert their own authenticity, in proportion as we see, or have reason to admit the accomplishment of them.

And now, Sir, I have only to commit these hasty reflections to your candour; a virtue which cannot be separated from the love of truth, and of which I observe many traces in your agreeable letter; and if you should indulge this quality still further, so as to conceive the possibility of that being *true and reasonable*, in matters of religion, which may seem strange, or, to so lively a fancy as yours, even ridiculous, you would not hurt the credit of your excellent understanding, and would thus remove one, perhaps a principal, occasion of

those

those mists which, as you complain, *hang over these nice and difficult subjects.*

I am with true respect, Sir, yours, &c.

(Signed) R. H.

The following Fragment was found with the foregoing Letter, in Mr. GIBBON'S *handwriting.*

YOUR answers to my five objections against the 6th chapter of Daniel come next to be considered.

1. With regard to Daniel's promotion, I consent to withdraw my opposition, and to allow the cases of Ximenes, Wolsey, and Richelieu as parallel instances: though there is surely some difference between a young foreign soothsayer being *suddenly* rewarded, for the interpretation of a dream, with the government of Babylon, and a priest of the established church, rising gradually to the great offices of state.

2. You apprehend, Sir, that my second objection scarcely deserves a serious answer; and that it is quite sufficient to appeal to my own reading and experience, whether *the strongest conviction of the mind does not perpetually give way to the inflamed and selfish passions.* Since you appeal to me, I shall fairly lay before you the result of my observations on that subject. 1. It must be confessed that the drunkard often sinks into the grave, and the prodigal into a gaol, without a possibility of deceiving or of checking themselves. But they sink by slow degrees; and, whilst they indulge the ruling passion, attend only to the trifling moment

moment of each guinea, or of each bottle, without calculating their accumulated weight, till they feel themselves irretrievably crushed under it. 2. In most of the hazardous enterprizes of life there is a mixture of chance and good fortune; what is called good fortune, is often the effect of skill: and as our vanity flatters us into an opinion of our superior merit, we are neither surprised nor dismayed by the miscarriage of our rash predecessors. *The conspirator turns his eyes from the axe and scaffold, perhaps still streaming with blood*, to the successful boldness of Scylla, of Cæsar, and of Cromwell; and convinces himself that on such a golden pursuit it is even *prudent* to stake a precarious and insipid life. We may add, that the most daring flights of ambition are as often the effects of necessity as of choice. The princes of Hindostan must either reign or perish; and when Cæsar passed the Rubicon, it was scarcely possible for him to return to a private station. 3. You think, Sir, we may learn from our own experience, that an indifference concerning miracles is very compatible with a full conviction of their truth; and so it undoubtedly is with such a conviction as we have an opportunity of observing.

N° XXXII.

E. GIBBON, *Esq.* *to* J. B. HOLROYD, *Esq.*

DEAR HOLROYD, Beriton, Oct. 13th, 1772.

I AM just arrived, as well as yourself, at my *dii penates*, but with very different intention. You will

will ever remain a bigot to those rustic deities; I propose to abjure them soon, and to reconcile myself to the catholic church of London.

I am so happy, so exquisitely happy, at feeling so many mountains taken off my shoulders, that I can brave your indignation, and even the three-forked lightning of Jupiter himself. My reasons for taking so unwarrantable a step (approved of by Hugonin) were no unmanly despondency, (though it daily became more apparent how much the farm would suffer, both in reality and in reputation, by another year's management). * * * * * * I see pleasure but not use in a congress, therefore decline it. I know nothing as yet of a purchaser, and can only give you full and unlimited powers. If you think it necessary, let me know when you sell; but, however, do as you please.

I am sincerely glad to hear Mrs. H. is better. I still think Bath would suit her. She, and you too, I fear, rather want the physic of the mind,* than of the body. Tell me something about yourself. If, among a crowd of acquaintances, one friend can afford you any comfort, I am quite at your service. Once more, adieu.

N° XXXIII.

E. Gibbon, *Esq.* *to* J. Holroyd, *Esq.*

Dear Holroyd, Pall-Mall, Dec. 11th, 1772.

By this time, I suppose you returned to the Elysian fields of Sheffield. The country (I do not

* Mr. Holroyd's then only son died about two months before this time.

mean

mean any particular reflections on Sussex) must be vastly pleasant at this time of the year! For my own part, the punishment of my sins has at length overtaken me. On Thursday the third of December, in the present year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy-two, between the hours of one and two in the afternoon, as I was crossing St. James's church-yard, I stumbled, and *again sprained my foot;* but, alas! after two days pain and confinement, a horrid monster, *ycleped the gout,* made me a short visit; and though he has now taken his leave, I am full of apprehensions that he may have liked my company well enough to call again.

The parliament, after a few soft murmurs, is gone to sleep, to awake again after Christmas, safely folded in Lord North's arms. The town is gone into the country, and I propose *visiting Sheffield* about Sunday se'nnight, if by that time I can get my household preparations (I have as good as taken Lady Rous's lease in Bentinck-street) in any forwardness. Shall I *angle for Batt?* No news stirring, except the Duchess of G.'s pregnancy certainly declared. Your's sincerely.

N° XXXIV.

The Same to the Same.

Boodle's, Ten o'clock, Thursday Evening, Dec. 1772.

DEAR HOLROYD,

MY schemes with regard to you have been entirely disappointed. The business that called me

to town was not ready before the 20th of last month, and the same business has kept me here till now. I have however a very strong inclination to eat a Christmas mince pie with you; and let me tell you that inclination is no small compliment. What are the trees and waters of Sheffield-Place, compared with the comfortable smoke, lazy dinners, and inflammatory Junius's, which we can every day enjoy in town? You have seen the last Junius? He calls on the distant legions to march to the Capitol, and free us from the tyranny of the Prætorian guards. I cannot answer for the ghost of the *hic et ubique*, but the Hampshire militia are determined to keep the peace for fear of a broken head. After all, do I mean to make you a visit next week? Upon my soul, I cannot tell. I tell every body that I shall: I know that I cannot pass the week with any man in the world with whom the pleasure of seeing each other will be more sincere or more reciprocal. Yet, *entre nous*, I do not believe that I shall be able to get out of this town before you come into it. At all events I look forwards, with great impatience, to Bruton-street* and the Romans.†

Believe me most truly yours.

* Where Mr. Holroyd's family passed a winter.

† The Roman Club.

N° XXXV.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to* J. HOLROYD, *Esq.*

DEAR HOLROYD, January 12, 1773.

LENBOROUGH is no more! Lord * * * * acted like a Jew, and I dare say now repents it. In his room * * * * found me a better man, a rich, brutish, honest horse-dealer, who has got a great fortune by serving the cavalry. On Thursday he saw Lenborough, on Friday came to town with * * * *, and this morning at nine o'clock we struck at 20,000*l.* after a very hard battle. As times go, I am not dissatisfied. * * * * and the new Lord of Lenborough (by name Lovegrove) dined with me; and though we did not speak the same language, yet by the help of signs, such as that of putting about the bottle, the natives seemed well satisfied.

The whole world is going down to Portsmouth, where they will enjoy the pleasures of smoke, noise, heat, bad lodgings, and expensive reckonings. For my own part, I have firmly resisted importunity, declined parties, and mean to pass the busy week in the soft retirement of my *bocage* de Bentinck-street. Yesterday the East India Company positively refused the loan: a noble resolution, could they get money any where else. They are violent; and it was moved, and the motion heard with some degree of approbation, that they should instantly abandon India to Lord North, Sujah Dowlah, or the Devil, if he chose to take it. Adieu.

N° XXXVI.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to* J. HOLROYD, *Esq.*

DEAR HOLROYD, Boodle's, May 11, 1773.

I AM full of worldly cares, anxious about the great twenty-fourth, plagued with the Public Advertiser, distressed by the most dismal dispatches from Hugonin. Mrs. Lee claims a million of repairs, which will cost a million of money.

The House of Commons sat late last night. Burgoyne made some spirited motions—"That the territorial acquisitions in India belonged to the state (that was the word); that grants to the servants of the company (such as jaghires) were illegal; and that there would be no true repentance without restitution." Wedderburne defended the nabobs with great eloquence, but little argument. The motions were carried without a division; and the hounds go out again next Friday. They are in high spirits; but the more sagacious ones have no idea they shall kill. Lord North spoke for the inquiry, but faintly and reluctantly. Lady * * * is said to be in town at her mother's, and a separation is unavoidable; but there is nothing certain.

Adieu. Sincerely yours.

N° XXXVII.

Mr. WHITAKER *to* EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq.*

DEAR SIR,

I THANK you very cordially for your letter of criticisms upon Fingal and myself. It is such an one as a friend should write and I wish to receive.

And

And I cannot but observe, that our acquaintance, so sensibly and properly begun, seems for that reason to promise a much longer continuance than the customary intimacies of the world.

Your remark upon the dramatic poem of Comala struck me very strongly upon my first reading it. It is quite new, and equally acute and ingenious. The elder son of Severus was *not* denominated Caracalla, at the time of his father's or his own expedition into Caledonia. And yet, perhaps, in the fond credulity of a man that admires the poems of Ossian, and has built too much upon them to allow them materially affected by any interpolations, I see the objection, as I reflect more upon it, losing gradually its force, and at last resolving into nothing.

It proceeds upon a supposition, that, if not true itself, makes the other useless. This is, That the poems in general, and Comala in particular, were either written at the time of the transactions recorded in them; or with a sacred regard to the names then borne by the agents. And this I apprehend not to be really the case. At least, it cannot be proved. And, till it is, the objection (I think) has nothing to rest upon. That the poems in general were not written at the time, is plain from a variety of circumstances, in which the author, like our Milton, full of his own feelings in the blindness and solitude of age, frequently leaves his subject, and comes home, as it were, to his own business and bosom. And that this of Comala was not, is demonstrable, because the author was not then born perhaps, and was certainly in his

infancy only. This poem, therefore, like all the rest, was written many years after the fact, and probably, like them, in the later stages of Ossian's life; certainly not till the middle period of it, when the fervours of the youthful warrior were tempered by years into the steadier glow of manhood and poetry. He *then* appears as a renowned bard, the well-known voice of Cona. And then, employing the hours of peaceful inactivity in composing his poems, he would naturally, I suppose, make use of the names, whatever the actors might have borne at the time, that were most familiar to his countrymen when he wrote. This would certainly be his mode of acting, I think; and, if the name of Antoninus had been sunk for years in that of Caracalla, the poet would be *obliged* indeed to make a sort of poetical anachronism, and use the latter appellation instead of the former.

That the name of Caracalla was the general one attributed to the son of Severus in the empire, and consequently by the nations bordering upon it, is plain, I think, from its transmission to the present times, and the popular use of it over all Europe. The concurrence of all modern writers in the name must have resulted from some common principle of agreement, the popularity and familiarity of it among them. And accordingly Bede, who mentions the emperor by the title of Bassianus and Antoninus in one place, speaks of him in another under the name of Antoninus cognomento Caracalla (p. 20. Smith). This therefore being his popular title, when Ossian wrote, he would naturally use it in his poems. The name of Bassianus was never

never known probably among the Caledonians. That of Antoninus would be too indistinct, and not point out the person intended with sufficient particularity. But that of Caracalla would answer every difficulty: it was at once popular and specific; and the anticipation was of little moment in itself, and in the eye of poetry, especially, of none at all.

This seems to me a just and fair account of that little anachronism, if it can be so called, which your eye, my friend, has first found out in the poems of Ossian. And this comes directly to the point, I think, and without any acknowledgment of interpolations in them. Could such be proved, we must give up the authenticity of the poems as to every historical purpose. Had such been made, they must have detected themselves: and we have sufficient authority to say, that no such were made. "On Mr. Macpherson's return from the Highlands with the poems in their original state," says Dr. Blair, "he set himself to translate under the eye of some who were acquainted with the Galic language, and looked into his manuscripts; and by a large publication, afterwards, made an appeal to all the natives of the Highlands and islands of Scotland, whether he had been faithful to his charge, and done justice to their well-known and favourite poems." The Doctor accordingly informs us, that he had applied by letters himself to several persons of credit and honour, who were natives of the Highlands and Isles, and well acquainted with the poems and the language, desiring to know their real opinion of the translation;

and that not one of them "insinuates the most remote suspicion, that Mr. Macpherson has either forged or *adulterated* any one of the poems he has published." The Doctor then enters into a detail of testimonies, which, I think, carry the highest conviction with them, concerning a point which, at other times, I have been a little inclined to doubt, the real accuracy and strict fidelity of the translator. And the cursory reading of these evidences, now, has had such an effect upon my mind, that I am fully persuaded they must have a great one upon an understanding like yours, sceptical perhaps, but argumentative, hesitating in its assent, but not from wild surmises, or airy suspicions, but from doubts, reasonable though perhaps not just, and objections grounded though not sufficient.

This subject has taken up more of my letter than I originally intended it should, and I hasten from Ossian to myself. Your judgment concerning my attempt to rescue the character and actions of Arthur from the accumulated shade of 1200 years, as it is the result of a careful and attentive perusal, has gratified the spirit of authorship about me very much. As you have shewn by pointing out some of the faults in the work, that you are superior to the usual mode of treating authors, I lay the greater stress upon it; and, as you had taken a different route in your own work, I lay still greater. You think, however, that I too peremptorily censured Dr. Hurd with regard to his asserted origin of chivalry, and that indeed my origin of it is not so just as his. As to the former, I am ready to own, and I do

I do voluntarily acknowledge, that there is a vein of presumptuousness and decisiveness running throughout the whole of the first as well as the second volume, which (after I had published the first) I stood amazed at on a review; and can only account for my being betrayed into it, by the natural sanguineness of my temper, heightened by the real or supposed discoveries that I had made, and venting itself uncorrected in the solitude of a study. And I corrected it in my second edition of the 1st volume, that I published last winter, and have also corrected it some weeks ago in that copy of the second which I am re-preparing for the press. But the censure itself (if it may be called a censure) seems to me to be just. You think, that the whole argument for my placing the origin of chivalry in the age of Arthur, rests upon this, that his warriors shared with him the dangers of battle and the feast of victory: but I apprehend that it does not. I have noted, that a military order appears to have existed among Arthur's knights, from the continuance of it near 100 years after his death (p. 533 and 536); and this, I think, entirely precludes your objection and Dr. Hurd's hypothesis.

What you observe concerning the enthusiasm of my style and sentiments in the religious part of the work, is more just, I think. That of the style is the natural operation of my over-vivacity when I wrote it, near five years ago, raised and coloured by what (I hope) I shall ever retain, my unbounded admiration of the Christian system. But I had mellowed and softened both in my corrected copy, before

before I received yours, and have thrown in some additional softenings since. I wish to write like a man who is deeply impressed with the sensibilities of religion; and I have even the fond desire of speaking usefully to the heart, when I am generally writing only to the head. But I do not want to counteract my own purposes. I know the philosophic air of coldness with which the present age affects to receive any notices of religion: and some prudential deference must be paid to the irreligious humour. You think that I have not paid enough;—and so I think. The monkish bigotry of the Saxon kings, which you note to be touched with too gentle an hand, and which, I think, was not touched at all, I have now, in consequence of your letter, animadverted upon in that sort of transitory manner, however, which alone was suited to the design of the paragraph, and the turn of the sentiments. My "rough treatment of Plutarch," though tolerably gentle, I think, I have softened still more, on the credit of your hint: and my rougher of Mr. Hume will be discarded, not perhaps for less severity, but for greater genteelness. All that relates to him will be thrown together into the Appendix, be greatly enlarged, and so form a regular criticism for the Saxon period. And the remarks will be written in a more critical and historical manner. My treatment of Socrates, which you think harsh, seems to me highly complimental. Complimental it certainly is, with regard to his general character. And the only supposable harshness is, that he is said to have lived and died a polytheist.

The

The avarice and ambition of the Saxon clergy, you think, I have also touched too gently; and I did not mean to touch it at all. All that I have said relates merely to the emoluments and honours conferred upon them: and do those necessarily imply avarice, or these ambition, in the receivers? I own that my work would have been better adapted to the taste of many in the present time, if I had, with one of Mr. Hume's superior airs, treated the clergy very freely; inveighed against ambition in them, and yet considered it as the great stimulus to virtuous actions in the laity, and branded them for an avarice which was founded only in the surmises of an ungenerous suspicion. But surely it does not become any man of sentiment and spirit to write in the strain of popular prejudice, and to sacrifice the praises of future generations to the applause of the present. The time will soon come, when this momentary vapour will give way to others, be lost and forgotten in the common mass, or be remembered only for a while, because of the odd and fantastic shapes that it assumed. And this will serve equally as my apology for the assertion which seems so striking to you, that of the divine institution of tythes. They appear to me to be as divine now, as they are acknowledged to have been at first: and I see not, how the argument that is urged in the text for their divinity, can possibly be overthrown.* In con-

* It is no small reproach to the human understanding, that a man of Mr. Whitaker's abilities should maintain such opinions. It was supposed, to the credit of the English clergy, that scarcely one

condescension however to the world, I have struck out the whole paragraph in the notes upon Mr. Hume, in which the subject was gone over more formally again; and I leave the whole to stand upon what is said in p. 790, 791.

I have thus replied more largely than I at first intended, to your very obliging letter, Sir; and I should sooner have acknowledged the favour, had I not been deeply engaged in revising, correcting, and enlarging my second volume for the press. This has fully employed me since my arrival in the country, and will take up all my time, I suppose, till my return. In the mean while, I hope you are engaged in the usefuller business of preparing your history for the public: no time, I think, should be lost, in justice to yourself as well as the public; and I should have been glad, if I could have been of half the service to you in it, that you have been of to me.

When your favour arrived, I had been three or four days wishing to have some opportunity of writing to you, but could not think of any but our old subjects. Your letter happily delivered me from the embarrassment: and I hope to hear speedily from you again. I should be very sorry to have our acquaintance, and (I hope I may add) our friendship, even suspended for the long interval of my absence from London: and we shall

one of them in this enlightened age believed in, or insisted on, the *divinity* of tythes. Their divinity is surely now no more acknowledged than that of all those laws of Moses contained in the Levitic Code, which were abolished on the introduction of Christianity. S.

meet

meet there, I trust, on my return, as old friends that know, and therefore value each other. In that confidence I remain, dear Sir,

Your favoured and obedient Friend and Servant,

J. WHITAKER.

P. S. Salmasius's derivation of our clerical cassocks from the Gaulish caracallæ, I think is one of those wild vagaries of etymology that have so greatly discredited the science. *Cassock* is *casul* in Armorick, a priest's cope, and *casul* and *casog* in Welsh and Irish, a cassock.

Manchester, July 20, 1773.

N° XXXVIII.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to* J. HOLROYD, *Esq. at* Edinburgh.

DEAR HOLROYD, Bentinck-street, Aug. 7, 1773.

I BEG ten thousand pardons for not being dead, as I certainly ought to be. But such is my abject nature, that I had rather live in Bentinck-street, attainted and convicted of the sin of laziness, than enjoy your applause either at old Nick's or even in the Elysian Fields. After all, could you expect that I should honour with my correspondence a wild barbarian of the Bogs of Erin? Had the natives intercepted my letter, the terrors occasioned by such unknown magic characters might have been fatal to you. But now you have escaped the fury of their hospitality, and are arrived among a cee-vi-leezed nation, I may venture to renew my intercourse.

You

You tell me of a long list of dukes, lords, and chieftains of renown to whom you are introduced; were I with you, I should prefer one *David* to them all. When you are at Edinburgh, I hope you will not fail to visit the stye of that fattest of Epicurus's hogs, and inform yourself whether there remains no hope of its recovering the use of its right paw. There is another animal of *great*, though not perhaps of *equal*, and certainly not of *similar* merit, one Robertson; has he almost created the new world? Many other men you have undoubtedly seen, in the country where you are at present, who must have commanded your esteem: but when you return, if you are not very honest, you will possess great advantages over me in any dispute concerning Caledonian merit.

Boodle's and Atwood's are now no more. The last stragglers, and Godfrey Clarke in the rear of all, are moved away to their several castles; and I now enjoy, in the midst of London, a delicious solitude. My library, Kensington Gardens, and a few parties with new acquaintance who are chained to London, (among whom I reckon Goldsmith and Sir Joshua Reynolds,) fill up my time, and the monster *Ennui* preserves a very respectful distance. By the bye, your friends Batt, Sir John Russell, and Lascelles, dined with me one day before they set off; for I sometimes give the prettiest little dinner in the world. But all this composure draws near its conclusion. About the sixteenth of this month Mr. Eliot carries me away, and after picking up Mrs. Gibbon at Bath, sets me down at Port Eliot:

Eliot: there I shall certainly remain six weeks, or, in other words, to the end of September. My future motions, whether to London, Derbyshire, or a longer stay in Cornwall, (pray is not "motion to stay" rather in the Hibernian style?) will depend on the life of Port Eliot, the time of the meeting of parliament, and perhaps the impatience of Mr. Lovegrove, Lord of Lenborough. One of my pleasures in town I forgot to mention, the unexpected visit of Deyverdun, who accompanies his young lord (very young indeed!) on a two months' tour to England. He took the opportunity of the Earl's going down to the Duke of Chandos's, to spend a fortnight (nor do I recollect a more pleasant one) in Bentinck-street. They are now gone together into Yorkshire, and I think it doubtful whether I shall see him again before his return to Leipsic. It is a melancholy reflection, that while one is plagued with acquaintance at the corner of every street, real friends should be separated from each other by unsurmountable bars, and obliged to catch at a few transient moments of interview. I desire that you and my Lady (whom I most respectfully greet) would take your share of that very new and acute observation, not so large a share indeed as my Swiss friend, since nature and fortune give *us* more frequent opportunities of being together. You cannot expect news from a desert, and such is London at present. The papers give you the full harvest of public intelligence; and I imagine that the eloquent nymphs of Twickenham* communi-

* Miss Cambridges.

cate

cate all the transactions of the polite, the amorous, and the marrying world. The great pantomime of Portsmouth was universally admired; and I am angry at my own laziness in neglecting an excellent opportunity of seeing it. Foote has given us the Bankrupt, a serious and sentimental piece, with very severe strictures on the license of scandal in attacking private characters. Adieu. Forgive and epistolize me. I shall not believe you sincere in the former, unless you make Bentinck-street your inn. I fear I shall be gone; but Mrs. Ford * and the parrot will be proud to receive you and my Lady after your long peregrination, from which I expect great improvements. Has she got the brogue upon the tip of her tongue?†

N° XXXIX.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to* J. HOLROYD, *Esq.*

DEAR HOLROYD, Port Eliot, Sept. 10th, 1773.

BY this time you have surely finished your tour, touched at Edinburgh, where you found a letter, which you have not answered, and are now contemplating the beauties of the Weald of Sussex. I shall demand a long and particular account of your peregrinations, but will excuse it till we meet; and for the present expect only a short memorandum of your health and situation, together with that of my much-honoured friend Mrs. Holroyd.

* His housekeeper.

† Mr. and Mrs. Holroyd made a tour to Ireland and Scotland this summer.

A word

Holroyd. A word too, if you please, concerning father and sister; to the latter I enclose a receipt from Mrs. Gibbon who is now with me at Port Eliot.

Blind as you accuse me of being to the beauties of nature, I am wonderfully pleased with this country. Of her three dull notes, *ground*, *plants*, and *water*, Cornwall possesses the first and last in very high perfection. Think of a hundred solitary streams peacefully gliding between amazing cliffs on one side, and rich meadows on the other, gradually swelling by the aid of the tide into noble rivers, successively losing themselves in each other, and all at length terminating in the harbour of Plymouth, whose broad expanse is irregularly *dotted* with two-and-forty line of battle ships. In plants indeed we are deficient; and though all the gentlemen now attend to posterity, the country will for a long time be very naked. We have spent several days agreeably enough in little parties; but in general our time rolls away in complete uniformity. Our landlord possesses neither a pack of hounds, nor a stable of running horses, nor a large farm, nor a good library. The last only could interest me; but it is singular that a man of fortune, who chooses to pass nine months of the year in the country, should have none of them.

According to our present design, Mrs. Gibbon and myself return to Bath about the beginning of next month. I shall probably make but a short stay with her, and defer my Derbyshire journey till another year. Sufficient for the summer is the evil thereof, viz. one distant country excursion. Na-

tural inclination, the prosecution of my great work, and the conclusion of my Lenborough business, plead strongly in favour of London. However I desire, and one always finds time for what one really desires, to visit Sheffield-Place before the end of October, should it only be for a few days. I know several houses where I am invited to think myself at home, but I know no other where I seem inclined to accept of the invitation. I forgot to tell you, that I have declined the publication of Lord Chesterfield's Letters. The public will see them, and upon the whole, I think, with pleasure; but the family were strongly bent against it; and especially on Deyverdun's account, I deemed it more prudent to avoid making them my personal enemies.

N° XL.

Mr. Gibbon *to Mr.* Holroyd.

Bentinck-street, Dec. 16th, 1773.

To the vulgar eye of an idle man, London is empty; but I find many pleasant companions, both dead and alive. Two or three days ago I dined at Atwood's with a very select party. Lord G. Germaine was of it, and we communed a long time. You know Lord Holland is paying Charles's debts. They amount to 140,000l. At a meeting of the creditors, his agent declared, that after deducting 6000l. a-year settled on Ste,* and a decent provi-

* The Hon. Stephen Fox, eldest son of Lord Holland.

sion

sion for his old age, the residue of his wealth amounted to no more than 90,000l. The creditors stared, till Mr. Powell declared that he owed every thing to the noble Lord; that *he happened* to have 50,000l. in long annuities, and begged that he might be permitted to supply the deficiency. How generous! Yet there are people who say the money only stood in his name. My brother Ste's son is a second Messiah, said Charles the other day. How so? Because born for the destruction of the Jews.

N° XLI.

The Same to the Same.

January 29th, 1774.

I AM now getting acquainted with authors, managers, &c. good company to know, but not to live with. Yesterday I dined at the British Coffee-house, with Garrick, Coleman, Goldsmith, Macpherson, John Hume, &c. I am this moment come from Coleman's Man of Business. We dined at the Shakespeare, and went in a body to support it. Between friends, though we got a verdict for our client, his cause was but a bad one. It is a very confused miscellany of several plays and tales; sets out brilliantly enough, but as we advance the plot grows thicker, the wit thinner, till the lucky fall of the curtain preserves us from total chaos.

Bentinck-street has visited Welbeck-street. Sappho is very happy that she is there yet: on Sheffield-Place she squints with regret and grati-

tude. Mamma consulted me about buying coals; we cannot get any round ones. Quintus is gone to head the civil war. Of Mrs. * * * * I have nothing to say. I have got my intelligence for insuring, and will immediately get the preservative against fire. Foster has sent me eight-and-twenty pair of Paris silk stockings, with an intimation that my lady wished for half-a-dozen. They are much at her service; but if she will look into David Hume's Essay on National Characters, she will see that I durst not offer them to a Queen of Spain. *Sachez qu'une reine d'Espagne n'a point de jambes.* Adieu.

N° XLII.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to* J. HOLROYD, *Esq.*

1774.

WE have conquered; * * * was amazed at the tempest just ready to break over his head. He does not desire to go to law, wishes to live in peace, has no complaints to make, hopes for a little indulgence. *Hugonin is now in the attitude* of St. Michael trampling upon Satan; he holds him down, till Andrews has prepared *a little chain of adamant* to bind the foul fiend. In return, receive my congratulation on your Irish victory. Batt told me yesterday, as from good authority, that administration designed a second attempt this session; but to-day I have it from much better, that they always discouraged it, and that it was *totally an Hibernian scheme.* You remark that I saw Batt. He passed

two

two hours with me; a pleasant man! He and Sir John Russell dine with me *next week:* you will *have both their portraits; the originals are engaged.*

N° XLIII.

The Same to the Same.

February, 1774.

Did you get down safe and early? Is my Lady in good spirits and humour? You do not deserve that she should, for hurrying her away. Does Maria coquet with Divedown?* Adieu. Bentinck-street looks very dismal. You may suppose that nothing very important can have occurred since you left town: but I will send you some account of America after Monday, though indeed my anxiety about an old manor takes away much of my attention from a new continent. The mildness of Godfrey Clarke is roused into military fury; he is but an old Tory, and you only suppose yourself an old Whig. I alone am a true Englishman, Philosopher, and Whig.

N° XLIV.

The Same to the Same.

Boodle's, Wednesday Evening, March 16th, 1774.

I was this morning with * * *. He was positive that the attempt to settle the preliminaries of arbitration by letters, would lead us on to the

* Rev. Dr. Dive Downes.

middle of the summer, and that a meeting was the only practicable measure. I acquiesced, and we blended his epistle and yours into one, which goes by this post. If you can contrive to suit to it your Oxford journey, your presence at the meeting would be received as the descent of a guardian angel.

Very little that is satisfactory has transpired of America. On Monday Lord North moved for leave to bring in a bill to remove the customs and courts of justice from Boston to New Salem; a step so detrimental to the former town, as must soon reduce it to your own terms; and yet of so mild an appearance, that it was agreed to, without a division, and almost without a debate. Something more is, however, intended, and a committee is appointed to inquire into the general state of America. But administration keep their secret as well as that of free masonry, and, as Hippesley Coxe profanely suggests, for the same reason.

Don't you remember that in our pantheon walks we admired the *modest beauty* of Mrs. * * * *? *Eh bien*, alas! she is * * *. You ask me with whom? With * * * *, of the Guards; both the * * * *'s; * * * *, a steward of * * * *'s, her first love, and half the town besides. A meeting of * * * *'s friends assembled about a week ago, to consult of the best method of acquainting him with his frontal honours. Edmund Burke was named as the orator, and communicated the transaction in a most eloquent speech.

N. B. The same lady, who at public dinners appeared

peared to have the most delicate appetite, was accustomed in her own apartment to feast on pork-steaks and sausages, and to swill porter till she was dead drunk. * * * is abused by the * * * family, has been bullied by * * *, and can prove himself a Cornuto, to the satisfaction of every one but a court of justice. Oh rare matrimony!

N° XLV.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to* J. HOLROYD, *Esq.*

March 29th, 1774.

America. Had I written Saturday night, as I once intended, fire and sword, oaths of allegiance and high treason tried in England, in consequence of the refusal, would have formed my letter. Lord North, however, opened a most lenient prescription last night; and the utmost attempt towards a new settlement seemed to be no more than investing the governors with a greater share of executive power, nomination of civil officers, (judges, however, for life,) and some regulations of juries. The Boston port bill passed the Lords last night; some lively conversation, but no division.

Bentinck-street. Rose Fuller was against the Boston port bill, and against his niece's going to Boodle's masquerade. He was laughed at in the first instance, but succeeded in the second. Sappho and Fanny very indifferent (as mamma says) about going. They seem of a different opinion. Adieu.

N° XLVI.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to* J. HOLROYD, *Esq.*

DEAR HOLROYD, April 2d, 1774.

YOU owe me a letter; so this extra goes only to acquaint you with a misfortune that has just happened to poor Clarke, and which he really considers as such, the loss of a very excellent father. The blow was sudden; a thin little man, as abstemious as a hermit, was destroyed by a stroke of apoplexy in his coach as he was going to dinner. He appeared perfectly well, and only two days before had very good-naturedly dined with us at a tavern, a thing he had not done for many years before. I am the only person Clarke wishes to see, except his own family; and I pass a great part of the day with him. A line from you would be kindly received.

Great news, you see, from India. Tanjour four hundred thousand pounds to the Company. Suja Dowla six hundred thousand. Tyger Roch is certainly got off from the Cape to Mauritius in a French ship. Adieu.

N° XLVII.

The Same to the Same.

April 13th, 1774.

AT length I am a little more at liberty. Godfrey Clarke went out of town this morning. Instead of going directly into Derbyshire, where he would have been overwhelmed with visits, &c. he has

has taken his sister, brother, and aunts to a villa near Farnham, in which he has the happiness of having no neighbourhood. If my esteem and friendship for Godfrey had been capable of any addition, it would have been very much increased by the manner in which he felt and lamented his father's death. He is now in very different circumstances than before; instead of an easy and ample allowance, he has taken possession of a great estate, with low rents and high incumbrances. I hope the one may make amends for the other: under your conduct I am sure they would, and I have freely offered him your assistance, in case he should wish to apply for it.

In the mean time I must not forget my own affairs, which seem to be covered with inextricable perplexity. * * *, as I mentioned about a century ago, promised to see * * * and his attorney, and to oil the wheels of the arbitration. As yet I have not heard from him. I have some thoughts of writing *myself* to the jockey, stating the various steps of the affair, and offering him, with polite firmness, the *immediate* choice of Chancery or arbitration.

For the time, however, I forgot all these difficulties, in the present enjoyment of Deyverdun's company; and I glory in thinking, that although my house is small, it is just of a sufficient size to hold my real friends, male and *female;* among the latter my Lady holds the very first place.

We are all quiet.—American business is suspended and almost forgot. The other day we had a brisk

a brisk report of a Spanish war. It was said they had taken one of our Leeward Islands. It since turns out, that we are the invaders, but the invasion is trifling.

Bien obligé non (at present) for your invitation. I wish my Lady and you would come up to our masquerade the third of May. The finest thing ever seen. We sup in a transparent temple that costs four hundred and fifty pounds.

N° XLVIII.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to* J. HOLROYD, *Esq.*

DEAR HOLROYD, April 21st, 1774.

I BEGIN to flag, and though you already reproach me as a bad correspondent, I much fear that I shall every week become a more hardened sinner. Besides the occasional obstructions of Clarke and Deyverdun, I must intreat you to consider, with your usual candour, 1. The aversion to epistolary conversation, which it has pleased the dæmon to implant in my nature. 2. That I am a very fine gentleman, a subscriber to the masquerade, where you and my Lady ought to come, and am now writing at Boodle's, in a fine velvet coat, with ruffles of my lady's choosing, &c. 3. That the aforesaid fine gentleman is likewise an historian; and in truth, when I am writing a page, I do not only think it a sufficient reason for delay, but even consider myself as writing for you, and that, much more to the purpose than if I were sending you the little tattle of the town, of which indeed there is

is none stirring. With regard to America, the Minister seems moderate, and the House obedient. * * *'s last letter, by some unaccountable accident, had never reached me; so that your's, in every instance, amazed me. I immediately dispatched to him groans and approbation. * * *, however, gives me very little uneasiness. I see that he is a bully, and that I have a stick. But the cursed business of Lenborough, in the midst of study, dissipation, and friendship, at times almost distracts me. I am surely in a worse situation than before I sold the estate, and what distresses me is, that

His ego nec metas rerum, nec tempora pono.—

Both Deyverdun and Clarke wish to be remembered to you. The former, who has more taste for the country than * * * *, could wish to visit you, but he sets out in a few days for the continent with Lord Midleton. Adieu.

N° XLIX.

The Same to the Same.

DEAR HOLROYD, May 4th, 1774.

LAST night was the triumph of Boodle's. Our masquerade cost two thousand guineas; a sum that might have fertilized a province (I speak in your own style) vanished in a few hours, but not without leaving behind it the fame of the most splendid and elegant *fête* that was perhaps ever given in a seat of the arts and opulence. It would be

be as difficult to describe the magnificence of the scene, as it would be easy to record the humour of the night. The one was above, the other below, all relation. I left the Pantheon about five this morning, rose at ten, took a good walk, and returned home to a more rational entertainment of Batt, Sir John Russell, and Lascelles, who dined with me. They have left me this moment; and were I to enumerate the things said of Sheffield, it would form a much longer letter than I have any inclination to write. Let it suffice, that Sir John means to pass in Sussex the interval of the two terms. Every thing, in a word, goes on very pleasantly, except the terrestrial business of Lenborough. Last Saturday se'nnight I wrote to * * * *, to press him to see * * *, and urge the arbitration. He has not *condescended* to answer me. All is a dead calm, sometimes more fatal than a storm. For God's sake send me advice. Adieu.

N° L.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to Mrs.* GIBBON, Bath.

DEAR MADAM, Boodle's, May 24th, 1774.

Do you remember that there exists in the world one Edward Gibbon, a housekeeper, in Bentinck-street? If the standard of writing and of affection were the same, I am sure he would ill-deserve it. I do not wish to discover, how many days (I am afraid I ought to use another word) have elapsed since the date of my last, or even of your last letter, and yet such is the sluggish nature of the beast, that

that I am afraid nothing but the arrival of Mrs. Bonfoy, and the expectation of Mr. Eliot, could have roused me from my lethargy. The Lady gave me great satisfaction, by her general account of your health and spirits, but communicated some uneasiness, by the mention of a little encounter, in the style of one of Don Quixote's, but which proved, I hope, as trifling as you at first imagined it. For my own part, I am well in mind and body, busy with my books, (which may perhaps produce something next year, either to tire or amuse the world,) and every day more satisfied with my present mode of life, which I always believed was calculated to make me happy. My only remaining uneasiness is Lenborough, which is not terminated. By Holroyd's advice, I rather try what may be obtained by a little more patience, than rush at once into the horrors of Chancery. But let us talk of something else. Mrs. Porten grows younger every day. You remember, I think, in Newman-street, an agreeable woman, Miss W * * *. The under-secretary* is seriously in love with her, and seriously uneasy that his precarious situation precludes him from happiness. We shall soon see which will get the better, love or reason. I bet three to two on love.

Guess my surprise, when Mrs. Gibbon of Northamptonshire suddenly communicated her arrival. I immediately went to Surrey-street, where she lodged, but though it was no more than half an

* Sir Stanier Porten.

hour

hour after nine, the Saint had finished her evening devotions, and was already retired to rest. Yesterday morning (by appointment) I breakfasted with her at eight o'clock, dined with her to-day at two in Newman-street, and am just returned from setting her down. She is, in truth, a very great curiosity: her dress and figure exceed any thing we had at the masquerade: her language and ideas belong to the last century. However, in point of religion she was rational; that is to say, silent. I do not believe that she asked a single question, or said the least thing concerning it. To me she behaved with great cordiality, and *in her way* expressed a great regard.

Mrs. Porten tells me, that she has just written to you. She ought to go to a masquerade once a year. Did you think her such a girl?

I am, dear Madam, most truly yours.

N° LI.

Edward Gibbon, *Esq. to* J. Holroyd, *Esq.*

Boodle's, May 24th, 1774.

I wrote three folio pages to you this morning, and yet you complain. Have reason, and have mercy; consider all the excellent reasons for silence which I gave you in one of my last, and expect my arrival in Sussex, when I shall talk more in a quarter of an hour than I could write in a day. *A propos* of that arrival; never pretend to allure me, by painting in odious colours the dust of London. I love the dust, and whenever I move into the

the Weald, it is to visit you and my Lady, and not your trees. About this-day-month I mean to give you *a visitation.* I leave it to Guise, Clarke, and the other light-horse, to prance down for a day or two. They all talk of mounting, but will not fix the day. Sir John Russell, whom I salute, has brought you, I suppose, all the news of Versailles. Let me only add, that the Mesdames, by attending their father, have both got the small-pox. I can make nothing of * * *, or his lawyer. You will swear at the shortness of this letter.—Swear.

N° LII.

The Same to the Same.

Saturday Evening, August 27th, 1774.

By your submission to the voice of reason, you eased me of a heavy load of anxiety. I did not like your enterprise. * * * * * * * * *. As to papers, I will shew you that I can keep them safe till we meet. What think you of the Turks and Russians? Romanzow is a great man. He wrote an account of his amazing success to Mouskin Pouskin here, and declared his intention of retiring as soon as he had conducted the army home; desiring that Pouskin would send him the best plan he could procure of an English gentleman's farm. In his answer, Pouskin promised to get it; but added, that at the same time he should send the Empress *a plan of Blenheim.* A handsome compliment, I think. My Lady and Maria, as usual.

N°

N° LIII.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to* J. HOLROYD, *Esq.*

Bentinck-street, Sept. 10th, 1774.

SINCE Heberden is returned, I think the road lies plain before you, I mean the turnpike road; the only party which in good sense can be embraced is, without delay, to bring my Lady to Bentinck-street, where you may inhabit two or three nights, and have any advice (Turton, Heberden, &c.) which the town may afford, in a case that most assuredly ought not to be trifled with. Do this as you value our good opinion. The Cantabs are strongly in the same sentiments. There can be no apprehensions of late hours, &c. as none of Mrs. Holroyd's raking acquaintance are in town. * * * * You give me no account of the works. When do you inhabit the library? *Turn over—great things await you.*

IT is surely infinite condescension for a senator to bestow his attention on the affairs of a juryman. A senator? Yes, Sir, at last

——*Quod . . . . Divûm promittere nemo*
Auderet, volvenda dies, en attulit ultro.——

Yesterday morning, about half an hour after seven, as I was destroying an army of Barbarians, I heard a double rap at the door, and my friend Mr. Eliot was soon introduced. After some idle conversation he told me, that if I was desirous of being in parliament, he had an *independent* seat very much at my service. * * * * This is a fine prospect opening

opening upon me, and if next spring I should take my seat, and publish my book, it will be a very memorable æra in my life. I am ignorant whether my borough will be Leskeard or St. Germains. You despise boroughs, and fly at nobler game. Adieu.

N° LIV.

The Same to the Same.

December 2d, 1774.

I SEND you inclosed a dismal letter from Hugonin. Return it without delay, with observations. A manifesto has been sent to * * *, which must, I think, produce immediate peace or war. Adieu. We shall have a warm day on the address next Monday. A number of young members! Whitshed, *a dry man*, assured me, that he heard one of them ask, whether the king always sat in that chair, pointing to the Speaker's. Adieu.

N° LV.

The Same to the Same.

Boodle's, Jan. 31st, 1775.

SOMETIMES people do not write because they are too idle, and sometimes because they are too busy. The former was usually my case, but at present it is the latter. The fate of Europe and America seems fully sufficient to take up the time of one man; and especially of a man who gives up a great deal of time for the purpose of public and private

 information.

information. I think I have sucked Mauduit and Hutcheson very dry; and if my confidence was equal to my eloquence, and my eloquence to my knowledge, perhaps I might make no very intolerable speaker. At all events, I fancy I shall try to expose myself.

Semper ego auditor tantum? nunquamne reponam?

For my own part, I am more and more convinced that we have both the right and the power on our side, and that, though the effort may be accompanied with some melancholy circumstances, we are now arrived at the decisive moment of preserving or of losing for ever, both our trade and empire. We expect next Thursday or Friday to be a very great day. Hitherto we have been chiefly employed in reading papers, and rejecting petitions. Petitions were brought from London, Bristol, Norwich, &c. framed by party, and designed to delay. By the aid of some parliamentary quirks, they have been all referred to a separate inactive committee, which Burke calls a committee of oblivion, and are now considered as dead in law. I could write you fifty little House of Commons stories, but from their number and nature they suit better a conference than a letter. Our general divisions are about two hundred and fifty to eighty or ninety. Adieu.

N°

N° LVI.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to Mrs.* GIBBON, Bath.

DEAR MADAM, London, Jan. 31st, 1775.

AN idle man has no time, and a busy man very little. As yet the House of Commons turns out very well to me, and though it should never prove of any real benefit to me, I find it at least a very agreeable coffee-house. We are plunging every day deeper and deeper into the great business of America; and I have hitherto been a zealous, though silent, friend to the cause of government, which, *in this instance*, I think the cause of England. I passed about ten days, as I designed, at Uppark. I found Lord * * * and fourscore fox-hounds.

The troubles of Beriton are perfectly composed, and the insurgents reduced to a state, though not a temper, of submission. You may suppose I heard a great deal of Petersfield. Lutterell means to convict your friend of bribery, to transport him for using a second time old stamps, and to prove that Petersfield is still a part of the manor of Beriton. I remain an impartial spectator. I am, dear Madam, most truly yours.

N° LVII.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to* J. B. HOLROYD, *Esq.*

February 8th, 1775.

I AM not ———, according to your charitable wishes, because I have not acted; there was such

an inundation of speakers, young speakers in every sense of the word, both on Thursday in the grand committee, and Monday on the report to the House, that neither Lord George Germaine nor myself could find room for a single word. The principal men both days were Fox and Wedderburne, on the opposite sides; the latter displayed his usual talents; the former, taking the vast compass of the question before us, discovered powers for regular debate, which neither his friends hoped, nor his enemies dreaded. We voted an address, (three hundred and four to one hundred and five,) of lives and fortunes, declaring Massachussets Bay in a state of rebellion. More troops, but I fear not enough, go to America, to make an army of ten thousand men at Boston; three generals Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton. In a few days we stop the ports of New England. I cannot write volumes; but I am more and more convinced, that with firmness all may go well; yet I sometimes doubt. I am now writing with ladies, (Sir S. Porten and his bride,) and two card-tables, in the library. As to my silence, judge of my situation by last Monday. I am on the Grenvillian committee of Downton. We always sit from ten to three and a half; after which, that day, I went into the House, and sat till three in the morning. Adieu.

N° LVIII.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to* J. B. HOLROYD, *Esq.*

Feb. 25th, 1775.

WE go on with regard to America, if we can be said to go on; for on last Monday a conciliatory motion of allowing the Colonies to tax themselves, was introduced by Lord North, in the midst of lives and fortunes, war and famine. We went into the House in confusion, every moment expecting that the Bedfords would fly into rebellion against those measures. Lord North rose six times to appease the storm, but all in vain; till at length Sir Gilbert declared for administration, and the troops all rallied under their proper standard. On Wednesday we had the Middlesex election. I was a patriot; sat by the Lord Mayor, who spoke well, and with temper, but before the end of the debate fell fast asleep. I am still a mute; it is more tremendous than I imagined; the great speakers fill me with despair, the bad ones with terror.

When do you move? My Lady answered like a woman of sense, spirit, and good nature. Neither she nor I could bear it. She was right, and the Duchess of Braganza would have made the same answer. Adieu.

N° LIX.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to Mrs.* GIBBON.

DEAR MADAM, March 30th, 1775.

I HARDLY know how to take up the pen. I talked in my last of two or three posts, and I am

almost ashamed to calculate how many have elapsed. I will endeavour for the future to be less scandalous. Only believe that my heart is innocent of the laziness of my hand. I do not mean to have recourse to the stale and absurd excuse of business, though I have really had a very considerable hurry of new parliamentary business: one day, for instance, of seventeen hours, from ten in the morning till between three and four the next morning. It is, upon the whole, an agreeable improvement in my life, and forms just the mixture of business, of study, and of society, which I always imagined I should, and now find I do like. Whether the House of Commons may ever prove of benefit to myself or country, is another question. As yet I have been mute. In the course of our American affairs, I have sometimes had a wish to speak, but though I felt tolerably prepared as to the matter, I dreaded exposing myself in the manner, and remained in my seat safe, but inglorious. Upon the whole, (though I still believe I shall try,) I doubt whether Nature, not that in some instances I am ungrateful, has given me the talents of an orator, and I feel that I came into parliament much too late to exert them. Do you hear of Port Eliot coming to Bath? and, above all, do you hear of Charles-street* coming to Bentinck-street, in its way to Essex, &c.

Adieu. Dear Madam,

I am most truly yours.

* Mrs. Gibbon's residence at Bath.

N° LX.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to Mrs.* GIBBON.

House of Commons,
DEAR MADAM, May 2d, 1775.

I ACCEPT of the Pomeranian Lady with gratitude and pleasure, and shall be impatient to form an acquaintance with her. My presentations at St. James's passed graciously. My dinner at Twickenham was attended with less ceremony and more amusement. If they turned out Lord North to-morrow, they would still leave him one of the best companions in the kingdom. By this time I suppose the Eliots are with you. I am sure you will say every thing kind and proper on the occasion. I am glad to hear of the approbation of my constituents for my vote on the Middlesex election. On the subject of America, I have been something more of a courtier. You know, I suppose, that Holroyd is just stepped over to Ireland for a fortnight. He passed three days with me on his way. Deyverdun had left me just before your letter arrived, which I shall soon have an opportunity of conveying to him. Though, I flatter myself, he broke from me with some degree of uneasiness, the engagement could not be declined. At the end of four years he has an annuity of one hundred pounds for life, and may for the remainder of his days enjoy a decent independence in that country, which a philosopher would perhaps prefer to the rest of Europe. For my own part, after the hurry of the

town and of parliament, I am now retired to my villa in Bentinck-street, which I begin to find a very pleasing solitude, at least as well as if it were two hundred miles from London; because when I am tired of the Roman Empire, I can laugh away the evening at Foote's theatre, which I could not do in Hampshire or Cornwall. I am, dear Madam, most truly yours.

N° LXI.

Edward Gibbon, *Esq. to* J. B. Holroyd, *Esq.*

Bentinck-street, August 1st, 1775.

Your apprehensions of a precipitate work, &c. are perfectly groundless. I should be much more addicted to a contrary extreme. The *head* is now printing: true, but it was written last year and the year before. The first chapter has been composed *de nouveau three times;* the second *twice*, and all the others have undergone reviews, corrections, &c. As to the tail, it is perfectly formed and digested, and (were I so much given to self-content and haste) it is almost all written. The ecclesiastical part, for instance, is written out in fourteen sheets, which I mean to *refondre* from beginning to end. As to the friendly critic, it is very difficult to find one who has leisure, candour, freedom and knowledge sufficient. However, Batt and Deyverdun have read and observed. After all, the public is the best critic. I print no more than five hundred copies of the first edition; and the second (as

(as it happens frequently to my betters) may receive many improvements. So much for Rome. We have nothing new from America. But I can venture to assure you, that administration is now as unanimous and decided as the occasion requires. Something will be done this year; but in the spring the force of the country will be exerted to the utmost. Scotch Highlanders, Irish Papists, Hanoverians, Canadians, Indians, &c. will all in various shapes be employed. Parliament meets the first week in November. I think his Catholic Majesty may be satisfied with his summer's amusement. The Spaniards fought with great bravery, and made a fine retreat; but our Algerine friends surpassed them as much in conduct as in number. Adieu.

The Duchess has stopped Foote's piece. She sent for him to Kingston-house, and threatened, bribed, argued, and wept for about two hours. He assured her, that if the Chamberlain was obstinate, he should publish it, with a dedication to her Grace.

N° LXII.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to Mrs.* GIBBON, Bath.

DEAR MADAM, London, August, 1775.

WILL you accept my present literary business as an excuse for my not writing? I think you will be in the wrong if you do, since I was just as idle before. At all events, however, it is better to say three words, than to be totally a dumb dog. *A propos*

propos of dog, but not of dumb: your Pomeranian is the comfort of my life; pretty, impertinent, fantastical, all that a young lady of fashion ought to be. I flatter myself that our passion is reciprocal. I am just at present engaged in a great historical work; no less than a History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire; with the first volume of which I may very possibly oppress the public next winter. It would require some pages to give a more particular idea of it; but I shall only say in general, that the subject is curious, and never yet treated as it deserves; and that during some years it has been in my thoughts, and even under my pen. Should the attempt fail, it must be by the fault of the execution.

Adieu. Dear Madam,
believe me most truly yours.

N° LXIII.

WILLIAM STRAHAN, *Esq. to* EDW. GIBBON, *Esq.*

SIR, New-street, Sunday morning, Oct. 8th, 1775.

I WAS desirous of taking an early opportunity of paying my respects to you, to return you my best thanks for the pleasure I have received from the perusal of your work, which I have read almost as far as it is advanced. My opinion of it, I shall beg leave, with all submission, to lay before you in a few words.

The language is the most correct, most elegant, and most expressive I have ever read; but that, in my mind, is its least praise.

The work abounds with the justest maxims of sound

sound policy, which, while they shew you to be a perfect master of your subject, discover your intimate knowledge of human nature, and the liberality of your sentiments.

Your characters, in particular, are drawn in a masterly manner, with the utmost accuracy and precision; and, as far as I am able to judge, in strict conformity to historic truth.

In short, so able and so finished a performance hath hardly ever before come under my inspection: and though I will not take upon me absolutely to pronounce in what manner it will be received at first by a capricious and giddy public, I will venture to say, it will ere long make a distinguished figure among the many valuable works that do honour to the present age; will be translated into most of the modern languages, and will remain a lasting monument of the genius and ability of the writer.

I am, with the greatest esteem and respect,
Sir,
Your most obedient and faithful servant,

WILL. STRAHAN.

N° LXIV.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to* J. HOLROYD, *Esq.*

Bentinck-street, Oct. 14th, 1775.

I SEND you two pieces of intelligence from the best authority, and which, unless you hear them from some other quarter, I do not wish you should talk much about. 1st, When the Russians arrive (if

(if they refresh themselves in England or Ireland,) will you go and see their camp? We have great hopes of getting a body of these Barbarians. In consequence of some very plain advances, King George, with his own hand, wrote a very polite epistle to sister Kitty, requesting her friendly assistance. Full powers and instructions were sent at the same time to Gunning, to agree for any force between five and twenty thousand men, *carte blanche* for the terms; on condition, however, that they should serve, not as auxiliaries, but as mercenaries, and that the Russian general should be absolutely under the command of the British. They daily and hourly expect a messenger, and hope to hear that the business is concluded. The worst of it is, that the Baltic will soon be frozen up, and that it must be late next year before they can get to America. 2. In the mean time we are not quite easy about Canada; and even if it should be safe from an attack, we cannot flatter ourselves with the expectation of bringing down that martial people on the Back Settlements. The priests are ours; the gentlemen very prudently wait the event, and are disposed to join the stronger party; but the same lawless spirit and impatience of government which have infected our Colonies, are gone forth among the Canadian peasants, over whom, since the conquest, the noblesse have lost much of their ancient influence. Another thing which will please and surprise, is the assurance which I received from a man who might tell me a lie, but who could not be mistaken, that no arts,

no

no management whatsoever, have been used to procure the addresses which fill the Gazette, and that Lord North was as much surprised at the first that came up, as we could be at Sheffield. We shall have, I suppose, some brisk skirmishing in parliament, but the business will soon be decided by our superior weight of fire. *A propos*, I believe there has been some vague but serious conversation about *calling out the militia.* The new levies go on very slowly in Ireland. The Dissenters, both there and here, are violent and active. Adieu. I embrace my Lady and Maria.

N° LXV.

GEORGE LEWIS SCOTT, *Esq. to* E. GIBBON, *Esq.*

DEAR SIR, December 29th, 1775.

I AM obliged to you for the liberty of perusing part of your work. What I have read, has given me a great deal of pleasure. I have found but few slips of the press, or the pen.

The style of the work is clear, and every way agreeable; and I dare say you will be thought to have written with all due moderation and decency with respect to received (at least once received) opinions. The notes and quotations will add not a little to the value of the work. The authority of French writers, so familiar to you, has not infected you, however, with the fault of superficial and careless quotations. I find, since I saw you, that I must be in the chair at the Excise Office to-morrow; which service will confine me too much for a week,

a week, to permit me to wait upon you so soon as I could wish.

I am very truly, dear Sir,
Your most obedient and most humble Servant.

N° LXVI.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to* J. HOLROYD, *Esq.*

London, Jan. 18th, 1776.

How do you do? Are you alive? Are you buried under mountains of snow? I write merely to triumph in the superiority of my own situation, and to rejoice in my own prudence, in not going down to Sheffield-place, as I seriously, but foolishly, intended to do last week. We proceed triumphantly with the Roman Empire, and shall certainly make our appearance before the end of next month. I have nothing public. You know we have got eighteen thousand Germans from Hesse, Brunswick, and Hesse Darmstadt. I think our meeting will be lively; a spirited minority, and a desponding majority. The higher people are placed, the more gloomy are their countenances, the more melancholy their language. You may call this cowardice, but I fear it arises from their knowledge (a late knowledge) of the difficulty and magnitude of the business. Quebec is not *yet* taken. I hear that Carleton is determined never to capitulate with rebels. A glorious resolution, if it were supported with fifty thousand men! Adieu. I embrace my Lady and Maria. Make my excuses to the latter, for having neglected her birth-day.

N°

N° LXVII.

The Same to the Same.

January 29th, 1776.

HARES, &c. arrived safe; were received with thanks, and devoured with appetite. Send more *(id est)* of hares. I believe, in my last I forgot saying any thing of the son of Fergus; his letters reached him. What think you of the season? Siberia, is it not? A pleasant campaign in America. I read and pondered your last, and think that, in the place of Lord George Germaine, you might perhaps succeed; but I much fear that our Leaders have not a genius which can act at the distance of three thousand miles. You know, that a large draught of Guards are just going to America; poor dear creatures! We are met; but no business. Next week may be busy; Scotch militia, &c. Roman Empire (first part) will be finished in a week or fortnight. At last, I have heard Texier; wonderful! Embrace my Lady. The weather too cold to turn over the page. Adieu.

Since this, I received your last, and honour your care of the old women: a respectable name, which, in spite of my Lady, may suit Judges, Bishops, Generals, &c. I am rejoiced to hear of Maria's inoculation. I know not when you have done so wise a thing. You may depend upon getting an excellent house. Adieu.

N°

N° LXVIII.

Mr. Whitaker *to* Edward Gibbon, *Esq.*

Dear Sir, Saturday, Feb. 24th, 1776.

I have just now received the favour of your History and I would not delay the acknowledgment. I expect equal information and entertainment from it. In that expectation I shall sit down to it next week; and, when I have gone over the whole, you shall hear from me again, without flattery, though not perhaps without partiality. In the meantime, if I thought I might trouble you so soon after my late tax upon you, I would send you a dozen of covers, and beg you to take the trouble of addressing them to Miss Holme, of Brownhill, Rochdale, Lancashire. She is not a mere goddess in Platonic vision. And, if you knew what an elegant, sensible, and spirited correspondence betwixt her and a Welsh lady you would promote by the flourish of your pen, you would run it over a few half-sheets with pleasure. But I think I have no right to ask for the one, and shall therefore decline sending the others.

Your History found me engaged in another History, a work long designed by me, but now executing on a new plan, and therefore with a new title. It is to be called The Military History of the Romans in Britain, and will consequently take in all their military transactions here, and endeavour to place them in new points of view. I have already finished two chapters upon this model, and have

have gone through the two expeditions of Cæsar in them. But I find one inconvenience attending my departure from the common line of relation with regard to these invasions, which I do not like and yet know not how to avoid. I am obliged to defend my own accounts in some formal dissertations at the end. And, if I go on as I have begun, my Appendix will be half as large as my History.

I hope your anti-American spirits, Sir, are in a higher flow than they were when I had last the pleasure of hearing from you. Manchester has taken a decided part against the Americans. And, having beaten the petitioners out of the field in action, we are now attacking them in the London papers, and driving them from their last refuge there.

I remain, Dear Sir,
Your most devoted and very humble
Friend and Servant,
J. WHITAKER.

N° LXIX.

Mr. WHITAKER *to* EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq.*

SIR, No. 29, Fetter-lane, March 26th.

IT was not till yesterday, that I knew to whom I was indebted for your obliging communication of last week. It was, before, a sort of fairy favour. And I supposed, with regret, that it was in vain to inquire after the invisible hand which had reached it out to me. But yesterday, casting a casual look upon the outer cover, I there saw what I had not

observed before, a note from Mr. White, the bookseller. This naturally lead me to inquire of him. And from him I had the satisfaction to learn, that my unknown and friendly correspondent was Mr. Gibbon. To Mr. Gibbon therefore I return my cordial thanks for the obliging manner in which he speaks of the History of Manchester, and my more cordial for his two remarks upon it. These have pointed out a track of thinking, with which I was but little acquainted before. And I should be glad to enter upon it in company with such a guide, and pursue it to its termination. Cannot Mr. Gibbon and I, therefore, contrive to spend an hour together upon the subject? I shall be very happy in waiting upon Mr. Gibbon at his own appointment, and either in Bentinck-street, Fetter-lane, or a coffee-house. And I shall be glad to cultivate the acquaintance of a gentleman, who seems to be, what few even of our professed scholars are, very conversant with the earlier history of our country.

In the meantime I have the pleasure to subscribe myself Mr. Gibbon's

obliged and most devoted
humble Servant,
J. WHITAKER.

N° LXX.

Mr. WHITAKER *to* EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq.*

DEAR SIR, Manchester, April 21st, 1776.

I HAVE just finished your History: and I sit down to thank you for it a second time. You have laid

laid open the interior principles of the Roman Constitution with great learning, and shewn their operation on the general body of the Empire with great judgment. Your work therefore will do you high honour. You never speak feebly, except when you come upon British ground, and never weakly, except when you attack Christianity. In the former case, you seem to me to want information. And, in the latter, you plainly want the common candour of a citizen of the world for the religious system of your country. Pardon me, Sir, but, much as I admire your abilities, greatly as I respect your friendship, I cannot bear without indignation your sarcastic slyness upon Christianity, and cannot see without pity your determined hostility to the Gospel. But I leave the subject to beg a favour of you. After so open a declaration, I pay a great compliment to the friendliness of your spirit, to solicit from you any favour.

I have inclosed you a printed paper, written by myself, and relating to a Bill for this town, which is now in the House. It was drawn up with the utmost plainness, in order to be level to the comprehensions of the persons to whom it was addressed. And I take the liberty of sending it to you, to inform you of the nature and complexion of the Bill. You may depend upon all the facts in it. And if you think the arguments convincing in themselves, and the cause for my sake worthy of your interposition, you will perhaps think it requisite, either by application to the Committee or by an overture to the House, to get a couple of

restraining paragraphs inserted in the Bill; that shall make every subscriber to the improvements a commissioner under the Act, and oblige the commissioners to finish all the improvements in a limited time. In doing this, you will check a spirit of tyranny, that has shewn itself very powerfully in this region of mercantile equality, and confine it within proper bounds. And you will particularly oblige your friend, who, with a great promptness to submit to the authority of his legal superiors, feels a greater reluctance to truckle to the assumed dominion of his equals.

I write to Sir Thomas Egerton by this post, and upon this occasion. But, as his friends here are divided upon the matter, I am doubtful whether he will choose to interpose in it. I shall write also to one or two other friends of mine in the House. But as I have not the same claim of friendship upon them, which you allow me to have upon you, I rely principally upon your interposition. And if you can serve the thinking part of this town, if you can oblige me, you will (I am convinced) do both.

Let me add to this favour, which is merely a public and political one, another of a more private and tender nature. Will you make some of your servants fold me up a dozen covers, and inscribe them yourself to Miss Holme, Brownhill, Rochdale, Lancashire? If you will, you will heighten the former favour, and make me still more

Your affectionate Friend and Servant,

J. WHITAKER.

N°

N° LXXI.

Mr. WHITAKER *to* EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq.*

DEAR SIR, Manchester, May 11th, 1776.

I THANK you for your franks. And I thank you still more for your friendly return to my last. You received my application to you about the business in parliament, with your usual kindness. I wrote to others of my friends in the House at the same time. And I carried the great point which I aimed up. You also received my animadversions upon your History with candour. I was particularly pointed, I believe, in what I said concerning the religious part of it. I wrote from my feelings at the time; and was perhaps the less inclined to suppress those feelings from friendliness, because I had two favours to beg of you. I hope, I shall ever be attached, with every power of my judgment and my affection, to that glorious system of truth, which is the vital principle of happiness to my soul in time and in eternity. And in this I act not from any "restraints of profession." I should despise myself, if I did. I act from the fullest conviction of a mind, that has been a good deal exercised in inquiries into truth, and that has shewn (I fancy) a strong spirit of rational scepticism in rejecting and refuting a variety of opinions, which have passed current for ages in our national history.

With regard to what I said concerning your British accounts, I meant not to blame you, either for not saying all that you knew concerning our island, or for not bringing in the intimations of

Richard on Ossian. I blamed you only for not noticing some particulars, that made a necessary part of your narration, and are mentioned by the best authorities. And I remember particularly, that in your description of the Empire about the time of Severus, and in your short intimations concerning the state of the towns within it, you specify only London and York as remarkable towns in Britain, though Tacitus and Dio give us such an account of Camulodunum, and though Chester appears from an inscription and a coin to have been then a colony. And in the description of those two which you mention you take no notice, I think, of the sweet and pleasant situation of London, so strikingly marked by Tacitus, and of the Temple of Bellona, and of the Palatium or Domus Palatina, in York, so expressly specified by Spartian. You omit also the fine baths of Britain, so plainly pointed out in the Thermæ of Ptolemy, and the Aquæ Solis of Antoninus's Itinerary, and so celebrated by Solinus. You equally omit the latter's Temple of Apollo and Minerva, at the same colony of Bath. And you also omit the colony of Gloucester, though demonstrated to be one by an inscription; and the colony of Caer Gwent, in Monmouthshire, though particularized by Antoninus's Itinerary, and exhibiting such remains in Giraldus Cambrensis.* These were some of the remarks that forced themselves

* Mr. Whitaker's eagerness to display his erudition as a British Antiquarian, seems to have occasioned a forgetfulness that Mr. Gibbon did not affect that character; that as the historian of Rome his subject could not be supposed to embrace the details of British antiquities. S.

upon

upon my mind, as I read your work. Others also arose of a different nature and inferior importance, as that the native language of Gaul and Britain was driven by the Romans to the hills and mountains; that the Druids borrowed money upon bonds payable in the other world, &c. The former is undoubtedly a mistake in the island, and I believe, is equally so on the continent. And the latter, I apprehend, has only the frivolous authority of Cluverius or some such writer for its ground-work. From these and other particulars it was, that I received the impression which I ventured to declare in my last. And I am ready to acknowledge my mistake, if I am wrong.

These however, if never so true, are but trifles light as air in my estimation, when they are compared with what I think the great blot of your work. You have there exhibited Deism in a new shape, and in one that is more likely to affect the uninstructed million, than the reasoning form which she has usually worn. You seem to me like another Tacitus, revived with all his animosity against Christianity, his strong philosophical spirit of sentiment, and more than his superiority to the absurdities of heathenism. And you will have the dishonour (pardon me, Sir) of being ranked by the folly of scepticism, that is working so powerfully at present, among the most distinguished deists of the age. I have long suspected the tendency of your opinions. I once took the liberty of hinting my suspicions. But I did not think the poison had spread so universally through your frame. And I can only deplore the misfortune, and a very

great one I consider it, to the highest and dearest interests of man among all your readers.*

These must be very numerous. I see you are getting a second edition already. I give you joy of it. And I remain, with an equal mixture of regret and regard,

Your obliged Friend and Servant,

J. WHITAKER.

N° LXXII.

Rev. Dr. JOSEPH WARTON *to Mr.* GIBBON.

DEAR SIR, Winchester, March 11th, 1776.

I CANNOT forbear expressing my thanks to you, for the very great pleasure and instruction I have met with in your excellent work. I protest to you I know of no history in our language written with equal purity, precision, and elegancy of style. I presume you have heard that offence is taken at some passages that are thought unfavourable to the truth of Christianity. I hope you will proceed to finish your plan, and gratify the eager wishes of the public to see the whole of your work. May I ever hope for the honour of seeing you at this place? It would give me the most real pleasure.

I am, dear Sir,

With the truest regard, your much obliged and very faithful humble Servant,

JOS. WARTON.

* If the letters of Mr. Whitaker had been perused previously to the publication of the former edition, this manly and spirited declaration in favour of the principles of the Established Church, and against the perversion of those opinions which constitute the greatest comfort and consolation of the Christian world, would not have been then withheld from the public. S.

N°

N° LXXIII.

DAVID GARRICK, *Esq. to Mr.* GIBBON.

DEAR SIR, Adelphi, March 9th, 1776.

WHENEVER I am truly pleased I must communicate my joy: Lord Camden called upon me this morning, and, before Cumberland, declared that he never read a more admirable performance than Mr. Gibbon's History, &c. *He was in transport, and so was I—the author is the only man to write history of the age—such depth—such perspicuity —such language, force, variety, and what not!*

I am so delighted with him, continues he, that I must write to thank him—I should be happy to know him. My Lord, I have that honour, and will contrive, if possible, to bring you together. Said I too much? My coach is at the door—my wife bawling for me, and every thing impatient—so hey for Hampton till Monday, and in the mean time, as I am always, most truly,

Your most obedient and obliged,

D. GARRICK.

I have not a moment to read over this scrawl.

N° LXXIV.

The Hon. HORACE WALPOLE *to* EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq.*

MR. WALPOLE cannot express how much he is obliged to Mr. Gibbon for the valuable present he has received; nor how great a comfort it is to him, in his present situation, in which he little expected

pected to receive singular pleasure. Mr. Walpole does not say this at random, nor from mere confidence in the author's abilities, for he has already (all his weakness would permit) read the first chapter, and is in the greatest admiration of the style, manner, method, clearness, and intelligence. Mr. Walpole's impatience to proceed will struggle with his disorder, and give him such spirits, that he flatters himself he shall owe part of his recovery to Mr. Gibbon, whom, as soon as that is a little effected, he shall beg the honour of seeing.

N° LXXV.

The Hon. Horace Walpole *to* Edward Gibbon, *Esq.*

February 14th, 1776.

After the singular pleasure of reading you, Sir, the next satisfaction is to declare my admiration. I have read great part of your volume, and cannot decide to which of its various merits I give the preference, though I have no doubt of assigning my partiality to one virtue of the author, which, seldom as I meet with it, always strikes me superiorly. Its quality will naturally prevent your guessing which I mean. It is your amiable modesty. How can you know so much, judge so well, possess your subject and your knowledge, and your power of judicious reflection so thoroughly, and yet command yourself and betray no dictatorial arrogance of decision? How unlike very ancient and very modern authors! You have unexpectedly given

given the world a classic history. The fame it must acquire will tend every day to acquit this panegyric of flattery. The impressions it has made on me are very numerous. The strongest is the thirst of being better acquainted with you—but I reflect that I have been a trifling author, and am in no light profound enough to deserve your intimacy, except by confessing your superiority so frankly, that I assure you honestly, I already feel no envy, though I did for a moment. The best proof I can give you of my sincerity, is to exhort you, warmly and earnestly, to go on with your noble work—the strongest, though a presumptuous mark of my friendship, is to warn you never to let your charming modesty be corrupted, by the acclamations your talents will receive. The native qualities of the man should never be sacrificed to those of the author, however shining. I take this liberty as an older man, which reminds me how little I dare promise myself that I shall see your work completed! But I love posterity enough to contribute, if I can, to give them pleasure through you.

I am too weak to say more, though I could talk for hours on your history. But one feeling I cannot suppress, though it is a sensation of vanity. I think, nay, I am sure I perceive, that your sentiments on government agree with my own. It is the only point on which I suspect myself of any partiality in my admiration. It is a reflection of a far inferior vanity that pleases me in your speaking with so much distinction of that, alas! wonderful period, in which the world saw five good monarchs

monarchs succeed each other. I have often thought of treating that Elysian æra. Happily it has fallen into better hands!

I have been able to rise to-day, for the first time, and flatter myself that if I have no relapse, you will in two or three days more give me leave, Sir, to ask the honour of seeing you. In the mean time, be just; and do not suspect me of flattering you. You will always hear that I say the same of you to every body.

I am, with the greatest regard, Sir,
Your most obedient humble Servant,
HOR. WALPOLE.

N° LXXVI.

The Hon. HORACE WALPOLE *to* EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq.*

DEAR SIR,

I HAVE gone through your Inquisitor's attack, and am far from being clear that it deserves your giving yourself the trouble of an answer, as neither the detail nor the result affects your argument. So far from it, many of his reproofs are levelled at your having quoted a wrong page, he confessing often that what you have cited is in the author referred to, but not precisely in the individual spot. If St. Peter is attended by a corrector of the press, you will certainly never be admitted where he is porter. I send you my copy, because I scribbled my remarks. I do not send them with the impertinent

tinent presumption of suggesting a hint to you, but to prove I did not grudge the trouble of going through such a book, when you desired it; and to shew how little struck me as of any weight.

I have set down nothing on your imputed plagiarisms, for if they are so, no argument that has ever been employed, must be used again, even where the passage necessary is applied to a different purpose. An author is not allowed to be master of his own works, but by Davis's new law, the first person that cites him, would be so. You probably looked into Middleton. Dodwell, &c. had the same reflections on the same circumstances, or conceived them, so as to recollect them, without remembering what suggested them. Is this plagiarism? If it is, Davis and such cavillers might go a short step farther, and insist that an author should peruse every work antecedently written, on every subject at all collateral to his own,—not to assist him, but to be sure to avoid every material touched by his predecessors.

I will make but one remark on such divine champions. Davis and his prototypes tell you Middleton, &c. have used the same objections, and they have been *confuted; answering*, in the Theologic Dictionary, signifying *confuting*, no matter whether there is sense, argument, truth, in the answer or not.

Upon the whole, I think ridicule is the only answer such a work is intitled to. The ablest answer which you can make (which would be the ablest answer

answer that could be made) would never have any authority with the cabal, yet would allow a sort of dignity to the author. His patrons will always maintain that he vanquished you, unless you make him too ridiculous for them to dare to revive his name. You might divert yourself too with alma mater, the church, employing a goujat to defend the citadel, while the generals repose in their tents. If Irenæus, St. Augustine, &c. did not set apprentices and proselytes to combat Celsus and the adversaries of the new religion——but early bishops had not five or six thousand pounds a-year.

In short, dear Sir, I wish you not to lose your time; that is, either not reply, or set *your mark* on your answer, that it may always be read with the rest of your works.

N° LXXVII.

The Hon. Horace Walpole *to* Edward Gibbon, *Esq.*

The penetration, solidity, and taste, that made you the first of historians, dear Sir, prevent my being surprised at your being the best writer of controversial pamphlets too. I have read you with more precipitation than such a work deserved, but I could not disobey you and detain it. Yet even in that hurry I could discern, besides a thousand beauties and strokes of wit, the inimitable eighty-third page, and the conscious dignity that you maintain throughout, over your monkish antagonists. When you

you are so superior in argument, it would look like insensibility to the power of your reasoning, to select transient passages for commendation; and yet I must mention one that pleased me particularly, from the delicacy of the severity, and from its novelty too; it is, *bold is not the word.* This is the feathered arrow of Cupid that is more formidable than the club of Hercules. I need not specify thanks, when I prove how much I have been pleased.

Your most obliged,
H. WALPOLE.

N° LXXVIII.

Extract of a Letter from Dr. ROBERTSON *to Mr.* STRAHAN, *dated* Edinburgh College, March 15, 1776.

* * * * SINCE my last I have read Mr. Gibbon's History with much attention, and great pleasure. It is a work of very high merit indeed. He possesses that industry of research, without which no man deserves the name of an historian. His narrative is perspicuous and interesting; his style is elegant and forcible, though in some passages I think rather too laboured, and in others too quaint. But these defects are amply compensated by the beauty of the general flow of language, and a very peculiar happiness in many of his expressions. I have traced him in many of his quotations, (for experience has taught me to suspect the accuracy

accuracy of my brother penmen,) and I find he refers to no passage but what he has seen with his own eyes. I hope the book will be as successful as it deserves to be. I have not yet read the two last chapters, but am sorry, from what I have heard of them, that he has taken such a tone in them as will give great offence, and hurt the sale of the book.

N° LXXIX.

Adam Ferguson, *Esq. to Mr.* Gibbon.

Dear Sir, Edinburgh, March 19th, 1776.

I received, about eight days ago, after I had been reading your History, the copy which you have been so good as to send me, and for which I now trouble you with my thanks. But even if I had not been thus called upon to offer you my respects, I could not have refrained from congratulating you on the merit, and undoubted success, of this valuable performance. The persons of this place whose judgment you will value most, agree in opinion, that you have made a great addition to the classical literature of England, and given us, what Thucydides proposed leaving with his own countrymen, a *possession in perpetuity*. Men of a certain modesty and merit always exceed the expectations of their friends; and it is with very great pleasure I tell you, that although you must have observed in me every mark of consideration and regard, that this is, nevertheless, the case, I receive

receive your instruction, and study your model, with great deference, and join with every one else, in applauding the extent of your plan, in hands so well able to execute it. Some of your readers, I find, were impatient to get at the fifteenth chapter, and began at that place. I have not heard much of their criticism, but am told that many doubt of your orthodoxy. I wish to be always of the charitable side, while I own you have proved that the clearest stream may become foul when it comes to run over the muddy bottom of human nature. I have not stayed to make any particular remarks. If any should occur on the second reading, I shall not fail to lay in my claim to a more needed, and more useful admonition from you, in case I ever produce any thing that merits your attention.

And am, with the greatest respect, dear Sir,

Your most obliged, and most humble Servant,

ADAM FERGUSON.

N° LXXX.

Extract of a Letter from Mr. DAVID HUME *to Mr.* STRAHAN, *dated*

Edinburgh, April 8th, 1776.

* * * * I AM very much taken with Mr. Gibbon's Roman History, which came from your press, and am glad to hear of its success. There will no books of reputation now be printed in London but through your hands and Mr. Cadell's. The Author tells me, that he is already preparing a second edition. I resolved to have given him my advice with regard to the manner of

printing it; but as I am now writing to you, it is the same thing. He ought certainly to print the number of the chapter at the head of the margin; and it would be better if something of the contents could also be added. One is also plagued with his notes, according to the present method of printing the book: when a note is announced, you turn to the end of the volume; and there you often find nothing but a reference to an authority. All these authorities ought only to be printed at the margin; or the bottom of the page. I desire a copy of my new edition should be sent to Mr. Gibbon; as wishing that gentleman, whom I so highly value, should peruse me in a form the least imperfect to which I can bring my work.

* * * * Dr. Smith's performance is another excellent work that has come from your press this winter; but I have ventured to tell him, that it requires too much thought to be as popular as Mr. Gibbon's.

N° LXXXI.

Mr. Ferguson *to Mr.* Gibbon.

Dear Sir, Edinburgh, April 18th, 1776.

I should make some apology for not writing you sooner an answer to your obliging letter; but if you should honour me frequently with such requests, you will find, that, with very good intentions, I am a very dilatory and irregular correspondent. I am sorry to tell you, that our respectable friend * is still declining in his health; he is greatly

* Mr. Hume.

emaciated,

emaciated, and loses strength. He talks familiarly of his near prospect of dying. His mother, it seems, died under the same symptoms; and it appears so little necessary, or proper, to flatter him, that no one attempts it. I never observed his understanding more clear, or his humour more pleasant and lively. He has a great aversion to leave the tranquillity of his own house, to go in search of health among inns and hostlers. And his friends here gave way to him for some time; but now think it necessary that he should make an effort to try what change of place and air, or any thing else Sir John Pringle may advise, can do for him. I left him this morning in the mind to comply in this article, and I hope that he will be prevailed on to set out in a few days. He is just now sixty-five.

I am very glad that the pleasure you give us recoils a little on yourself, through our feeble testimony. I have, as you suppose, been employed, at any intervals of leisure or rest I have had for some years, in taking notes, or collecting materials, for a History of the distractions that broke down the Roman Republic, and ended in the establishment of Augustus and his immediate successors. The compliment you are pleased to pay, I cannot accept of, even to my subject. Your subject now appears with advantages it was not supposed to have had; and I suspect that the magnificence of the mouldering ruin will appear more striking, than the same building when the view is perplexed with scaffolding, workmen, and disorderly lodgers, and

the ear is stunned with the noise of destructions and repairs, and the alarms of fire. The night which you begin to describe is solemn, and there are gleams of light superior to what is to be found in any other time. I comfort myself, that as my trade is the study of human nature, I could not fix on a more interesting corner of it, than the end of the Roman Republic. Whether my compilations should ever deserve the attention of any one besides myself, must remain to be determined after they are farther advanced. I take the liberty to trouble you with the inclosed for Mr. Smith, whose uncertain stay in London makes me at a loss how to direct for him. You have both such reason to be pleased with the world just now, that I hope you are pleased with each other.

I am, with the greatest respect,
Dear Sir,
Your most obedient, and most humble Servant,
ADAM FERGUSON.

N° LXXXII.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to* J. HOLROYD, *Esq.*

London, May 20th, 1776.

I AM angry that you should impede my noble designs of visiting foreign parts, more especially as I have an advantage which Sir Wilful had not, that of understanding your foreign lingos. With regard to Mrs. Gibbon, her intended visit, to which I was not totally a stranger, will do me honour; and, though it should delay my emigration till the end

end of July, there will still remain the months of August, September, and October. Above all, abstain from giving the least hint to any Bath correspondent, and perhaps, if I am not provoked by opposition, the thing may not be absolutely certain. At all events, you may depend on a previous visit. At present, I am very busy with the Neckers. I live with her, just as I used to do twenty years ago, laugh at her Paris varnish, and oblige her to become a simple reasonable Suissesse. The man who might read English husbands lessons of proper and dutiful behaviour, is a sensible good-natured creature. In about a fortnight I launch again into the world in the shape of a quarto volume. Cadell assures me, that he never remembered so eager and impatient a demand for a second edition. The town is beginning to break up; the day after to-morrow we have our last day in the House of Commons, to inquire into the instructions of the commissioners. I like the plan, and the motion appears plain. Adieu. I dined with Lord Palmerstone to-day; great dinner of catches. I embrace my Lady and the Maria.

N° LXXXIII.

The Same to the Same.

To tell you any thing of the change, or rather changes, of governors, I must have known something of them myself; but all is darkness, confusion, and uncertainty, to such a degree, that people do not even know what lies to invent. The news

from America have indeed diverted the public attention into another, and far greater, channel. All that you see in the papers, of the repulse at Quebec, as well as the capture of Lee, rests on the authority (a very unexceptionable one) of the provincial papers, as they have been transmitted by Governor Tryon from New York. Howe is well, and eats plentifully; and the weather seems to clear up so fast, that, according to the English custom, we have passed from the lowest despondency to a full assurance of success. My new birth happened last Monday; seven hundred of the fifteen hundred were gone yesterday. I now understand, from pretty good authority, that Dr. Porteus, the friend and chaplain of Secker, is actually sharpening his goose quill against the two last chapters. Adieu.

June the 6th, 1776, from Almack's, where I was chosen last week.

N° LXXXIV.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to* J. HOLROYD, *Esq.*

Almack's, June 24th, 1776.

YES, yes, I am alive, and well; but what shall I say? Town grows empty, and this house, where I have passed very agreeable hours, is the only place which still unites the flower of the English youth. The style of living, though *somewhat* expensive, is exceedingly pleasant, and, notwithstanding the rage of play, I have found more entertaining, and even rational society here, than in any other club

to

to which I belong. Mrs. Gibbon still hangs in suspense, and seems to consider a town-expedition with horror. I think, however, that she will be soon in motion; and when I have her in Bentinck-street, we shall perhaps talk of a Sheffield excursion. I am now deeply engaged in the reign of Constantine, and, from the specimens which I have already seen, I can venture to promise, that the second volume will not be less interesting than the first. The fifteen hundred copies are moving off with decent speed, and the obliging Cadell begins to mutter something of a third edition for next year.* No news of Deyverdun, or

* *State of the Account of Mr. Gibbon's Roman Empire, Third Edition.* 1*st Vol. No.* 1000.

1777.

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his French translation. What a lazy dog! Madame Necker has been gone a great while. I gave her, *en partant*, the most solemn assurances of following her *paws* in less than two months; but the voice of indolence begins to whisper a thousand difficulties, and unless your absurd policy should thoroughly provoke me, the Parisian journey may possibly be deferred. I rejoice in the progress of * * * * towards light. We are in expectation of American news. Carleton is made a Knight of the Bath. The old report of Washington's resignation, and quarrel with the Congress, seems to revive. Adieu.

N° LXXXV.

Extract of a Letter from Dr. GEORGE CAMPBELL, *Professor at* Aberdeen, *to Mr.* STRAHAN, *dated* Aberdeen, June 25th, 1776.

I HAVE lately read over one of your last winter's publications with very great pleasure, and I hope some instruction. My expectations were indeed high when I began it; but, I assure you, the entertainment I received greatly exceeded them. What made me fall to it with greater avidity was, that it had in part a pretty close connection with a subject I had occasion to treat sometimes in my Theological Lectures; to wit, the Rise and Progress of the Hierarchy: and you will believe that I was not the less pleased to discover,

cover, in an historian of so much learning and penetration, so great a coincidence with my own sentiments, in relation to some obscure points in the Christian antiquities. I suppose I need not now inform you, that the book I mean is Gibbon's History of the Fall of the Roman Empire; which, in respect of the style and manner, as well as the matter, is a most masterly performance.

N° LXXXVI.

Madame NECKER *à Monsieur* GIBBON.

Paris, 29 Juillet.

JE me reprocherois vivement, Monsieur, d'avoir laissé si long temps sans réponse la plus touchante et la plus aimable des lettres, si je l'avois fait par paresse ou par négligence; mais j'ai malheureusement une trop bonne excuse, M. Necker a été long temps malade non du regret d'avoir donné sa démission, mais du chagrin d'avoir été obligé de la donner; car il est pour les honnêtes gens une nécessité morale plus invincible que la necessité physique: les inquiétudes, que la santé de Mons. Necker m'a fait éprouver, m'ont appris plus que jamais à compter pour rien les peines qui n'affectent pas la sensibilité: quand Monsieur Necker se chargea d'une grande place, je crus le prêter à l'honneur, et non aux honneurs, et quand on a voulu lui conserver les uns au dépens de l'autre, j'ai repris avec transport le bien dont je m'étois privée,

privée, et j'ai l'ame trop tendre pour craindre de ne pouvoir pas seule suffire au bonheur d'une personne qui m'est chère: la retraite de Monsieur Necker a été accompagné des regrets et de l'étonnement de toute la France, et nous même en descendant au fond de nos cœurs nous ne pouvons encore comprendre qu'on nous ait contraint à abandonner une administration, où le succès avoit toujours suivi la pureté des intentions: nous sommes à St. Ouen; mais loin d'y éprouver le sort ordinaire, et auquel la morale commune m'avoit preparé, nous avons été suivis non seulement des gens, que nous croyons attachés à nous par les seules circonstances, mais encore d'une foule inombrable de citoyens de tous les ordres, qui ne tiennent aux grandes places, que par la relation du bien public. M. Necker a été baigné de larmes et comblé d'éloges et de bénédictions, et tout ce qui s'est fait à cette occasion pourroit être raconté par un historien, mais ne peut être hasardé dans une lettre: mon estime pour la voix publique en est augmentée: il semble que la vérité jaillit du milieu de cette agitation de toutes les ames, et que le mensonge, qui se réfugie quelquefois dans les opinions particulières, en est bientôt chassé par cette voix générale, comme les démons l'étoient jadis par le nom de la divinité: pardon si je vous parle de Monsieur Necker avec cette franchise. Vous sçavez par l'histoire de tous les siècles, et peut-être par la vôtre, que les petits défauts non seulement ne concluent rien contre le génie, mais même

même l'annoncent souvent; ces défauts des grands hommes sont un présent, que la nature bienfaisante fait à leurs femmes, ou à leurs amis: un homme parfait se suffiroit à lui-même: il faut avoir des torts et des foiblesses pour sentir les jouissances, les besoins, et les consolations, que le cœur peut donner. C'est à cette circonstance, que je dois l'article du Compte Rendu, dont vous me parlez avec tant de graces. Je ne sçaurois m'empêcher d'être sensible à ce que vous m'en dites, et cependant je puis vous assurer qu'il a paru malgré moi: j'ai joui long tems en silence du plaisir de rendre Monsieur Necker heureux, et l'opinion ne pouvoit rien ajouter à ce sentiment; car il est une conscience pour le cœur comme pour la vertu, à qui les regards des hommes sont indifférents, mais ceux de l'affection ne peuvent l'être: ils ajoutent à tous les biens; et d'ailleurs votre amitié m'est trop chère pour ne pas désirer votre estime.

Nous n'avons pas encore eu le temps d'éprouver le vuide que laisse l'absence des grandes affaires: nous n'avons senti que la crainte qu'elles ne prisent une route différente de celle que nous leur avions tracée: car la passion du bien public comme toutes les passions abstraites, doit être constante, puisque l'objet en est inaltérable.

Votre tendresse paternelle me paroît si bien placée, que je ne puis m'empêcher de la partager; vos enfans ont quelques défauts dans le caractère, mais ils nous enchantent, et vous m'avez appris à aimer l'histoire, qui m'avoit toujours paru jusques

à pré-

à présent un miroir exagéré de nos deformités, parceque les grands traits parvenoient seuls jusques à nous: à présent je la lis avec délices, cette histoire, où je crois voir à la fois l'esprit de tant de siècles concentré dans une seule tête, et les jugemens de toutes les nations aboutis à un seul jugement, qui les éclaire, et qui nous les rend avec toutes les graces de la nouveauté sans leur rien faire perdre, cependant, de leur air noble et antique. Vous ne devez pas douter du plaisir que vos succès m'ont fait goûter; car depuis long temps, je ne suis avertie de mon amour-propre que par ma sensibilité: je ne vous donnerai pas de conseils: je ne pourrois critiquer que vos opinions ou vos sentimens, et ce n'est pas de conseils qui peuvent les changer: vous avez d'ailleurs une manière d'écrire qui n'appartient qu'à vous: il faut que vous suiviez l'impulsion de votre génie, et quiconque hasarderoit d'autres avis que celui de vous livrer hardiment à vous même, ne seroit pas digne de vous admirer n'y de sentir le prix inestimable d'une sublime singularité.

Nous formons le projet de passer l'été prochaine en Suisse, mais je n'ose encore m'en flatter, car Monsieur Necker est très indécis dans les petites choses: où que j'aille, vos livres me suivront et me feront goûter à la fois le plaisir et le bonheur par le double intérêt de l'auteur et de l'ouvrage: si vous y joignez quelques lettres, elles seront bien accueillies et bien senties: si vous n'écrivez point ... mais je ne veux pas m'arrêter sur le douloureux soupçon;

soupçon; je finis ces longs discours que la seule amitié peut pardonner: j'ai cru que vous me permettriez de dicter cette lettre: les sentimens divers auxquels j'ai été en proye, ont diminué mes forces; mais si mes doigts ne sçauroient tenir la plume sans fatigue, mon cœur et ma pensée peuvent, en revanche, s'élancer au delà des mers, et ne se lassent jamais de le faire.

C. N.

Mon addresse est actuellement à Paris, Rue Bergère.

N° LXXXVII.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to* J. HOLROYD, *Esq.*

Saturday, August, 1776.

WE expect you at five o'clock Tuesday, without a sore throat. You have ere this heard of the shocking accident which takes up the attention of the town. Our old acquaintance * * * * * * * *. By his own indolence, rather than extravagance, his circumstances were embarrassed, and he had frequently declared himself tired of life. No public news, nor any material expected, till the end of this, or the beginning of next month, when Howe will probably have collected his whole force. A tough business indeed. You see by their declaration, that they have now passed the Rubicon, and rendered the work of a treaty infinitely more difficult. You will perhaps say, so much the better; but

but I do assure you, that the *thinking* friends of Government are by no means sanguine. I take the opportunity of eating turtle with Garrick at Hampton. Adieu.

N° LXXXVIII.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to* J. HOLROYD, *Esq.*

Saturday, three-quarters past Eleven, 1776.

FOR the present I am so deeply engaged, that you must renounce the hasty apparition at Sheffield-place; but if you should be very impatient, I will try (after the meeting) to run down, between the Friday and Monday, and bring you the last editions of things. At present *nought* but expectation. The attack on me is begun; an anonymous eighteen-penny pamphlet, which will get the author more glory in the next world than in this. The heavy troops, Watson and another, are on their march. Adieu.

N° LXXXIX.

Extract of a Letter from Mr. WALLACE *to Mr.* STRAHAN, *dated* Edinburgh, August 30th, 1776.

ALAS for David Hume!* His friends have sustained a great loss in his death. He was interred yesterday, at a place he lately purchased in the burying-ground on the Calton.

* Mr. Hume died at Edinburgh, August 25th, 1776.

" For

" For who, to dumb forgetfulness a prey,
This pleasing anxious being e'er resign'd,
Left the warm precincts of the cheerful day,
Nor cast one longing, lingering look behind?"

A monument on that airy elevated cemetery, which, on account of a magnificent terrace now carried round the hill, is greatly frequented, will be extremely conspicuous, and must often call his name to remembrance. It has been remarked, that the same day on which Lucretius died, gave birth to Virgil; and amidst their late severe loss, philosophy and literature will probably find themselves not wholly disconsolate, on reflecting that the same year in which they were deprived of Hume, Gibbon arose; his superior in some respects. This gentleman's History of the Decline of the Roman Empire appears to me, in point of composition, incomparably the finest production in English, without any exception. I hardly thought the language capable of arriving at his correctness, perspicuity, and strength.

N° XC.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to* J. B. HOLROYD, *Esq.*

1776.

I HOPE you bark and growl at my silence; growl and bark. This is not a time for correspondence. Parliament, visits, dinners, suppers, and an hour or two stolen with difficulty for the Decline, leave but very little leisure. I send you the Gazette, and have scarcely any thing to add, except that about five hundred of them have deserted to us,

and

and that the New York incendiaries were immediately, and very justifiably, destined to the cord. Lord George Germaine, with whom I had a long conversation last night, was in high spirits, and hopes to reconquer Germany in America. On the side of Canada, he only fears Carleton's *slowness*, but entertains great expectations that the light troops and Indians, under Sir William Johnson, who are sent from Oswego down the Mohawk River to Albany, will oblige the Provincials to give up the defence of the Lakes, for fear of being cut off. The report of a foreign war subsides. House of Commons dull, and opposition talk of suspending hostilities from despair.

An anonymous pamphlet and Dr. Watson out against me; (in my opinion,) the former feeble, and very illiberal; the latter uncommonly genteel. At last I have had a letter from Deyverdun; wretched excuses; nothing done; vexatious enough. To-morrow I write to Suard, a very skilful translator of Paris, who was here in the spring with the Neckers, to get him (if not too late) to undertake it. Adieu.

N° XCI.

MADAME NECKER *à M.* GIBBON.

30 Septembre, 1776.

A MON retour de Londres, Monsieur, toutes les marques d'amitié que vous m'avez données m'ont été sans cesse présentes; mais je voulois vous lire, et j'espérois de vous voir; vous ne venez point, je vais

vais donc exprimer bien foiblement l'impression que j'ai ressentie. Vous avez répandu sur une immense érudition la plus profonde et la plus fine connoissance des hommes et de l'humanité, des nations et des individus de tous les rangs; vous avez réuni le philosophe et l'homme sensible; et cette histoire ignorée pendant plusieurs siècles deviendra, je n'en doute point, la plus connue et la plus citée. Carinus vous devra la célébrité de Néron, et Decie ou Gordien celle du vertueux Titus. Vous avez montré que les hommes extraordinaires ont existé dans tous les tems, et que la nature, qui n'avoit d'abord refusé qu'un Tacite à Aurélien ou Zénobie, n'a pu se résoudre à laisser son ouvrage imparfait; si vous avez moins de précision que cet historien, en revanche vous avez cent fois plus d'idées, et de variétés dans les idées. On voit qu'il a été le modèle et peut-être la source de votre ouvrage, mais c'est une source qui s'est grossie de tous les torrents de pensées qui ont coulé dans tous les siècles, et vous avez montré ce qu'une imagination féconde et sensible peut encore ajouter à la profondeur et à l'étendue de l'esprit. Les seuls philosophes lisent Tacite, vous serez lu de tout le monde; nous apprendrons à penser en croyant ne nous exercer qu'à voir et à sentir, et malgré vous, Monsieur, dans le nombre de vos lecteurs, vous compterez autant de femmes que d'hommes; j'ai dit malgré vous, car vous les avez maltraitées; à vous entendre toutes leurs vertus sont factices; étoit-ce vous, Monsieur, qui deviez en parler ainsi?

Vous désirez et vous méritez la plus grande

célébrité, l'élan de votre ouvrage le prouve: mais l'aigle ne dédaigne pas de prendre un point d'appui sur la terre pour s'élever dans les airs; ce point d'appui ce n'est pas à Londres qu'il faut le chercher; vous êtes trop occupés de vos affaires; les femmes n'y parlent point, et dans tous les pays où elles ne sont pas le centre de la conversation la renommée n'a qu'une voix et qu'une oreille. C'est à Paris qu'il est agréable d'être un grand homme, car c'est là seulement qu'on cherche à plaire par la vivacité de la conversation et qu'on fait passer ses sentimens dans l'ame des autres par l'art perfectionné de l'exagération. Si nous n'avions fait usage de cet art rendriez vous justice même à Voltaire? et depuis que nous apprenons l'anglois nous avons augmenté jusques chez vous la célébrité de vos propres auteurs, et cet éclat de Shakespear à qui le doit-il? à la puissance d'un acteur sublime qui s'emparoit tous les jours pendant trois heures du cœur et des oreilles des Anglois, et qui faisoit sur eux l'effet de la conversation chez nous. Je sçais que votre ouvrage a fait un bruit prodigieux, et cependant je ne vous donne pas encore trois ans de guerre en Amérique pour que ce bruit ne se fasse plus entendre que dans le lointain. Votre politique, cette montagne qui écrase tout, étouffe même les géants et ne laisse paroître de tems en tems que ceux qui, comme vous, soulèvent ce poids immense par des torrents de flammes: livrez nous donc votre ouvrage, mais point de germanismes. Monsieur Deyverdun a beaucoup d'esprit et vous verrez malgré cela qu'il fera plusieurs plis aux feuilles de rose. Vous qui avez

transporté

transporté dans l'anglois toute la delicatesse, toute la finesse, et en même tems toute la clarté de notre langue, vous transporterez dans le françois la richesse et l'énergie de la vôtre, et vous les écrirez toutes deux avec cette plume harmonieuse qui semble ne placer un mot que pour flatter l'oreille comme une main habile choisit les touches d'un clavecin.

Au reste j'ose refuser toujours mon enthousiasme à vos trois derniers chapitres. Pourquoi l'homme de génie qui fait son dieu de la gloire et qui croit vivre éternellement dans son sein, veut-il ôter la même espérance à ceux qui mettent leur vertu à la place de cette gloire?

Je me rappelle la franchise de nos entretiens de Londres, et je crois vous devoir un mot sur vos compatriotes, toujours sous le scéau du secret. J'ai vu plus souvent Milord et Milady Lucan que Madame de Montagu, d'abord par le désir que j'avois de vous plaire, à présent l'attrait qu'ont toujours les bonnes gens sans prétentions et d'une société facile et douce. D'ailleurs les propos à bâtons rompus ne font pas mal dans un pays où la conversation est un esclavage dès qu'elle n'est pas un plaisir. Il semble ici que les longues phrases et les longues pensées vous jettent au col un nœud coulant pour vous empêcher de vous enfuir. Madame Montagu est venue à Paris comme à la suite de Shakespear, dans un moment où Voltaire et ses partisans accablent cet auteur de mauvaises plaisanteries, et vous sentez qu'il en tombe quelques unes à droite et à gauche sur son adoratrice. Malgré cela tout le monde rend justice à l'esprit, aux lumières, et

à l'honnêteté de Madame de Montagu. Elle fait des éfforts inouis pour s'exprimer en françois: en l'écoutant, je me rappelle les tourmens que j'éprouvois en Angleterre où je n'entendois personne et où personne ne m'entendoit. Qui ne sçait compâtir aux maux qu'on a soufferts?

Cependant je ris et ne compâtis point. Mais quand viendrez vous donc, Monsieur? fixez nous l'époque précise afin que nous soyons heureux d'avance. Nous vous présentons, Monsieur Necker et moi, l'assurance des sentimens distingués que nous vous avons voués pour la vie.

Pardon, Monsieur; une légère incommodité ne m'a pas permis d'écrire de ma main cette énorme lettre.

N° XCII.

Mr. GIBBON *to the Reverend Dr.* WATSON (*now Bishop of* Landaff.)

Bentinck-street, November 2d, 1776.

MR. GIBBON takes the earliest opportunity of presenting his compliments and thanks to Dr. Watson, and of expressing his sense of the liberal treatment which he has received from so candid an adversary. Mr. Gibbon entirely coincides in opinion with Dr. Watson, that as their different sentiments, on a very important period of history, are now submitted to the Public, they both may employ their time in a manner much more useful, as well as agreeable, than they could possibly do by exhibiting a single combat in the amphitheatre of controversy. Mr. Gibbon is therefore determined to resist the temptation of justifying, in a professed

professed reply, any passages of his History, which might perhaps be easily cleared from censure and misapprehension; but he still reserves to himself the privilege of inserting in a future edition some occasional remarks and explanations of his meaning. If any calls of pleasure or business should bring Dr. Watson to town, Mr. Gibbon would think himself happy in being permitted to solicit the honour of his acquaintance.

N° XCIII.

Dr. WATSON *to Mr.* GIBBON.

Cambridge, November 4th, 1776.

DR. WATSON accepts with pleasure Mr. Gibbon's polite invitation to a personal acquaintance. If he comes to town this winter, will certainly do himself the honour to wait upon him. Begs, at the same time, to assure Mr. Gibbon, that he will be very happy to have an opportunity of shewing him every civility, if curiosity, or other motives, should bring him to Cambridge. Dr. Watson can have some faint idea of Mr. Gibbon's difficulty in resisting the temptation he speaks of, from having been of late in a situation somewhat similar himself. It would be very extraordinary, if Mr. Gibbon did not feel a parent's partiality for an offspring which has justly excited the admiration of all who have seen it; and Dr. Watson would be the last person in the world to wish him to suppress any explanation which might tend to exalt its merits.

N° XCIV.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to* J. HOLROYD, *Esq.*

Almack's, November 7th, 1776.

LETTERS from Burgoyne. They embarked on the Lakes the 30th September, with eight hundred British sailors, six thousand regulars, and a naval force superior to any possible opposition: but the season was so far advanced, that they expected only to occupy and strengthen Ticonderoga, and afterwards to return and take up their winter quarters in Canada. Yesterday we had a surprize in the House, from a proclamation of the Howes, which made its first appearance in the Morning Post, and which nobody seems to understand. By this time, my Lady may see that I have not much reason to fear my antagonists. Adieu, till next Thursday.

N° XCV.

The Same to the Same.

Friday Evening, November 22d.

NEWS from the Lakes. A naval combat, in which the Provincials were repulsed with considerable loss. They burnt and abandoned Crown Point. Carleton is besieging Ticonderoga. Carleton, I say; for he is there, and it is apprehended that Burgoyne is coming home. We dismissed the Nabobs without a division. Burke and the Attorney General spoke very well. Adieu.

N°

N° XCVI.

M. Suard *à M.* Gibbon.

Monsieur, Paris, le 25 Novembre, 1776.

Je ne connois qu'un homme digne de faire passer dans notre langue votre excellente histoire de la Décadence de l'Empire Romain, et cet homme c'est vous. Puisque vous attachez quelque prix à l'opinion du public François, je suis étonné que vous n'ayez pas voulu prendre cette peine. Vous écrivez notre langue non seulement avec une correction et une pureté rare, mais encore avec une élégance et un choix de tours et d'expressions que peu de nos gens de lettres possèdent. Je vous ai rendu cet hommage avant que d'avoir l'honneur de vous connoître personnellement. Vous savez, Monsieur, combien j'ai goûté votre Essai sur la Littérature,—ouvrage où je trouvois réuni ce qui se rencontre rarement ensemble, l'esprit, le goût, et l'érudition. J'ai lu votre nouvel ouvrage, et j'y ai trouvé ces mêmes qualités avec le degré de maturité, avec les vues et la philosophie que l'étude et le tems ont dû ajouter à un talent supérieur.

J'aime peu l'histoire, parceque je n'ai jamais pu retenir ni dates ni faits ; mais je passerois ma vie à l'étudier si elle étoit écrite comme le morceau que vous nous en avez donné. C'est un tableau complet et parfait. Vous y avez embrassé l'histoire des mœurs et des faits et celle de tout l'univers connu. Vous avez porté la lumière dans le cahos, et vous avez suivi le fil caché des évènemens les plus bizarres dans ce labyrinthe obscur où tous les liens qui unissent les hommes en société et toutes

les règles qui les dirigent étant rompues, les plus grandes révolutions paroissent ne tenir qu'au caprice d'une multitude ivre, aux passions extravagantes de quelques individus, ou à des combinaisons fortuites de circonstances. Vos chapitres préliminaires sur l'état de l'Empire, sont des chefs-d'œuvre ; les folies atroces de Commode ; la couronne à l'enchère après la mort de Pertinax ; la grande révolution opérée par Constantin, sont des morceaux achevés. Les deux derniers chapitres, dont je te vis très scandalisé aussi si j'étois Docteur de Sorbonne ou Pape, m'expliquent parfaitement ce que je n'ai encore trouvé nulle part, l'ensemble des causes qui ont favorisé l'établissement et les progrès de notre vraiment merveilleuse religion. Tout cela est relevé par un stile toujours animé, toujours varié, noble et piquant. Voilà, Monsieur, sans aucune exagération ce que je pense de votre ouvrage. Jugez si j'aurois eu du plaisir à répondre à la confiance que vous me témoignez, et à essayer de le traduire. Il y a long tems que je me suis engagé à traduire l'histoire de l'Amérique que Monsieur Robertson fait imprimer actuellement, et dont on me remet les feuilles. Je me suis promis que ce seroit la dernière tâche de ce genre que je m'imposerois : si j'étois tenté de manquer à mon vœu ce seroit certainement pour vous, mais il n'y faut pas penser. Je sais avec certitude que la traduction de la première partie de votre ouvrage est actuellement sous presse à Paris, et qu'elle est faite par M. de Septchênes jeune homme qui a vécu assez long tems en Angleterre et qui étoit fort lié avec Monsieur Garnier. Je ne

connois

connois point ses talens ; c'est le premier ouvrage qu'il compose ; mais je sais qu'il est fort studieux, fort zélé, et estimé de gens de beaucoup de mérite. Si vous désirez de plus grands éclaircissemens, faites moi l'honneur de me le mander. Au reste, quelque médiocre que soit la traduction, je réponds du succès; mais il seroit complet si elle étoit écrite du stile de la lettre que vous m'avez adressée. Je l'ai communiquée à Madame Necker, qui a été fort étonnée que vous n'en ayez pas reçu une qu'elle vous a écrite, il y a trois à quatre mois.

Vous ne doutez pas du plaisir que vos amis ont éprouvé en voyant Monsieur Necker à portée d'exercer pour le bien de ce pays-ci les talens et les vertus que nous lui connoissons. Je fais bien des vœux avec vous pour que ses efforts ne soient point contrariés par un horrible fléau qui nous menace, et qu'il redoute autant que nous. Il n'y a certainement que l'habitude d'entendre parler de guerre et d'en voir qui puisse déterminer les princes à les entreprendre et les peuples à y consentir; car il n'y a jamais eu de fureur plus insensée.

On m'a dit qu'on alloit publier à Londres une petite vie de Monsieur Hume écrite par lui-même. Pourrois-je attendre de votre bonté, Monsieur, que vous voudrez bien vous le procurer pour moi dès qu'elle paroîtra, et l'adresser, sans aucun avis ni seconde enveloppe, *à Monsieur De Vaines, Premier Commis des Finances, à Paris.* Si je pouvois vous être de quelque utilité ici, disposez de moi avec

avec liberté et comptez, je vous prie, sur les sentimens très distingués avec lesquels j'ai l'honneur d'être,

Monsieur,

Votre très humble et très obéissant Serviteur,

SUARD.

N° XCVII.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. à Madame* NECKER.

A Londres, ce 26 Novembre, 1776.

QUE vous avez bien raison, Madame, de célébrer l'art perfectionné de l'exagération! Vous le faites briller dans chaque ligne de cette lettre charmante que j'ai relue cent fois avec la plus vive satisfaction. Par le magique de cet art séducteur vous avez su placer un écrivain inconnu à côté de Tacite et des plus grands hommes. J'embrasse avec ardeur l'illusion flatteuse que vous avez substituée à la triste vérité, et je me persuade sans peine que tous vos arrêts seront confirmés par le public, et par la posterité. Ne croyez cependant pas que par une affectation orgueilleuse et déplacée je veuille rejetter tous ces lauriers dont vous m'avez couronnés. Je sais que le séjour de Paris, en faisant éclater sur un plus grand théâtre votre goût et vos talens, n'a pas étouffé votre franchise Helvétique. Le fonds de ce que vous dites de plus obligeant vous le pensez véritablement; et quand votre partialité pour l'auteur vous auroit trompé sur le prix de son ouvrage, je ne perdrois rien au change. Votre amitié vaut bien la réputation la mieux méritée.

Vous

Vous me refusez cependant les qualités d'un preux chevalier toujours prêt à rompre une lance pour l'honneur de Dieu et des dames. Je pourrois me justifier par l'austère devoir qui ne permet pas à un historien de dissimuler les défauts des objets les plus sacrés ou les plus chéris. Mais étoit-ce à moi de maltraiter les femmes et de représenter toutes leurs vertus comme factices? Il me semble que ce n'est que sur leur courage que j'ai osé jetter ce soupçon. Votre sexe est destiné à consoler le genre humain, à lui plaire toujours, quelquefois à l'instruire, jamais à le faire trembler. Vous connoissez d'ailleurs le pays où je vis: quand on veut peindre les siècles les plus reculés on les dessine, sans s'en appercevoir, d'après les modèles qu'on a devant les yeux. Nos Angloises ne savent étaler que leurs désordres et leurs ridicules; les graces, les talens, les vertus même sont ensèvelies sous des glaces éternelles. Daignez vous rappeller que depuis douze ans je n'ai passé que six semaines dans la société de Madame Necker. En réitérant une invitation dont je sens tout le prix, vous augmentez mon regret de ne pouvoir pas en profiter sitôt que je le voudrois. Mon voyage étoit decidé: cependant l'année va s'écouler sans que j'aie pu exécuter ce dessein, et je me trouve dans la nécessité de renvoyer mes espérances à l'été prochain. Vous ne désapprouverez pas les motifs de mon délai. Je sacrifie le plaisir au devoir. Un ami intime m'avoit nommé son exécuteur testamentaire. Il a laissé des affaires à débrouiller, un procès très important à suivre dans les tribunaux, et des fonctions

tions essentielles à remplir qui ne seroient que trop negligées si je m'éloignois de Londres. Mon cœur anticipe avec la plus vive impatience le moment où je pourrois me dégager de mes liens, me rendre auprès de vous et vous contempler dans la situation élevée et brillante où vous êtes placée. Autrefois j'ai étudié votre ame dans l'humble simplicité de la vie la plus domestique. Vous avez soutenue l'adversité. La modération de votre caractère n'a point été corrompue par le luxe et les applaudissemens de Paris. La fortune vous prépare une autre épreuve; et par la justice qu'elle vient de rendre au mérite de Monsieur Necker, elle vous fournit une nouvelle occasion de l'apprécier et de la mépriser. J'espère que votre ami trouvera les moyens de concilier l'intérêt général de l'humanité avec les intérêts exclusifs de la monarchie dont il administre les finances. C'est peut-être le problême le plus difficile de la politique, mais dont la difficulté ne se fait sentir aux hommes d'états qui sont en même tems des philosophes vertueux. Si je n'avois pas craint de le détourner de ses occupations importantes, je l'aurois remercié de ses bontés. J'ignore cependant si c'est une lettre de félicitation ou de condoléance qu'on doit addresser à un nouveau ministre. Je sais seulement qu'on s'empresse toujours à leur demander des grâces; et pour me conformer à l'usage j'aurois presque envie de le solliciter en faveur du pauvre le Texier qui m'en a conjuré les larmes aux yeux. Mais on peut se reposer sur M. Necker et sur vous même du soin d'encourager les talens et de relever les malheureux.

Vous

Vous êtes d'ailleurs bien plus à portée de connoître les véritables détails de sa conduite à Lyons, et de juger jusqu'à quel point l'honnêteté et la prudence vous permettent de vous intéresser pour lui. Je me contenterai donc de vous assurer que malgré l'acharnement de ses ennemis les procédés de le Texier depuis son arrivée en Angleterre lui ont acquis l'estime et l'amitié des personnes les plus respectables ; qu'il fait paroître des sentimens et même de la sagesse, et qu'il s'est appliqué avec succès à l'étude de l'anglois, au travail et à la traduction. Sa situation devient tous les jours plus triste, et s'il n'a commis que des indiscrétions il me semble qu'il en a été puni suffisament. A propos de traduction, la paresse de mon ami Deyverdun nous a sauvé, à mon grand regret, de ses germanismes. Il a renoncé à l'entreprise, et un mot de votre part pourroit déterminer M. Suard à se prêter à mes vues que j'ai déjà pris la liberté de lui proposer. Malgré votre prévention favorable je ne saurois jamais me résoudre à mettre moi-même mon ouvrage en Anglo-François. On ne sait jamais qu'une langue à la fois, et même en vous écrivant, je sens combien ma pensée se courbe sous le poids de ces entraves étrangères. La composition du second volume m'offre une occupation plus intéressante pour moi, je n'ose pas ajouter, et pour le public.

Ne seroit-il pas tems, Madame, de nous renvoyer nos bonnes gens Milord et Milady Lucan? Etes vous contente de M. Fox? Daignez m'écrire avec

avec une confiance dont je n'abuserai jamais et soyez persuadée de mon devouement le plus inaltérable.

N° XCVIII.

M. Leclerc de Septchenes *à M.* Gibbon.

Rue de Grammont, ce 28 Décembre, 1776.

Monsieur,

Je suis pénétré de tout ce que vous me marquez d'obligeant. Vous avez la bonté de m'encourager; que ne ferois-je point pour mériter votre approbation? Votre ouvrage a ici le plus grand succès; et quoiqu'il ait perdu un grand nombre de ses beautés, on n'en est pas moins frappé de la grandeur et de la majesté du plan. Le public semble désirer que je continue; je suis occupé maintenant à la seconde partie; et je crois pouvoir vous assurer qu'elle ne tardera pas beaucoup à paroître. Depuis trois semaines j'ai traduit jusqu'au paragraphe de la page 267 qui a pour titre *Second Expedition of the Goths.* Je me croirois trop heureux, si vous vouliez avoir la complaisance d'examiner mon travail au lieu de vous envoyer les feuilles au sortir de la presse, comme vous me le demandez. Je vous ferai tenir mon manuscrit, si vous voulez me le permettre, avant de le livrer à l'impression; vous serez bien plus libre de faire les changemens qui vous paraîtront nécessaires. J'ai déjà reçu les observations que vous m'aviez annoncées: elles m'ont éclairé sur une infinité de fautes considérables. Vous ne devez pas douter qu'elles ne me soient fort utiles par la suite. Je vois avec la plus grande peine combien

combien mon premier volume a été mal exécuté. Obligé d'aller à Fontainebleau pendant qu'on l'imprimoit, il ne m'a pas été possible de corriger moi-même les épreuves; et fallut-il sacrifier tous les exemplaires qui ont été tirés, je donnerai certainement une autre édition, où je profiterai de vos remarques. Soyez bien persuadé, Monsieur, que je ne négligerai rien de ce qui peut vous intéresser. J'aurois dû commencer par vous demander excuse de mon étourderie; je m'étois figuré que comme membre du parlement vous ne payez aucun port. Mon intention n'étoit surement pas de vous occasioner des frais si considérables. Je ne prévois pas pouvoir retourner de sitôt à Londres. D'ailleurs votre ouvrage me retient dans ce moment-ci à Paris. Dois-je espérer que vous exécuterez le projet que vous m'annoncez? Je serois bien flatté d'avoir l'honneur de vous connoître, et de pouvoir vous assurer des sentimens d'estime et de considération avec lesquels je suis,

Monsieur,

Votre très humble et très obéissant Serviteur,

LECLERC DE SEPTCHENES.

M. de Foncemagne de l'Académie Française m'a chargé de le rappeller à votre souvenir, et de vous dire qu'il n'a point oublié le présent que vous lui avez fait il y a quelques années de votre ouvrage sur l'Etude de la Littérature.

N°

N° XCIX.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to* J. B. HOLROYD, *Esq.*

Bentinck-street, Jan. 18th, 1777.

As I presume, my Lady does not make a practice of tumbling down stairs every day after dinner, by this time the colours must have faded, and the high places (I mean the temples) are reduced to a proper level. But what, in the name of the great prince, is the meaning of her declining the Urban expedition? Is it the spontaneous result of her own proud spirit? or does it proceed from the secret machinations of her domestic tyrant? At all events, I expect you will both remember your engagement of next Saturday in Bentinck-street, with Donna Catherina, the Mountaineer,* &c. Things go on very prosperously in America. Howe is himself in the Jerseys, and will push at least as far as the Delaware River. The continental (perhaps *now* the rebel) army is in a great measure dispersed, and Washington, who wishes to cover Philadelphia, has not more than six or seven thousand men with him. Clinton designs to conquer Rhode Island in his way home. But, what *I* think of much greater consequence, a province made its submission, and desired to be reinstated in the peace of the King. It is indeed only poor little Georgia; and the application was made to Governor Tonyn of Florida. Some disgust at a violent step of the Congress, who removed the President of their Provincial Assembly, a leading and popular man,

* The Hon. General Simon Fraser.

co

co-operated with the fear of the Indians, who began to amuse themselves with the exercise of scalping on their Back Settlements. Town fills, and we are mighty agreeable. Last year, on the Queen's birth-day, Sir G. Warren had his diamond star cut off his coat; this day the same accident happened to him again, with another star worth seven hundred pounds. He had better compound by the year. Adieu.

N° C.

Madame NECKER *à M.* GIBBON.

Janvier 23, 1777.

VOTRE entretien, Monsieur, a toujours été un grand plaisir de ma vie, car vous réunissez l'intérêt pour les petites choses, l'enthousiasme pour les grandes, l'abondance des idées, à l'attention pour celles des autres, et une légère causticité, ame de la conversation, à l'indulgence du moment, la sureté du caractère, et le courage de l'amitié. Si donc j'ai tardé à vous répondre, ce n'est pas que j'ignore le prix de votre correspondance, je le sçavois avant d'avoir lu vos lettres; mais combien elles me l'ont mieux appris encore! ah! ne dites jamais que votre pensée se *courbe sous le poids de les entraves étrangères,* ou si cela est, *vous dansez avec vos fers;* c'est à vous à nous apprendre à parler, après nous avoir appris à penser; et cette gradation est assez dans la nature.

Je suis livrée à un genre de vie étranger à mes goûts, et qui remplit tous mes momens, sans me

permettre d'en employer aucun. C'est avec cet esprit préoccupé que j'ai reçeu Mr. Fox. Je desirois de le connoître depuis long tems, et je vous remercie de m'en avoir donné les moyens; vous voyez que je n'entends pas l'art de faire *mousser les graces*, pour me servir de la phrase d'un de nos beaux-esprits; si vous voulez juger de mon empressement à vous plaire, envoyez moi Mr. Western ou Sir John Brute. Je reviens à Mr. Fox: on diroit qu'il a dans sa tête l'ordre qu'il a banni de ses actions; il est bien par tout; il sçait tout, il parle à merveille de tout; enfin on trouve autant de convenances et d'ensemble entre toutes les facultés de son esprit que de disparates entre son esprit et son caractère; et je crains qu'il n'ait pour les mœurs, et pour toute espèce de principe une indifférence pire que le vice; comme la froideur est plus à craindre que l'infidélité.

Le premier volume de la traduction de votre ouvrage avoit déjà paru quand je reçus votre dernière Lettre; il n'étoit plus tems de parler à M. Suard: d'ailleurs M. de Septchenes mérite des égards, et s'il manque à son stile cette finesse qui tient à l'habitude de la société, cette chaleur et cette énergie qui caractérise le créateur de la pensée, et cette harmonie que l'habitude des sentimens doux et passionnés donne encore plus que l'exercice de l'oreille; il a, en revanche, de la correction, de la facilité, et même de l'élégance; et puisque vous êtes assez malheureux pour que Monsieur Gibbon n'ait pas voulu vous traduire je me réjouis de vous voir en si bonnes mains.

Adieu,

Adieu donc, Monsieur; je gémis de ne pouvoir prolonger ma lettre, j'écris pour vous seul, comme vous voyez. Une entière confiance est la première preuve d'estime; venez jouir de vos succès, venez aussi jouir de l'amitié de deux personnes qui vous sont véritablement et tendrement dévouées.

Permettez moi de garder le silence sur M. le Texier, et croyez que votre recommendation auroit une grande influence si ce que vous demandez n'étoit pas absolument impossible.

N° CI.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to* J. HOLROYD, *Esq.*

Almack's, Wednesday Evening.

IN due obedience to thy dread commands I write.

But what shall I say? My life, though more lively than yours, is almost as uniform. A very little reading and writing in the morning, bones or guts* from two to four, pleasant dinners from five to eight, and afterwards clubs, with an occasional assembly, or supper. America affords nothing very satisfactory; though we have many flying reports, you may be assured that we are ignorant of the consequences of Trenton, &c. Charles Fox is now at my elbow, declaiming on the impossibility of keeping America, since a victorious army has been unable to maintain any extent of posts in the single province of Jersey. Lord North is out of danger (we trembled for his important existence).

* Mr. Gibbon at this time attended Dr. Hunter's Anatomical Lectures.

I now expect that my Lady and you should fix the time for the promised visitation to Bentinck-street. March and April are open, chuse. Adieu.

N° CII.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to* J. HOLROYD, *Esq.*

1777.

YOU deserve, and we exult in your weather and disappointments. Why would you bury yourself? I dined in Downing-street Thursday last; and I think Wedderburne was at least as agreeable a companion as your timber-surveyor could be. Lee is certainly taken, but Lord North does not apprehend he is coming home. We are not clear whether he behaved with courage or pusillanimity when he surrendered himself; but Colonel Keene told me to-day, that he had seen a letter from Lee since his confinement. "He imputes his being taken to the alertness of Harcourt, and cowardice of his own guard; hopes he shall meet his fate with fortitude; but laments that freedom is not likely to find a resting-place in any part of the globe." It is said, he was to succeed Washington. We know nothing certain of the Hessians; but there *has* been a blow. Adieu.

N° CIII.

The Same to the Same.

Saturday Night, April 12th, 1777.

YOUR dispatch is gone to ***, and I flatter myself that by your assistance I shall be enabled to lose

lose a thousand pounds upon Lenborough before I return from Paris. The day of my departure is not absolutely fixed; Sunday seven-night, the twenty-seventh instant, is talked of: but if any India business should come on after the Civil List, it will occasion some delay, otherwise things are in great forwardness. Mrs. Gibbon is an enemy to the whole plan; and I must answer, in a long letter, two very ingenious objections which she has started. 1st, That I shall be confined, or put to death by the priests; and, 2dly, That I shall sully my *moral* character, by making love to Necker's wife. Before I go, I will consult Newton, about a power of attorney for you. By the bye, I wish you would remember a sort of promise, and give me one day before I go. We talk chiefly of the Marquis de la Fayette, who was here a few weeks ago. He is about twenty, with an hundred and thirty thousand livres a year; the nephew of Noailles, who is ambassador here. He has bought the Duke of Kingston's yacht, and is gone to join the Americans. The Court *appear* to be angry with him. Adieu.

N° CIV.

The Same to the Same.

Atwood's, Saturday Night, April 19th, 1777.

It is not possible as yet to fix the day of my departure. That circumstance depends on the state of India, and will not be determined till the General Court of next Wednesday. I know from the *first*

authority, if the violence of the Proprietors about the Pigot, can be checked in the India-house by the influence of a Government majority, the Minister does not wish to exert the omnipotence of Parliament; and I shall be dismissed from hence time enough to set forwards on Thursday the first of May. On the contrary, should we be involved in those perplexing affairs, they may easily detain me till the middle of next month. But as all this is very uncertain, I direct you and my Lady to appear in town to-morrow seven-night. I have many things to say. We have been animated this week, and, notwithstanding the strict economy recommended by Charles Fox and John Wilkes, we have paid the Royal debts. Adieu.

N° CV.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to* J. HOLROYD, *Esq.*

Monday Night, April 21st, 1777.

BAD news from Hampshire.——Support Hugonin, comfort me; correct or expel Winton; sell Lenborough, and remove my temporal cares.—When do you arrive?

N° CVI.

The Same to the Same.

Wednesday Night, April 23d, 1777.

IT is uncertain whether India comes to Westminster this year, and it is certain that Gibbon goes to Paris next Saturday seven-night. Therefore

fore Holroyd must appear in town the beginning of next week. Gibbon wants the cordial of his presence before the journey. My Lady *must* come.

N° CVII.

The Same to the Same.

Dover, Tuesday Evening, May 6th, 1777.

My expedition does not begin very auspiciously. The wind, which for some days had been fair, paid me the compliment of changing on my arrival; and, though I immediately secured a vessel, it has been impossible to make the least use of it during the whole of this tedious day. It seems doubtful, whether I shall get out to-morrow morning; and the Captain assures me, that the passage will have the double advantage of being both cold and rough. Last night a small privateer, fitted out at Dunkirk, with a commission from Dr. Franklin, attacked, took, and has carried into Dunkirk Road, the Harwich Packet. The King's messenger had just time to throw his dispatches over-board. He passed through this town about four o'clock this afternoon, in his return to London. As the alarm is now given, our American friend will probably remain quiet, or will be soon caught; so that I have not *much* apprehension for my personal safety; but if so daring an outrage is not followed by punishment and restitution, it may become a very serious business, and may possibly shorten my stay at Paris.

Adieu. I shall write by the first opportunity, either from Calais or Philadelphia.

N° CVIII.

Mr. GIBBON *to Mr.* HOLROYD.

Calais, Wednesday, May 7th, 1777.

Post nubila Phœbus. A pleasant passage, an excellent house, a good dinner, with Lord Coleraine, whom I found here. Easy Custom-house officers, fine weather, &c. I am detained to-night by the temptation of a French comedy, in a theatre at the end of Dessein's garden; but shall be in motion to-morrow early, and hope to dine at Paris Saturday. Adieu. I think I am a punctual correspondent; but this beginning is too good to last.

N° CIX.

Dr. WILLIAM ROBERTSON *to Mr.* GIBBON.

SIR, College of Edinburgh, June 5th, 1777.

I HAVE desired Mr. Strahan to take the liberty of sending you, in my name, a copy of the History of America, which I hope you will do me the honour of accepting, as a testimony, not only of my respect, but of my gratitude, for the instruction which I have received from your writings, as well as the credit you have done me, by the most obliging manner in which you have mentioned my name. I wish the present work may not diminish sentiments so flattering to me. I have taken much pains to obtain the approbation of those whose good

good opinion one ought to be solicitous to secure, and I trust that my industry at least will be applauded.

An unlucky indisposition prevented me from executing a scheme which I had formed, of passing two months of last spring in London. The honour of being made known to you, was one of the pleasures with which I had flattered myself. But I hope to be more fortunate next year; and beg that you will believe that I am, with great respect, Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

N° CX.

Mr. GIBBON *to Mr.* HOLROYD.

Paris, July 14th, 1777.

THOUGH amusement is my principal object, I do not entirely lose sight of the Decline and Fall, which will derive some advantages from the books that I have either purchased or consulted. You will not be sorry to hear that Mr. D'Anville has undertaken four Maps of Roman Geography of a size and nature suited to the History.*

N° CXI.

Mr. GIBBON *to Dr.* ROBERTSON.

SIR, Paris, 1777.

WHEN I ventured to assume the character of Historian, the first, the most natural, but at the

* It is much to be regretted that Mr. D'Anville did not perform this engagement. S.

same

same time the most ambitious, wish which I entertained, was to obtain the approbation of Dr. Robertson and of Mr. Hume; two names which friendship united, and which posterity will never separate. I shall not therefore attempt to dissemble, though I cannot easily express, the pleasure which I received from your obliging letter, as well as from the intelligence of your most valuable present. The satisfaction which I should otherwise have enjoyed, in common with the public, will now be heightened by a sentiment of a more personal and flattering nature; and I shall frequently whisper to myself, that I have in some measure deserved the esteem of the writer whom I admire.

A short excursion which I have made to this place, during the summer months, has occasioned some delay in my receiving your letter, and will prevent my possessing, till my return, the copy of your History, which you so politely desired Mr. Strahan to send me. But I have already gratified the eagerness of my impatience; and although I was obliged to return the book much sooner than I could have wished, I have seen enough to convince me, that the present publication will support, and, if possible, will extend the fame of the author; that the materials are collected with diligence, and arranged with skill; that the first book contains a learned and satisfactory account of the progress of discovery; that the achievements, the dangers, and the crimes, of the Spanish adventurers are related with a temperate spirit; and that the most original, perhaps the most curious, portion of the

the history of human manners is at length rescued from the hands of sophists and declaimers. Lord Stormont, and the few in this capital, who have had an opportunity of perusing the History of America, unanimously concur in the same sentiments. Your work is already become a favourite topic of public conversation; and M. Suard is repeatedly pressed, in my hearing, to fix the time when his translation will appear.

I flatter myself you will not abandon your design of visiting London next winter; as I already anticipate, in my own mind, the advantages which I shall derive from so pleasing and so honourable a connection. In the mean while, I should esteem myself happy, if you could think of any literary commission, in the execution of which I might be useful to you at Paris, where I propose to stay till very near the meeting of Parliament. Let me, for instance, suggest an inquiry, which cannot be indifferent to you, and which might perhaps be within my reach. A few days ago I dined with Bagniouski, the famous adventurer, who escaped from his exile at Kamschatka, and returned into Europe by Japan and China. His narrative was amusing, though I know not how far his veracity, in point of circumstances, may safely be trusted. It was his original design to penetrate through the North East passage; and he actually followed the coast of Asia as high as the latitude of 67° 35′, till his progress was stopped by the ice, in a Streight between the two Continents, which was only seven leagues broad. Thence he descended along the coast

coast of America, as low as Cape Mendocin; but was repulsed by contrary winds, in his attempts to reach the port of Acapulco. The Journal of his Voyage, with his original Charts, is now at Versailles, in the *Depôt des Affaires Etrangères;* and if you conceived that it would be of any use to you for a second edition, I would try what might be obtained; though I am not ignorant of that mean jealousy which you yourself have experienced, and so deservedly stigmatised. I am, &c.

N° CXII.

Dr. Robertson *to Mr.* Gibbon.

Sir,

I had the honour of your obliging letter, and I should be a very proud man indeed, if I were not vain of the approbation which you are pleased to bestow upon me. As you will now have had an opportunity to peruse the book, which you had only seen when you wrote to me, I indulge myself in the hopes, that the favourable opinion you had formed of it, is not diminished. I am much pleased with your mentioning my friendship with Mr. Hume; I have always considered that as one of the most fortunate and honourable circumstances of my life. It is a felicity of the age and country in which we live, that men of letters can enter the same walk of science, and go on successfully, without feeling one sentiment of envy or rivalship. In the intercourse between Mr. Hume and me, we always found *something to blame*, as well as *something*

thing to commend. I had received frequently very valuable criticisms on my performances from him; and I have sometimes ventured to offer him my strictures on his works. Permit me to hope for the same indulgence from you. If, in reading the History of America, any thing, either in the matter or style, has occurred to you as reprehensible, I will deem it a most obliging favour if you will communicate it freely to me. I am certain of profiting by such a communication.

I return you thanks for your frank offer of exe cuting any literary commission for me. I accept of it without ceremony, and am flattered with the idea of receiving such aid from your hands. I know nothing of Bagniouski's Adventures, but what was published in some newspaper. If one can rely on his veracity, what he relates must be very interesting to me. If you had been writing the History of America, the question concerning the mode of peopling it, might not perhaps have occupied your attention very much. But it was proper for me to consider it more fully. Bagniouski (if he may be credited) has seen what it may be useful for me to know. I can see no reason why the Court of France should be shy about communicating his Journal, and the Charts which illustrate it; possibly my name may operate somewhat towards obtaining a copy of both; your interposition, I am confident, will do a great deal. It will be very illiberal indeed, if such a communication were refused. My Lord Stormont (by whose attention I have been much honoured) would not

decline

decline to give his aid, were that necessary. But if your Court resembles that of Spain, I am afraid every proposal from an ambassador is received with some degree of jealousy. Your own private application will, I apprehend, be more effectual. As it is probable that a second edition may go to press early in the winter, it will add to the favour, if you can soon inform me concerning the success of your negociation. As this is something in the style of the *Corps Diplomatique*, allow me to recommend one of its members to you. Mr. Fullarton, the new secretary of the embassy, is a particular friend of mine. He is a young man of such qualities both of head and heart, that I am sure you will esteem and love him. Please remember me to him. I have the honour to be, with great respect,

Your obliged humble servant,

WILLIAM ROBERTSON.

N° CXIII.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq.* *to* J. HOLROYD, *Esq.*

Paris, June 16th, 1777.

I TOLD you what would infallibly happen, and you know enough of the nature of the beast not to be surprized at it. I have now been at Paris exactly five weeks; during which time I have not written to any person whatsoever within the British dominions, except two lines of notification to Mrs. Gibbon. The dæmon of procrastination has at length yielded to the genius of friendship, assisted indeed by the powers of fear and shame. But when I have

I have seated myself before a table, and begin to revolve all that I have seen and tasted during this busy period, I feel myself oppressed and confounded; and I am very near throwing away the pen, and resigning myself to indolent despair. A complete history would require a volume, at least, as corpulent as the Decline and Fall; and if I attempt to select and abridge, besides the difficulty of the choice, there occur so many things which cannot properly be entrusted to paper, and so many others of too slight a texture to support the journey, that I am almost tempted to reserve for our future conversations the detail of my pleasures and occupations. But as I am sensible that you are *rigid* and impatient, I will try to convey, in a few words, a general idea of my situation as a man of the world, and as a man of letters. You remember that the Neckers were my principal dependance; and the reception which I have met with from them very far surpassed my most sanguine expectations. I do not indeed lodge in their house, (as it might incite the jealousy of the husband, and procure me a lettre de cachet,) but I live very much with them, and dine and sup whenever they have company, which is almost every day, and whenever I like it, for they are not in the least *exigeans*. Mr. Walpole gave me an introduction to Madame du Deffand, an agreeable young lady of eighty-two years of age, who has constant suppers, and the best company in Paris. When you see the Duke of Richmond, he will give you an account of that house, where I meet him almost every evening.

ing. Ask him about Madame de Cambis. I have met the Duke of Choiseul at his particular request, dined by *accident* with Franklin, conversed with the Emperor, been presented at court, and gradually, or rather rapidly, I find my acquaintance spreading over the most valuable parts of Paris. They pretend to like me, and whatever you may think of French professions, I am convinced that some at least are sincere. On the other hand, I feel myself easy and happy in their company, and only regret that I did not come over two or three months sooner. Though Paris throughout the summer promises me a very agreeable society, yet I am hurt every day by the departure of men and women whom I begin to know with some familiarity, the departure of officers for their governments and garrisons, of bishops for their dioceses, and even of country gentlemen for their estates, as a rural taste gains ground in this country. So much for the general idea of my acquaintance; details would be endless, yet unsatisfactory. You may add to the pleasures of society those of the spectacles and promenades, and you will find that I lead a very agreeable life; let me just condescend to observe, that it is not extravagant. After decking myself out with silks and silver, the ordinary establishment of coach, lodging, servants, eating, and pocket expenses, does not exceed sixty pounds *per* month. Yet I have two footmen in handsome liveries behind my coach, and my apartment is hung with damask. Adieu for the present: I have more to say, but were I to attempt any farther progress,

progress, you must wait another post; and you have already waited long enough, of all conscience.

Let me just in two words give you an idea of my day. I am now going (nine o'clock) to the King's library, where I shall stay till twelve; as soon as I am dressed, I set out to dine with the Duke de Nivernois: shall go from thence to the French comedy, into the Princess de Beauveau's loge grillée, and cannot quite determine whether I shall sup at Madame du Deffand's, Madame Necker's, or the Sardinian Ambassadress's. Once more adieu.

I embrace my Lady and *bambini*. I shall with cheerfulness execute any of her commissions.

N° CXIV.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to* J. HOLROYD, *Esq.*

Paris, August 13th, 1777.

WELL, and who is the culprit now? Thus far had I written in the pride of my heart, and fully determined to inflict an epistle upon you, even before I received any answer to my former; I was very near a bull. But this forward half line lay ten days barren and inactive, till its generative powers were excited by the missive which I received yesterday. What a wretched piece of work do we seem to be making of it in America! The greatest force which any European power ever ventured to transport into that continent, is not strong enough even to attack the enemy; the naval strength of Great Britain is not sufficient to prevent

the Americans (they have almost lost the appellation of rebels) from receiving every assistance that they wanted; and in the mean time you are obliged to call out the militia to defend your own coasts against their privateers. You possibly may expect from me some account of the designs and policy of the French court, but I choose to decline that task for two reasons: 1st, Because you may find them laid open in every newspaper; and 2dly, Because I live too much with their courtiers and ministers to know any thing about them. I shall only say, that I am not under any immediate apprehensions of a war with France. It is much more pleasant as well as profitable to view in safety the raging of the tempest, occasionally to pick up some pieces of the wreck, and to improve their trade, their agriculture, and their finances, while the two countries are *lento collisa duello.* Far from taking any step to put a speedy end to this astonishing dispute, I should not be surprised if next summer they were to lend their cordial assistance to England, as to the weaker party. As to my personal engagement with the D. of R. I recollect a few slight skirmishes, but nothing that deserves the name of a general engagement. The extravagance of some disputants, both French and English, who have espoused the cause of America, sometimes inspires me with an extraordinary vigour. Upon the whole, I find it much easier to defend the justice than the policy of our measures; but there are certain cases, where whatever is repugnant to sound policy ceases to be just.

The

The more I see of Paris, the more I like it. The regular course of the society in which I live is easy, polite, and entertaining; and almost every day is marked by the acquisition of some new acquaintance, who is worth cultivating, or who, at least, is worth remembering. To the great admiration of the French, I regularly dine and regularly sup, drink a dish of strong coffee after each meal, and find my stomach a citizen of the world. The spectacles, (particularly the Italian, and above all the French comedies,) which are open the whole summer, afford me an agreeable relaxation from company; and to shew you that I frequent them from taste, and not from idleness, I have not yet seen the Colisée, the Vauxhall, the Boulevards, or any of those places of entertainment which constitute Paris to most of our countrymen. Occasional trips to dine or sup in some of the thousand country-houses which are scattered round the environs of Paris, serve to vary the scene. In the mean while the summer insensibly glides away, and the fatal month of October approaches, when I must change the house of Madame Necker for the House of Commons. I regret that I could not choose the winter, instead of the summer, for this excursion: I should have found many valuable persons, and should have preserved others whom I have lost as I began to know them. The Duke de Choiseul, who deserves attention both for himself, and for keeping the best house in Paris, passes seven months of the year in Touraine; and though I have been tempted, I consider with horror a

journey of sixty leagues into the country. The Princess of Beauveau, who is a most superior woman, has been absent above six weeks, and does not return till the 24th of this month. A large body of recruits will be assembled by the Fontainebleau journey; but in order to have a thorough knowledge of this splendid country, I ought to stay till the month of January; and if I could be sure that Opposition would be as tranquil as they were last year— I think your life has been as animated, or, at least, as tumultuous, and I envy you Lady Payne, &c. much more than either the Primate, or the Chief-justice. Let not the generous breast of my Lady be torn by the black serpents of envy. She still possesses the first place in the sentiments of her slave: but the adventure of the fan was a mere accident, owing to Lord Carmarthen. Adieu. I think you may be satisfied. I say nothing of my terrestrial affairs.

N° CXV.

M. Buffon *à M.* Gibbon.

Ce 25 Oct. 1777.

Je reçois, Monsieur, comme une marque précieuse de votre estime et de votre amitié cet excellent ouvrage que je ne connoissois que par la traduction; je le lirai avec tout l'empressement que me donnent les sentimens que vous m'avez inspiré. J'ai souvent admiré dans la conversation les traits de génie que j'aurai le plaisir de voir dans tout son développement. Recevez mes remercîmens,

Monsieur,

Monsieur, et les tendres adieux d'un homme qui vous respecte et vous aime autant et plus qu'il ne peut vous l'exprimer.

BUFFON.

N° CXVI.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to* J. HOLROYD, *Esq.*

Bentinck-street, Saturday, November, 1777.

HAD you four horns as well as four eyes and four hands, I should still maintain that you are the most unreasonable monster in the creation. My pain is lively, my weakness excessive, the season cold, and only twelve days remain to the meeting. Far from thinking of trips into the country, I shall be well satisfied if I am on my legs the 20th, in the medical sense of the word. At present I am a corpse, carried about by four arms which do not belong to me. Yet I try to smile: I salute the hen and chickens. Adieu. Writing is really painful.

N° CXVII.

Madame DU DEFFAND *à M.* GIBBON.

Paris, ce 12 Novembre, 1777.

J'ATTENDOIS que M. Walpole vous eût vu, Monsieur, pour répondre à votre très aimable lettre de Calais. J'apprends aujourd'huy par lui que vous avez la goutte, qu'il vous a été rendre visite et que vous avez bien voulu lui parler beaucoup de moi. Il ne me mande point ce que vous lui en avez dit, mais votre bonté naturelle, et votre ex-

cessive indulgence ne me laissent aucune inquiétude. Il pourra vous dire à son tour combien je vous regrette ; rien ne peutvous remplacer ; je pense sans cesse aux momens agréables que j'ai passés avec vous ; jamais je n'ai trouvé personne qui eut une conversation aussi facile, aussi charmante. Je paye bien cher le plaisir qu'elle m'a fait, elle m'a rendue bien plus difficile que je n'étois.

J'ai fort peu vu M. et Mad. Necker depuis votre départ. J'ai soupé une fois en tiers avec eux et eu une fois Mad. Necker chez moi. Nous avons parlé de M. Gibbon, et de quoi encore? de M. Gibbon, toujours de M. Gibbon. J'ai accablée Mad. de Cambis de reproches et d'injures, elle m'a paru l'être de remords et de regrets. La Comtesse de Boufflers me sçaura très bon gré si je vous parle d'elle ; enfin tout ce qui vous connoit, vous estime, vous aime, et désire de vous revoir, et moi plus que personne au monde, je vous prie de le croire.

Le terme de 1779 est bien long, mais cependant j'ose me flatter de le voir arriver : je ne renonce point encore au plaisir de vous entendre, et pour me l'assurer j'ai eu recours à l'Abbé de St. Julien ; il a visité mes oreilles, il entreprend ma guérison, il ne veux pas que je perde toute espérance ; mais cette vertu théologale doit être précédée de celle de la foi, et l'on prétend que celle-ci ne m'est pas familière.

Ne dites point à M. Walpole la crainte que j'ai de devenir sourde ; si ce malheur m'arrive, il n'est pas prochain, et je serai encore long tems, à ce que j'espère, en état d'entendre la lecture de vos lettres.

Je

Je ne me flatte pas qu'elles soient fréquentes, mais je vous prie de répondre à celle-ci et de m'apprendre des nouvelles de votre goutte; elle a grand tort de vous attaquer, vous qui sçavez si bien employer tous vos momens; elle ne devroit se placer que sur les desœuvrés.

J'attends avec impatience les deux volumes que me promet M. de Septchênes; j'ai été parfaitement contente du premier, je l'ai été aussi infiniment de votre lettre à Mad. de Cambis. Toutes les louanges que vous lui donnez sont vraies et d'un discernement exquis; c'est à vous, Monsieur, à qui il appartient de peindre.

N° CXVIII.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to* J. HOLROYD, *Esq.*

Friday, November 14th, 1777.

I DO not like this disorder on your eyes: and when I consider your temperance and activity, I cannot understand why any spring of the machine should ever be deranged. With regard to myself, the gout has behaved in a very honourable manner; after a complete conquest, and after making me feel his power for some days, the generous enemy has disdained to abuse his victory, or to torment any longer an unresisting victim. He has already ceased to torture the lower extremities of your humble servant; the swelling is so amazingly diminished, that they are no longer above twice their ordinary size. Yesterday I moved about the room with the laborious majesty of crutches; to-day I

have exchanged them for a stick; and by the beginning of next week, I hope, with due precaution, to take the air, and to inure myself for the interesting representation of Thursday. How cursedly unlucky; I wanted to see you both: a thousand things to say and to hear, and every thing of that kind broken to pieces. If you are not able to come to Bentinck-street, I must contrive to steal three or four vacant days during the session, and run down to Sheffield. The town fills, and I begin to have numerous levees, and couchees; more properly the latter. We are still in expectation, but in the mean while we believe (I mean ministers), that the news of Howe's victory and the taking of Philadelphia are true. Adieu.

N° CXIX.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to* J. HOLROYD, *Esq.*

December 2d, 1777.

BY the inclosed you will see that America is not *yet* conquered. Opposition are very lively; and, though in the House we keep our numbers, there seems to be an universal desire of peace, even on the most humble conditions. Are you still fierce?

N° CXX.

The Same to the Same.

Monday Night, December, 1777.

I CONGRATULATE your noble firmness, as I suppose it must arise from the knowledge of some hidden

hidden resources, which will enable us to open the next campaign with new armies of fifty or sixty thousand men. But I believe you will find yourself obliged to carry on this glorious war almost alone. It would be idle to dispute any more about politics, as we shall so soon have an opportunity of a personal combat. Your journey gives me some hopes that you have not entirely lost your reason. Your bed shall be ready.

N° CXXI.

The Same to the Same.

House of Commons, Thursday, Dec. 4th, 1777.

DREADFUL news indeed! You will see them partly in the papers, and we have not yet any particulars. An English army of nearly ten thousand men laid down their arms, and surrendered prisoners of war, on condition of being sent to England, and of never serving against America. They had fought bravely, and were three days without eating. Bourgoyne is said to have received three wounds. General Fraser, with two thousand men, killed. Colonel Ackland likewise killed. A general cry for peace. Adieu. We have constant late days.

N° CXXII.

EDW. GIBBON, *Esq. to the Rev. Dr.* CHELSUM.

SIR, Bentinck-street, Feb. 20th, 1778.

THE officious readiness of offering any printed criticism to the notice of a stranger, who is himself the

the object of it, must be received either as a compliment or an insult. When Dr. Watson, the Divinity Professor of Cambridge, was so obliging as to send me his candid and ingenious apology, I thought it incumbent on me to acknowledge his politeness, and, with suitable expressions of regard, to solicit the pleasure of his acquaintance. A different mode of controversy calls for a different behaviour; and I should deem myself wanting in a just sense of my own honour, if I did not immediately return into the hands of Mr. Batt your most extraordinary present of a book, of which almost every page is stained with the epithets, I shall take leave to say the undeserved epithets, of *ungenerous*, *unmanly*, *indecent*, *illiberal*, *partial*, and in which your adversary is repeatedly charged with *being deficient in common candour*; with *studiously concealing the truth*, *violating the faith of history*, &c. This consideration will not however prevent me from procuring a copy of your Remarks, with the intention of correcting any involuntary mistakes, (and I cannot be conscious of any other,) which in so large a subject your industry, or that of your colleagues, may very possibly have observed. But I must not suffer myself to be diverted from the prosecution of an important work, by the invidious task of controversy, and recrimination. Whatever faults in your performance I might fairly impute to want of attention, or excess of zeal, be assured, Sir, that they shall sleep in peace; and you may safely inform your readers, that Suidas

was

was a heathen four centuries after the heathenism of the Greeks had ceased to exist in the world.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient humble Servant,

E. GIBBON.

N° CXXIII.

The Rev. Dr. CHELSUM *to* EDW. GIBBON, *Esq.*

SIR, Oxford, March 6th, 1778.

PERMIT me to assure you, with the utmost sincerity, that no insult, such as, I collect from your letter, you attribute to me, was ever intended by me.

I had reason to think from several circumstances, that my not having sent my Remarks to you in their first form, had been considered by you as a want of attention, and I was very ready to pay what others gave me reason to expect, would be received as, a mark of civility. I do not mean here to refer to Mr. Batt.

My determination was the result of a deference to the opinions of others; and it arose in no degree from an "*officious readiness*," to which you attribute it. I may be accused of an error in judgment, but I cannot justly be accused of any greater offence.

Concerned as I am at my mistake, I am most of all concerned that so esteemed a friend as Mr. Batt should have been employed in a very unpleasant mediation between us.

As it is the sole object of this letter to give you every possible assurance of my having intended a com-

compliment in what has unfortunately been received as an insult, I should have concluded here, but that I am anxious to do myself the justice of pointing out to you, that you have unwarily imputed to me one expression (as I apprehend) wholly without foundation.

On the most diligent recollection I cannot remember that I have any where said (and I am sure I never intended to say) that you have "*studiously*" concealed the truth. I am,

Sir,

Your obedient humble Servant,

J. CHELSUM.

N° CXXIV.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to* J. B. HOLROYD, *Esq.*

February 23d, 1778.

YOU do not readily believe in præternatural miscarriages of letters; nor I neither. Listen, however, to a plain and honest narrative. This morning after breakfast, as I was ruminating on *your* silence, Thomas, my new footman, with confusion in his looks and stammering on his tongue, produced a letter reasonably soiled, which he was to have brought me the day of his arrival, and which had lain forgotten from that time in his pocket. To shorten as much as possible the continuance, I immediately inquired, whether any method of conveyance could be devised more expeditious than the post, and was fortunately informed of your coachman's intentions. You probably

probably know the heads of the plan; an Act of Parliament to declare, that we never *had* any intention of taxing America: another Act, to empower the Crown to name Commissioners, authorised to suspend hostilities by sea and land, as well as all obnoxious Acts; and, in short, to grant every thing, except independence. Opposition, after expressing their doubts whether the lance of Achilles could cure the wound which it had inflicted, could not refuse their assent to the principles of conduct which they themselves had always recommended. Yet you must acknowledge, that in a business of this magnitude there may arise several important questions, which, without a spirit of faction, will deserve to be debated: whether Parliament ought not to name the Commissioners? whether it would not be better to repeal the obnoxious Acts ourselves? I do not find that the world, that is, a few people whom I happen to converse with, are much inclined to praise Lord North's ductility of temper. In the service of next Friday you will, however, take notice of the injunction given by the Liturgy: "And all the People shall say after the *Minister*, Turn us again, O Lord, and so shall we be turned." While we consider whether we shall negociate, I fear the French have been more diligent. It is positively asserted, both in private and in Parliament, and not contradicted by the Ministers, that on the fifth of this month a Treaty of Commerce (which naturally leads to a war) was signed at Paris with the independent States of America. Yet there still remains

remains a hope that England may obtain the preference. The two greatest countries in Europe are fairly running a race for the favour of America. Adieu.

N° CXXV.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to* J. B. HOLROYD, *Esq.*

February 28th, 1778.

* * * * * * As to politics, we should easily fill pages, and therefore had better be silent. You are mistaken in supposing that the bills are opposed; some particular objections have been stated, and in the *only* division I voted with government.

N° CXXVI.

The Same to the Same.

Almack's, Saturday Night, March 21st, 1778.

As business thickens, and you may expect me to write sometimes, I shall lay down one rule; totally to avoid political argument, conjecture, lamentation, declamation, &c. which would fill pages, not to say volumes; and to confine myself to short, authentic pieces of intelligence, for which I may be able to afford moments and lines. Hear then—The French Ambassador went off yesterday morning, not without some slight expressions of ill-humour from John Bull. Lord Stormont is probably arrived to-day. No *immediate* declaration, except on our side. A report (but vague) of an action in the Bay, between La Motte Piquet and Digby:

Digby: the former has five ships and three frigates, with three large store-ships under convoy; the latter has eleven ships of the line. If the Frenchman should sail to the mouth of the Delaware, he may possibly be followed and shut up. When Franklin was received at Versailles, Deane went in the same character to Vienna, and Arthur Lee to Madrid. Notwithstanding the reports of an action in Silesia, they subside; and I have seen a letter from Eliot at Berlin of the tenth instant, without any mention of actual hostilities, and even speaking of the impending war as not absolutely inevitable. Last Tuesday the first payment of the loan of six hundred thousand pounds was certainly made; and as it would otherwise be forfeited, it is a security for the remainder. I have not yet got the intelligence you want about former prices of stock in critical times. These are surely such. *Dixi, Vale.* Send me some good news from Bucks; in spite of the war, I must sell. We want you in town. Simon Fraser is impatient; but if you come without my Lady, every door will be shut.

N° CXXVII.

The Same to the Same.

Almack's, Friday, June 12th, 1778.

* * * *'s letter gave me that sort of satisfaction which one may receive from a good physician, who, after a careful examination, pronounces your case incurable. But no more of that. I take up the pen, as I suppose by this time you begin to swear

swear at my silence. Yet literally (a bull) I have not a word to say. Since D'Estaing's fleet has passed through the Gut (I leave you to guess where it must have got out) it has been totally forgotten, and the most wonderful lethargy and oblivion, of war and peace, of Europe and of America, seems to prevail. Lord Chatham's funeral was meanly attended, and Government ingeniously contrived to secure the double odium of suffering the thing to be done, and of doing it with an ill grace. Their chief conversation at Almack's is about tents, drill-serjeants, subdivisions, firings, &c. and I am revered as a veteran. Adieu. When do you return? If it suits your evolutions, aunt Kitty and myself meditate a Sussex journey next week. I embrace my Lady.

N° CXXVIII.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to* J. B. HOLROYD, *Esq.*

Wednesday Evening, July, 1778.

YOUR plan of operations is clear and distinct; yet, notwithstanding your zeal, and the ideas of ducal discipline, I think you will be more and longer at Sheffield-Place than you imagine. However, I am disposed to advance my journey as much as possible. I want to see you; my martial ardour makes me look to Coxheath, necessity obliges me to think of Beriton, and I feel something of a very new inclination to taste the sweets of the country. Aunt Kitty shares the same sentiments; but various obstacles will not allow us to be

be with you before Saturday, or perhaps Sunday evening; I say *evening*, as we mean to take the cool part of the day, and shall probably arrive after supper. Keppel's return has occasioned infinite and inexpressible consternation, which gradually changes into discontent against him. He is ordered out again with three or four large ships; two of ninety, two of seventy-four, and the fiftieth regiment, as marines. In the mean time the French, with a superior fleet, are masters of the sea; and our outward-bound East and West India trade is in the most imminent danger. Adieu.

N° CXXIX.

The Same to the Same.

Tuesday Night, November, 1778.

You sometimes complain that I do not send you early news; but you will now be satisfied with receiving a full and true account of all the parliamentary transactions of *next* Thursday. In town we think it an excellent piece of humour,* (the author is Tickell). Burke and C. Fox are pleased with their own speeches, but serious patriots groan that such things should be turned to farce. We seem to have a chance of an additional Dutch war: you may depend upon its being a very important business, from which we cannot extricate ourselves without either loss or shame. *Vale.*

* The title of the pamphlet—*Anticipation.*

N° CXXX.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to* J. B. HOLROYD, *Esq.*

Almack's, Wednesday Evening, 1778.

I DELAYED writing, not so much through indolence, as because I expected every post to hear from you. The state of Beriton is uncertain, incomprehensible, tremendous. It would be endless to send you the folios of Hugonin, but I have inclosed you one of his most picturesque epistles, on which you may meditate. Few offers; one, promising enough, came from a gentleman at Camberwell. I detected him, with masterly skill and diligence, to be only an attorney's clerk, without money, credit, or experience. I have written as yet in vain to Sir John Shelly, about Hearsay; perhaps you might get intelligence. I much fear that the Beriton expedition is necessary; but it has occurred to me, that if I *met*, instead of *accompanying* you, it would save me a journey of above one hundred miles. That reflection led to another of a very impudent nature; *viz.* that if I did not accompany you, I certainly could be of no use to you or myself on the spot: that I had much rather, while you examined the premises, pass the time in a horse-pond; and that I had still rather pass it in my library with the Decline and Fall. But that would be an effort of friendship worthy of Theseus or Pirithous: modern times would hardly credit, much less imitate, such exalted virtue. No news from America; yet there are people, large ones too, who talk of conquering it next summer

summer with the help of twenty thousand Russians. I fancy you are better satisfied with private than public war. The Lisbon packet in coming home met above forty of our privateers. Adieu. I hardly know whether I direct right to you, but I think Sheffield-place the surest.

N° CXXXI.

Dr. Watson (*now Bishop of* Llandaff) *to Mr.* Gibbon.

Sir, Cambridge, January 14th, 1779.

It will give me the greatest pleasure to have an opportunity of becoming better acquainted with Mr. Gibbon. I beg he would accept my sincere thanks for the too favourable manner in which he has spoken of a performance, which derives its chief merit from the elegance and importance of the work it attempts to oppose. I have no hope of a future existence, except that which is grounded on the truth of Christianity. I wish not to be deprived of this hope; but I should be an apostate from the mild principle of the religion I profess, if I could be actuated with the least animosity against those who do not think with me upon this, of all others, the most important subject. I beg your pardon for this declaration of my belief; but my temper is naturally open, and it ought assuredly to be without disguise to a man whom I wish no longer to look upon as an antagonist, but as a friend. I have the honour to be, with every sentiment of respect, your obliged servant,

Richard Watson.

N° CXXXII.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to* J. B. HOLROYD, *Esq.*

February 6th, 1779.

YOU are quiet and peaceable, and do not bark, as usual, at my silence. To reward you, I would send you some news; but we are asleep; no foreign intelligence, except the capture of a frigate; no certain account from the West Indies, and a dissolution of Parliament, which seems to have taken place since Christmas. In the papers you will see negociations, changes of departments, &c. and I have *some* reason to believe, that those reports are not entirely without foundation. Portsmouth is no longer an object of speculation; the whole stream of all men, and all parties, runs one way. Sir Hugh* is disgraced, ruined, &c. &c.; and as an old wound has broken out again, they say he must have his leg cut off as soon as he has time. In a night or two we shall be in a blaze of illumination, from the zeal of naval heroes, land patriots, and tallow-chandlers; the last are not the least sincere. I want to hear some details of your military and familiar proceedings. By your silence I suppose you admire Davis, and dislike my pamphlet; yet such is the public folly, that we have a second edition in the press: the fashionable style of the clergy, is to say they have not read it. If Maria does not take care, I shall write a much sharper

* Sir Hugh Paliser; perhaps no man was ever more cruelly used by the public, through a virulent party spirit. S.

invective

invective against her, for *not* answering my diabolical book. My Lady carried it down, with a solemn promise that I should receive an *unassisted* French letter. Yet I embrace the little animal, as well as my Lady, and the *Spes altera Romæ*. Adieu.

There is a buz about a peace, and Spanish mediation.

N° CXXXIII.

Dr. WILLIAM ROBERTSON *to Mr.* GIBBON.

DEAR SIR, College of Edinburgh, March 10th, 1779.

I SHOULD have long since returned you thanks for the pamphlet you took the trouble of sending to me. I hope you are not one of those who estimate kindness by punctuality in correspondence. I read your little performance with much eagerness, and some solicitude. The latter soon ceased. The tone you take with your adversary in this *impar congressus* appears to me perfectly proper; and, though I watched you with some attention, I have not observed any expression which I should, on your own account, wish to be altered. Davis's book never reached us here. Our distance from the Capital operates somewhat like time. Nothing but what has intrinsic value comes down to us. We hear sometimes of the worthless and vile things that float for a day on the stream, but we seldom see them. I am satisfied, however, that it was necessary for you to animadvert on a man who had brought accusations against you, which

no gentleman can allow to be made without notice. I am persuaded, that the persons who instigated the man to such an illiberal attack, will now be ashamed of him. At the same time I applaud your resolution, of not degrading yourself, by a second conflict, with such antagonists.

I am ashamed to tell you, how little I have done since I had the pleasure of seeing you. I have been prevented, partly by ill health, partly by causes which I shall explain when we meet: I hope that may be next spring. Believe me to be with great truth,

Your affectionate and faithful humble servant,

WILLIAM ROBERTSON.

N° CXXXIV.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to* J. B. HOLROYD, *Esq.*

May 7th, 1779.

BY some of the strangest accidents, (Lord ******* ********'s indiscretion, Rigby's boldness, &c.) which it would require ten pages to explain, our wise resolution of last Thursday is changed, and Lord Cornwallis will be examined; Sir William Howe's inquiry will proceed, and we shall be oppressed by the load of information. You have heard of the Jersey invasion; every body praises Arbuthnot's decided spirit. Conway went last night to throw himself into the island.*

* Jersey, of which he was Governor.

N°

N° CXXXV.

The Same to the Same.

May, 1779.

Alas! alas! fourteen ships of the line: you understand by this, that you have not got a single long-boat. Ministry are more crest-fallen than I ever knew them, with the last intelligence; and I am sorry to say, that I see a smile of triumph on some opposition faces. Though the business of the West Indies may still produce something, I am much afraid that we shall have a campaign of immense expense, and little or no action. The most busy scene is at present in the House of Commons; and we shall be involved, during a great part of next month, in tedious, fruitless, but, in my opinion, proper inquiries. You see how difficult it would be for me to visit Brighton; and I fancy I must content myself with receiving you on your passage to Ireland. Indeed, I much want to have a *very serious* conversation with you. Another reason, which must in a great measure pin me to Bentinck-street, is the Decline and Fall. I have resolved to bring out the *suite* in the course of next year; and though I have been tolerably diligent, so much remains to be done, that I can hardly spare a single day from the shop. I can guess but one reason which should prevent you from supposing that the picture in Leicester Fields was intended for the Sheffield library; viz. my having told you some time ago that I was under a formal

engagement to Mr. Walpole.* Probably I should not have been in any great hurry to execute my promise, if Mr. Cadell had not strenuously urged the curiosity of the public, who may be willing to repay the exorbitant price of *fifty* guineas. It is now finished, and my friends say, that, in every sense of the word, it is a good head. Next week it will be given to Hall the engraver, and I promise you a first impression. Adieu. I embrace my Lady, and infants.

N° CXXXVI.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to* J. B. HOLROYD, *Esq.*

1779.

WHEN do you come to town? You gave me hopes of a visit, and I want to talk over things in general with you, before you march to the extremities of the West, where the sun goes to sleep in the sea. Mrs. Trevor told me, your destination was Exeter;† and I suppose nothing but truth can proceed from a pretty mouth. I have been, and am still very diligent; and, though it is a huge beast, (the Roman Empire,) yet, if I am not mistaken, I see it move a little. You seem surprised that I was able to get off Bath: very easily, the extreme shortness of our holidays was a fair excuse; her recovery of health, spirits, &c. made it less necessary, and she accepted my apology, which was however accompanied with

* The portrait, one of the best of Sir Joshua's, is at Sheffield-place.

† With the Sussex Militia, of which Mr. Holroyd was Major.

an

an offer, if she chose it, in the prettiest manner possible. A load of business in this House (I write from it) will be the amusement of the spring; motions, inquiries, taxes, &c. &c. We are now engaged in Lord Pigott's affair, brought on by a motion from the Admiral, that the Attorney General should prosecute Mr. Stratton and Council; all the Masters, Charles, Burke, Wedderburne, are of the same side, for it. The day is hot and dull; will be long: some curious evidence; one man who refused three lacks of rupees, (thirty-seven thousand five hundred pounds,) merely not to go to council; our mouths watered at such royal corruption; how pitiful is our insular bribery! A letter from aunt Hester. Adieu.

N° CXXXVII.

The Same to the Same.

July 2d, 1779.

THE inclosed will inform you of an event,* not the most disagreeable of those which I have lately experienced. I have only to add, that it was effected by the firm and sincere friendship of the Attorney General. So many incidents have happened, that I hardly know how to talk of news. You will learn that the Lords have strangely castrated the new Militia Bill. The Ferrol squadron, eight or nine ships, have joined the French. The numbers stand on our side thirty-two, on theirs

* His appointment as Lord of Trade.

thirty-

thirty-seven; but our force is at least equal, and the general consternation much dispelled. If you do not Hibernize, you might at least Bentinckize. I embrace, &c. Parliament will be prorogued to-morrow.

N° CXXXVIII.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to Mrs.* GIBBON, Bath.

DEAR MADAM, Bentinck-street, Sept. 17th, 1779.

I AM glad to hear of the very beneficial effects you have derived from your recent friendship with the goats;* and as I cannot discover in what respect this poor country is more prosperous or secure than it was last year, I must consider your present confidence as a proof that you view the prospect through a purer medium, and a glass of a more cheerful colour. I find myself so much more susceptible of private friendship than of public spirit, that I am very well satisfied with that conclusion. My summer has been passed in the town and neighbourhood, which I still maintain to be the best society and the best retirement; the latter, however, has been sometimes interrupted by the Colonel of Dragoons † with a train of serjeants, trumpets, recruits, &c. &c. My own time is much and

* At Abergavenny.

† On the appearance of the combined fleets of France and Spain on the coast of England, Colonel Holroyd offered to raise a legion of Hussars and Light Infantry. His offer was accepted as to the cavalry, and it was called the Sussex, or 22d regiment of Light Dragoons.

agreeably

agreeably employed in the prosecution of my business. After doing much more than I expected to have done within the time, I find myself much less advanced than I expected: yet I begin to reckon, and as well as I can calculate, I believe, that in twelve or fourteen months I shall be brought to-bed, perhaps of twins; may they live, and prove as healthy as their eldest brother! With regard to the little foundling which so many friends or enemies chose to lay at my door, I am perfectly innocent, even of the knowledge of that production; and all the faults or merits of the History of Opposition must, as I am informed, be imputed to Macpherson, the author or translator of Fingal. Dear Madam, most truly yours.

N° CXXXIX.

Mad. la Comtesse DE GENLIS *à M.* GIBBON.

De Paris, ce 15 Octobre, 1779.

JE trouve une occasion sûre, pour l'Angleterre, et je ne puis me refuser, Monsieur, au plaisir de me rappeller à votre souvenir, et de vous envoyer un ouvrage qui a réussi ici au delà de toutes mes espérances, et sans doute de son mérite. Je l'ai fait imprimer pour le vendre au profit de trois malheureux militaires, tous trois frères, et qu'un procès a réduit dans l'état le plus déplorable; et le bonheur de leur être utile me fait bien mieux jouir du succès de cet ouvrage que la vanité assez ordinaire à un auteur. Ce 1er vol. sera suivi de trois autres qui paroîtront dans trois semaines; le 2^d^ encore pour

pour les jeunes personnes, le 3eme pour l'éducation des hommes, et le 4eme pour les enfans des négocians, artisans et marchands, classe jusqu'ici injustement oubliée par tous ceux qui ont écrit sur l'éducation. Je suis bien fâchée de ne pouvoir vous envoyer les autres volumes, d'autant mieux que vous y auriez vu un éloge de la bienfaisance et de la générosité des Anglois, qui naissoit naturellement du récit d'une histoire que j'ai vu arriver à Spa, et qui étoit véritablement bien intéressante. J'ai déjà eu l'honneur de vous écrire, Monsieur, il y a un an, et une très longue lettre, dans laquelle je vous remerciois de la bonté que vous aviez eue de vous charger de m'arrêter un logement à Londres, et je vous annonçois que le malheur des tems me privoit du plaisir de voir un païs que j'ai toujours si ardemment désiré connoître. Je m'en suis dédommagé en quelque sorte en faisant connoissance avec une partie des grands hommes qui ont illustré l'Angleterre. Je sais enfin parfaitement l'anglois, et pour vous en donner l'idée je lis Shakespear avec la plus grande facilité ; mais mon poëte favori c'est Milton, et je l'aime au point que je sais une très considérable partie de son admirable Paradis Perdu, par cœur. Je sais aussi beaucoup de vers de Pope ; je crois que je vous ferois rire si vous me les entendiez déclamer, cependant les Anglois m'entendent, et c'est tout ce que je veux. J'étois même bien tentée de vous écrire en anglois, mais j'ai pensé que vous me trouveriez trop de présomption, et c'est bien assez d'avoir celle d'envoyer à l'auteur d'un des plus beaux ouvrages d'histoire que nous ayons, un ouvrage fait pour

pour des enfans. J'en fais un présentement qui sans doute est bien au-dessus de mes forces, mais il est toujours noble de vivre à un but élevé, avec une foible espérance d'y atteindre. C'est un ouvrage sur l'histoire, dont les quatre premiers volumes paroîtront vers le mois de Juin prochain. Le plan en est si vaste que je n'ose vous le détailler; quelques personnes que j'ai consultées m'ont encouragée dans cette entreprise, et je puis me flatter du moins qu'on éprouvera quelque surprise en songeant qu'un semblable travail est sorti des mains d'une femme de trente ans. Adieu, Monsieur, pardonnez moi la longueur de cette lettre; donnez moi de vos nouvelles, je vous en conjure. Je désire vivement savoir si ces petites pièces ne vous ont point ennuyées; votre suffrage seroit d'un bien grand prix pour moi. J'ai le plaisir de voir jouir ici de tous les côtés en société et même sur des théâtres publics ces drames dont la seule morale fait tout le mérite; on les traduit même en italien à Gènes, et en allemand à Hambourg: mais j'avoue que je serois bien plus flattée qu'elles le fussent en anglois, car si je n'étois pas françoise, et si après la France on me donnoit le choix d'une patrie, bien certainement je voudrois être angloise. Je ne connois que deux nations sur la terre, la mienne et la vôtre, pourquoi faut-il . . . . je ne veux pas m'arrêter à de si tristes réflexions, j'aime mieux espérer qu'une heureuse paix comblera bientôt tous les désirs des bons citoyens des deux nations. Si vous avez la bonté de donner votre réponse à l'homme qui vous portera ce paquet, il me le rendra surement: et si vous voulez bien par

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la suite m'écrire par une autre voie il faut addresser vos lettres *à Madame la Comtesse de Genlis, Gouvervante de leurs Altesses Sérénissimes Mademoiselles d'Orléans, au Couvent de Bellechasse à Paris.* Je viens d'être nommée gouvervante de ces princesses, et je m'enferme avec elles le 28 de ce mois pour douze ou quinze ans. C'est un grand sacrifice à mon age, mais l'attachement rend tout facile, et j'ose croire que je justifierai une preuve de confiance qui m'honore et me touche également.

J'ai l'honneur d'être, Monsieur, votre très humble et très obéissante Servante,

DUEREST, Comtesse de GENLIS.

Du Palais Royal.

N° CXL.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esquire, to Colonel* HOLROYD, *at* Coventry.

London, Monday, February 7th, 1780.

WHEN the Attorney General informed me of the express he had just sent down to Coventry, I had not the least doubt of your embracing the bolder resolution. You are indeed obliged to him for his real friendship, which he feels and expresses warmly; on this occasion I hope it will be successful, and that in a few days you will find yourself among us at St. Stephen's in the heat of the battle. But you know that I am a dastardly, pusillanimous spirit, more inclined to fear than to hope, and not very eager in the pursuit of *expensive* vanity. On this vacancy the celerity of your motions may probably

probably prevent opposition; but at the general election your enemy the Corporation will not be asleep, and I wish, if it be not too late, to warn you against any promises or engagements which may terminate in a defeat, or at least a contest of ten thousand pounds. Adieu. I could believe (without seeing it under her paw) that my Lady wishes to leave Coventry. No news! foreign or domestic. I did not forget to mention the *companies*, but find people, as I expected, torpid. Burke makes his motion Friday; but I think the rumours of a civil war subside every day; petitions are thought less formidable; and I hear your Sussex protest* gathers signatures in the country.

N° CXLI.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esquire, to Mrs.* GIBBON, Bath.

DEAR MADAM, Bentinck-street, March 10th, 1780.

WHEN you awakened me with your pen, it was my intention to have shewn some signs of life by the next post. But so uncertain are all human affairs, that I found myself arrested by a mighty unrelenting tyrant, called the gout; and though my feet were the part on which he chose to exercise his cruelty, he left me neither strength nor spirits to use my hand in relating the melancholy tale. At present, I have the pleasure of informing you, that the fever and inflammation have sub-

* Suggested and promoted by Colonel Holroyd.

sided:

sided: but the absolute weakness and monstrous swelling of my two feet confine me to my chair and flannels; and this confinement most unluckily happens at a very *nice* and important moment of parliamentary affairs. Colonel Holroyd pursues those affairs with eager and persevering zeal; and has the pleasure of undertaking more business than any three men could possibly execute.

N° CXLII.

Edward Gibbon, *Esq. to Mrs.* Gibbon, Bath.

Dear Madam, London, June 8th, 1780.

As a Member of Parliament, I cannot be exposed to any danger,* since the House of Commons has adjourned to Monday se'nnight; as an individual, I do not conceive myself to be obnoxious. I am not apt, without duty or necessity, to thrust myself into a mob: and our part of the town is as quiet as a country village. So much for personal safety; but I cannot give the same assurances of public tranquillity: forty thousand Puritans, such as they might be in the time of Cromwell, have started out of their graves; the tumult has been dreadful; and even the remedy of military force and martial law is unpleasant. But government, with fifteen thousand regulars in town, and every gentleman (but one) on their side, must extinguish the flame. The execution of last night was severe; perhaps it

* Alluding to the disturbances occasioned by Lord George Gordon.

must

must be repeated to-night: yet, upon the whole, the tumult subsides. Colonel Holroyd was all last night in Holborn among the flames, with the Northumberland militia, and performed very bold and able service. I will write again in a post or two.

I am, dear Madam, ever yours.

N° CXLIII.

The Same to the Same.

DEAR MADAM, Bentinck-street, June 27th, 1780.

I BELIEVE we may now rejoice in our common security. All tumult has perfectly subsided, and we only think of the justice which must be properly and severely inflicted on such flagitious criminals. The measures of Government have been seasonable and vigorous; and even opposition have been forced to confess, that the military power was applied and regulated with the utmost propriety. Our danger is at an end, but our disgrace will be lasting, and the month of June, 1780, will ever be marked by a dark and diabolical fanaticism, which I had supposed to be extinct, but which actually subsists in Great Britain, perhaps beyond any other country in Europe. Our parliamentary work draws to a conclusion; and I am much more pleasingly, though laboriously, engaged in revising and correcting for the press, the continuation of my History, two volumes of which will certainly appear next winter. This business fixes me to Bentinck-street more closely than any other part of my literary labour; as it is absolutely necessary that I

should be in the midst of all the books which I have at any time used during the composition. But I feel a strong desire (irritated, like all other passions, by repeated obstacles) to escape to Bath.

Dear Madam,

Most truly yours.

N° CXLIV.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to Colonel* HOLROYD.

July 25th, 1780.

As your motions are spontaneous, and the stations of the Lord Chief * unalterably fixed, I cannot perceive the necessity of your sending or receiving intelligence. However, your commands are obeyed. You wish I would write, as a sign of life. I am alive; but as I am immersed in the Decline and Fall, I shall only make the sign. It is made. You may suppose that we are not pleased with the junction of the fleets; nor can an ounce of West India loss be compensated by a pound of East India success: but the circuit will roll down all the news and politics of London. I rejoice to hear that the Sussex regiment of Dragoons are such well-disciplined cannibals; but I want to know when the Chief cannibal will return to his den. It would suit me better that it should happen soon. Adieu.

* Lord Mansfield.

N°

N° CXLV.

Mr. GIBBON *to Mrs.* HOLROYD, *at* Sheffield-Place.

Bentinck-street, Aug. 31st, 1780.

THE Colonel left town about seven o'clock. Could he have held a pen with each finger, and each toe, at the same time, he would have found employment for them all. He therefore named me his Secretary to signify to Sheffield-Place his health, duty, impatience, &c.

The Intrigue du Cabinet shall not be neglected. But the Intrigue du Parlement is now the universal pursuit. It will be dissolved to-morrow, the writs will be out Saturday night, and a few days will terminate the business. You probably received my *last* frank. I have *found* reason to believe that I shall never rise again, and I submit to my fate with philosophic composure. If any parcels or letters directed to me should arrive at Sheffield, you will be so good as to return them by the coach. Adieu.

E. G.

N° CXLVI.

Mr. GIBBON *to Mrs.* HOLROYD, Sheffield-Place, announcing that Mr. Holroyd was created Lord Sheffield.

Bentinck-street, Nov. 27th, 1780.

Mr. GIBBON presents his respectful compliments to Lady Sheffield, and hopes her Ladyship is in perfect health, as well as the Hon. Miss Holroyd, and the Hon. Miss Louisa Hol-

royd. Mr. Gibbon has not had the honour of hearing from Lord Sheffield since his Lordship reached Coventry, but supposes that the Election begins this day.

Be honest. How does this read? Do you not feel some titillations of vanity? Yet I will do you the justice to believe that they are as faint as can find place in a female (you will retort, or a male) heart, on such an auspicious event. When it is revealed to the Hon. Miss, I should recommend the loss of some ounces of noble blood. You may expect every post a formal notification, which I shall instantly dispatch. The birds, as well as I now recollect their taste, were excellent. I hope the *Voyages* still amuse. I had almost forgot to say that my seat in Parliament is deferred. Stronger and more impatient rivals have stepped before me, and I can wait, with cheerful resignation, till another opportunity. I wish the Baron's situation was as placid as mine.* No news. We are very dull. Adieu. I shall go to Bath about the 15th of next month. But—silence.

N° CXLVII.

Mr. GIBBON *to Mrs.* GIBBON, Belvedere, Bath.

DEAR MADAM, Bentinck-street, Feb. 24th, 1781.

As you have probably received my last letter of thirteen hundred pages,† I shall be very concise;

* Lord Sheffield was at that time engaged in a violently contested election for Coventry.

† Second and third volumes of the Decline and Fall.

read,

read, judge, pronounce; and believe that I sincerely agree with my friend Julian, in esteeming the praise of those only who will freely censure my defects. Next Thursday I shall be delivered to the world, for whose inconstant and malicious levity I am coolly but firmly prepared. Excuse me to Sarah.* I see more clearly than ever, the absolute necessity of confining my presents to my own family; *that*, and that only, is a determined line, and Lord Sheffield is the first to approve his exclusion. He has a strong assurance of success, and some hopes of a speedy decision. How suddenly your friend General Pierson disappeared! You thought him happy. What is happiness! My dear Madam, ever yours.

N° CXLVIII.

Madame NECKER *à M.* GIBBON.

Paris, ce 21 Avril, 1781.

C'EST assez bouder, Monsieur; je me livre enfin entièrement au plaisir de vous écrire et de vous lire, sans examiner si l'auteur de ce bel ouvrage, si le génie sublime, qui a parcouru les annales de l'univers, et qui semble n'avoir extrait de toutes les contrées du monde que les parfums les plus purs, afin de les porter jusqu'à nos sens; si, dis-je, cet homme étonnant, méconnoit, comme tous les autres amants de la gloire, les charmes et les devoirs de l'amitié, si son imagination vive et ardente est unie à un caractère froid et paresseux, si ses goûts

* Mrs. Holroyd of Bath.

varient avec les objets, et s'il ne prend la couleur que des rayons qu'il décompose; enfin si ses affections sont pour lui comme ses livres qui l'interressent et l'amusent pendant qu'il les lit et qui feront place à d'autres, bientôt remplacés à leur tour; je ne veux rien sçavoir de tout cela, et cependant je m'écrie encore quelquefois, Quoi! même en amitié! Mais ne croyez pas que vous en soyez quitte à présent pour être abandonné à votre indifférence. Quoique je sois concentrée dans les objets de mon plus tendre attachement, la sensibilité que j'ai reçue de la nature suffit à d'autres liens. Mon ame n'existe que quand elle aime et cherche encore au dehors de son centre de nouveaux moyens d'exister; je veux donc que vous me rendiez les sentimens que vous m'avez promis; je les ai comptés dans le calcul de mon bonheur, et, je vous connois, vous aurez de l'affection pour moi quand vous me reverrez, et vous ne serez pénétré de vos torts que quand vous n'en aurez plus. Je vous rends grace d'avoir rempli un intervalle immense dans l'histoire et d'avoir jetté sur le cahos ce pont qui lie le monde ancien au monde moderne. Vous avez mis dans ma tête cinq cens ans de belles et d'agréables idées, et pour moi, dont la vie douce et réfléchie ressemble plutôt à une suite de pensées qu'à une suite de jouissances, le passé est une sorte d'existence, et c'est presque cinq cens ans que vous avez ajoutés à mon être. Je crois, je vous l'avoue, que vos derniers quatre volumes sont encore supérieurs au premier. Vous avez traité avec beaucoup de sagesse les vaines disputes du quatrième siècle. Je vous ai lu sans scandale. Car qu'im-

qu'importe la pensée de l'auteur si ses écrits n'en font naître aucune qu'on puisse blamer ou craindre? Vous avez bien compté dans ces deux chapitres sur la ravissante magie de votre stile, et vous avez eu raison. Mais avec quelle perfection vous possédez aussi notre langue! votre lettre si charmante par les pensées et les expressions est un modèle pour nous; et comment remettez vous en d'autres mains le soin de vous traduire? Comment ne courrez vous pas une carrière, que vous aurez ouverte le premier, et où personne après vous ne pourra entrer? Quel éclat vous avez jetté sur tous ces tems obscures et barbares! Je crois que l'age d'or eût été moins favorable à votre éloquence. De quelques brillantes couleurs que vous nous ayez peint le site de Constantinople, on voit que vous vous plaisez d'avantage à reproduire les merveilles de l'art que celles de la nature; et les miracles ne sont pas aussi bien avec vous que les efforts miraculeux du génie des hommes; tant il est vrai qu'un auteur ne peut s'empêcher d'être personnel.

J'ai lu avec tant d'intérêt les détails qui vous touchent, que je crois pouvoir hasarder de vous dire un mot de moi. Ma fille est fort aimable sans être belle. M. Necker me voit toujours avec la même complaisance, et semble ne jouir de sa réputation qu'autant que j'en suis l'interprète; et ma vie future n'aura jamais aucun rapport avec celle d'Athénais. Il m'est doux cependant que mon ombre se présente quelquefois à vous quand vous écrivez, dussiez vous évoquer les démons pour la faire paroître; il faut bien qu'il s'en rencontre

quelques uns parmi tous les génies qui ont versé leur influence sur votre ouvrage. Mais parlons un peu de la gravure qui m'a fait un si grand plaisir; pourquoi donc tant gronder l'original? Oh pourquoi? L'ingrat ne va-t-il pas donner à M. Deyverdun le tems qu'il m'avoit promis? Vous ne devez pas retourner dans un pays où vous chercherez en vain les douces illusions de votre jeunesse. Je laisse quelquefois errer ma pensée sur ces lieux jadis si chers, et depuis qu'ils ne sont plus habités pour moi, je ne les vois que comme les hochets de mon enfance. Vous êtes dans les bras de la gloire, venez chez un peuple qui l'adore; ou si le tems vous paroît moins favorable, ne perdons pas de vuë cette paisible retraite où nous devons nous réunir, pour y attendre entre l'étude et l'amitié la douce fin d'un assez beau jour; vivez dans votre patrie, ou vivez auprès de nous. Tout le monde parle ici de vous, Monsieur, avec dépit ou avec éloge; votre silence a fait vos torts, dès que vous parlerez ils seront réparés. J'ai flatté toutes les personnes à qui j'ai donné des marques de votre souvenir. Le chevalier est en Amérique, et ce n'est pas la première fois que je vois mourir ainsi mes amis tout vivans, soit par leur faute soit par celle des circonstances—mais je me tais; vous voyez qu'il est bien difficile de pardonner quand il est impossible de se venger.

M. Necker se joint à moi pour vous présenter ses hommages et l'éternelle assurance de notre attachement et de notre admiration.

C. N.

N°

N° CXLIX.

Dr. WILLIAM ROBERTSON *to Mr.* GIBBON.

DEAR SIR, College of Edinburgh, May 12th, 1781.

I AM ashamed of having deferred so long to thank you for the agreeable presents of your two new volumes; but just as I had finished the first reading of them, I was taken ill, and continued, for two or three weeks, nervous, deaf, and languid. I have now recovered as much spirit as to tell you, with what perfect satisfaction I have not only perused, but studied, this part of your work. I knew enough of your talents and industry to expect a great deal, but you have gone far beyond my expectations. I can recollect no historical work from which I ever received so much instruction; and, when I consider in what a barren field you had to glean and pick up materials, I am truly astonished at the connected and interesting story you have formed. I like the style of these volumes better than that of the first; there is the same beauty, richness, and perspicuity of language, with less of that quaintness, into which your admiration of Tacitus sometimes seduced you. I am highly pleased with the reign of Julian. I was a little afraid that *you* might lean with some partiality towards him; but even bigots, I should think, must allow, that you have delineated his most singular character with a more masterly hand than ever touched it before. You set me a reading his works, with which I was very slenderly acquainted;

ed; and I am much struck with the felicity where-with you have described that odd infusion of Heathen fanaticism and philosophical coxcombry, which mingled with the great qualities of a hero, and a genius. Your chapter concerning the pastoral nations is admirable; and, though I hold myself to be a tolerably good general historian, a great part of it was new to me. As soon as I have leisure, I purpose to trace you to your sources of information; and I have no doubt of finding you as exact there, as I have found you in other passages where I have made a scrutiny. It was always my idea that an historian should feel himself a witness giving evidence upon oath. I am glad to perceive by your minute scrupulosity, that your notions are the same. The last chapter in your work is the only one with which I am not entirely satisfied. I imagine you rather anticipate, in describing the jurisprudence and institutions of the Franks; and should think that the account of private war, ordeals, chivalry, &c. would have come in more in its place about the age of Charlemagne, or later: but with respect to this, and some other petty criticisms, I will have an opportunity of talking fully to you soon, as I propose setting out for London on Monday. I have, indeed, many things to say to you; and, as my stay in London is to be very short, I shall hope to find your door (at which I will be very often) always open to me. I cannot conclude without approving of the caution with which the new volumes are written; I hope it will exempt you from the illiberal abuse the first

volume

volume drew upon you. I ever am, yours, faithfully and affectionately,

WILLIAM ROBERTSON.

N° CL.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to Lady* SHEFFIELD, *at* Sheffield-place.

Bentinck-street, Friday Evening, 10 o'clock, 1781.

OH, oh! I have given you the slip; saved thirty miles, by proceeding this day directly from Eartham to town, and am now *comfortably* seated in my library, in *my own* easy chair, and before *my* own fire; a style which you understand, though it is unintelligible to your Lord. The town is empty; but I am surrounded with a thousand old acquaintance of all ages and characters, who are ready to answer a thousand questions which I am impatient to ask. I shall not easily be tired of their company; yet I still remember, and will honourably execute, my promise of visiting you at Brighton about the middle of next month. I have seen nobody, nor learned any thing, in four hours of a town life; but I can inform you, that Lady * * * * is now the declared Mistress of Prince Henry of Prussia, whom she encountered at Spa; and that the Emperor has invited the amiable couple to pass the winter at Vienna: fine encouragement for married women who behave themselves properly. I spent a very pleasant day in the little paradise of Eartham, and the hermit expressed a desire (no vulgar

vulgar compliment) to see and to know Lord S. Adieu. I cordially embrace, &c.

N° CLI.

Sir WILLIAM JONES *to Mr.* GIBBON.

DEAR SIR, Lamb's-buildings, June 30th, 1781.

I HAVE more than once sought, without having been so fortunate as to obtain, a proper opportunity of thanking you very sincerely for the elegant compliment which you pay me, in a work abounding in elegance of all kinds.

My *Seven Arabian Poets* will see the light before next winter, and be proud to wait upon you in their English dress. Their wild productions will, I flatter myself, be thought interesting, and not venerable merely on account of their antiquity.

In the mean while, let me request you to honour me with accepting a copy of a Law Tract, which is not yet published: the subject is so generally important that I make no apology for sending you a professional work.

You must pardon my invcterate hatred of C. Octavianus, basely surnamed Augustus. I feel myself unable to forgive the death of Cicero, which, if he did not promote, he might have prevented. Besides, even Mecænas knew the cruelty of his disposition, and ventured to reproach him with it. In short, I have not *Christian* charity for him.

With regard to Asiatic letters, a necessary attention to my profession will compel me wholly and eternally

eternally to abandon them, *unless* Lord North (to whom I am already under no small obligation) should think me worthy to concur in the *improved* administration of justice in Bengal, and should appoint me to supply the vacancy on the India Bench. Were that appointment to take place this year, I should probably travel, for speed, through part of Egypt and Arabia, and should be able, in my way, to procure many Eastern tracts of literature and jurisprudence. I might become a good *Mahomedan* lawyer before I reached Calcutta, and, in my vacations, should find leisure to explain, in my native language, whatever the Arabs, Persians, and Turks, have written on science, history, and the fine arts.

My happiness by no means depends on obtaining this appointment, as I am in easy circumstances without my profession, and have flattering prospects in it; but if the present summer and the ensuing autumn elapse without my receiving any answer, favourable or unfavourable, I shall be forced to consider that silence as a polite refusal, and, having given sincere thanks for past favours, shall entirely drop all thoughts of *Asia;* and, "deep as ever plummet sounded, shall drown my *Persian* books." If my politics have given offence, it would be manly in ministers to tell me so. I shall never be *personally* hostile to them, nor enlist under party banners of any colour; but I will never resign my opinions for *interest,* though I would cheerfully abandon them on *conviction.* My reason, such as it is, can only be controlled by better

ter reason, to which I am ever open. As to my freedom of thought, speech, and action, I shall ever say what Charles XII. wrote under the map of Riga, "*Dieu me l'a donnée; le diable ne me l'ôtera pas.*" But the fair answer to this objection is, that my system is purely speculative, and has no relation to my seat on the bench in India, where I should hardly think of instructing the Gentoos in the maxims of the Athenians. I believe I should not have troubled you with this letter, if I did not fear that your attendance in Parliament might deprive me of the pleasure of meeting you at the Club next Tuesday; and I shall go to Oxford a few days after. At all times, and in all places, I shall ever be, with undissembled regard, dear Sir, your much obliged and faithful servant,

W. JONES.

N° CLII.

Lord HARDWICKE *to Mr.* GIBBON.

SIR, Wimple, September 20th, 1781.

As I have perused your History of the Decline, &c. with the greatest pleasure and instruction, I cannot help wishing that, as health and leisure permit, you would gratify your numerous readers and admirers, by continuing it, at least till the irruption of the Arabs after Mahomet. From that period the History of the East is not very interesting, and often disgusting. I particularly wish to see the reigns of Justin, Justinian, and I think Justin the

Second,

Second, written by so masterly a hand. There are striking facts and remarkable characters in all those reigns, which have not yet met with an able and sagacious *Historian.* You seemed (as well as I recollect) to think the anecdotes of Procopius spurious; there are strange anecdotes in them, and of a very different cast from his History. Can it be traced up when they first came to light?

Excuse this short interruption from much better employments or amusements; and believe me, Sir, with the greatest regard, your most obedient humble servant,

HARDWICKE.

P. S. It has occurred to me, that a map of the progress and native seat of the northern hives would greatly elucidate and explain that part of your History. It may be done in a second edition.

N° CLIII.

Dr. ROBERTSON *to Mr.* GIBBON.

DEAR SIR, College of Edinburgh, Nov. 6th, 1781.

SOON after my return I had a long conversation with our friend Mr. Smith, in which I stated to him every particular you mentioned to me, with respect to the propriety of going on with your great work. I was happy to find, that his opinion coincided perfectly with that which I had ventured to give you. His decisions, you know, are both prompt and vigorous: and he would not allow that you ought to hesitate a moment in your choice.

He

He promised to write his sentiments to you very fully. But as he may have neglected to do this, for it is not willingly he puts pen to paper, I thought it might be agreeable to you to know his opinion, though I imagine you could hardly entertain any doubt concerning it. I hope you have brought such a stock of health and spirits from Brighthelmstone, that you are set seriously at your desk, and that in two winters or so, you will display the crescent of Mahomet on the dome of St. Sophia. I met t'other day, in a work addressed to yourself, a sensible passage from F. Paul, which perfectly removes one of your chief difficulties, as to the barrenness of some parts of your period. Hayley's Essay on History, p. 133. By the bye, who is this Mr. Hayley? His poetry has more merit than that of most of his contemporaries; but his Whiggism is so bigotted, and his Christianity so fierce, that he almost disgusts one with two very good things.

I have got quite well long ago, and am perfectly free from deafness; but I cannot yet place myself in any class but that of the *multa et præclara minantes*. Be so kind as to remember me to Lord Loughborough and Mr. Craufurd, and believe me to be, with most sincere respect and attachment, yours very faithfully,

WILLIAM ROBERTSON.

N° CLIV.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to Mrs.* GIBBON, Bath.

DEAR MADAM, Brighthelmstone, Nov. 2d, 1781.

I RETURNED to this place with Lord and Lady Sheffield, with the design of passing two or three weeks in a situation which had so highly delighted me. But how vain are all sublunary hopes! I had forgot that there is some difference between the sunshine of August and the cold fogs (though we have uncommon good weather) of November. Instead of my beautiful sea-shore, I am confined to a dark lodging in the middle of the town; for the place is still full, and our time is now spent in the dull imitation of a London life. To complete my misfortunes, Lord Sheffield was hastily ordered to Canterbury and Deal, to suppress some disturbances, and I was left almost alone with my Lady, in the servile state of a married man. But he returns to-day, and I hope to be seated in my own library by the middle of next week. However, you will not be sorry to hear that I have refreshed myself by a very *idle* summer, and indeed a much idler and more pleasant winter than the House of Commons will ever allow me to enjoy again. I had almost forgot Mr. Hayley; ungratefully enough, since I really passed a very simple, but entertaining day with him. His place, though small, is elegant as his mind, which I value much more highly. Mrs. **** wrote a melancholy story of an American mother, a friend of her

friend, who in a short time had lost three sons; one killed by the savages, one run mad from the fright at that accident, and the third taken at sea, now in England, a prisoner in Forton hospital. For *him* something might perhaps be done. Your humanity will prompt you to obtain from Mrs. * * * * a more accurate account of names, dates, and circumstances; but you will prudently suppress my request, lest I should raise hopes which it may not be in my power to gratify. Lady Sheffield begs to send her kindest compliments to you. I am, dear Madam, ever yours.

N° CLV.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to Mrs.* GIBBON, Bath.

DEAR MADAM, July 3d, 1782.

I HOPE you have not had a moment's uneasiness about the delay of my Midsummer letter. Whatever may happen, you may rest fully secure, that the materials of it shall always be *found*. But on this occasion I have missed four or five posts; postponing, as usual, from morning to the evening bell, which now rings, till it has occurred to me, that it might not be amiss to inclose the two essential lines, if I only added that the influenza has been known to me only by the report of others. Lord Rockingham is at last dead; a good man, whatever he might be a minister: his successor is not yet named, and divisions in the Cabinet are suspected. If Lord Shelburne should be the man, as I think he will, the friends of his predecessor will quarrel with

with him before Christmas. At all events, I foresee much tumult and strong opposition, from which I should be very glad to extricate myself, by quitting the House of Commons with honour. Whatever you may hear, I believe there is not the least intention of dissolving Parliament, which would indeed be a rash and dangerous measure. I hope you like Mr. Hayley's poem; he rises with his subject, and since Pope's death, I am satisfied that England has not seen so happy a mixture of strong sense and flowing numbers. Are you not delighted with his address to his mother? I understand that she was in plain prose every thing that he speaks her in verse. This summer I shall stay in town, and work at my trade, till I make some holidays for my Bath excursion. Lady Sheffield is at Brighton, and he is under tents, like the wild Arabs; so that my country-house is shut up. I am, dear Madam, ever yours.

N° CLVI.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to the Right Honourable Lord* SHEFFIELD, *Camp*, Coxheath.

Bentinck-street, 1782.

I SYMPATHISE with your fatigues; yet Alexander, Hannibal, &c. have suffered hardships almost equal to yours. At such a moment it is disagreeable (besides laziness) to write, because every hour teems with a new lie. As yet, however, only Charles has formally resigned; but Lord John,*

* Lord John Cavendish.

Burke, Keppel, Lord Althorpe, &c. certainly follow; your Lord Lieutenant* stays. In short, three months of prosperity have dissolved a phalanx, which had stood ten years adversity. Next Tuesday, Fox will give his reasons, and possibly be encountered by Pitt, the new Secretary, or Chancellor,† at three-and-twenty. The day will be rare and curious, and, if I were a light dragoon, I would take a gallop on purpose to Westminster. Adieu. I hear the bell. How could I write before I knew where you dwelt?

N° CLVII.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to the Right Honourable Lord* SHEFFIELD, *Camp*, Coxheath.

September 29th, 1782.

I SHOULD like to hear sometimes, whether you survive the scenes of action and danger in which a dragoon is continually involved. What a difference between the life of a dragoon and that of a philosopher! and I will freely own that I (the philosopher) am much better satisfied with my own independent and tranquil situation, in which I have always something to do, without ever being obliged to do any thing. The Hampton Court villa has answered my expectation, and proved no small addition to my comforts; so that I am resolved next summer to hire, borrow, or steal, either the same, or something of the same kind. Every morning I walk a mile or more before breakfast, read and write

* The Duke of Richmond. † Chancellor of the Exchequer.

quantum

quantum sufficit, mount my chaise and visit in the neighbourhood, accept some invitations, and escape others, use the Lucans as my daily bread, dine pleasantly at home, or sociably abroad, reserve for study an hour or two in the evening, lie in town regularly once a week, &c. &c. &c. I have announced to Mrs. Gibbon my new arrangements; the certainty that October will be fine, and my increasing doubts whether I shall be able to reach Bath before Christmas. Do you intend (but how can you intend any thing?) to pass the winter under canvass? Perhaps under the veil of Hampton Court I may lurk ten days or a fortnight at Sheffield, if the enraged Lady does not shut the doors against me. The Warden* passed through on his way to Dover. He is not so fat, and more cheerful than ever. I had not any private conversation with him; but he clearly holds the balance, unless he lets it drop out of his hand. The Pandæmonium (as I understand) does not meet till the twenty-sixth of November. Town is more a desert than I ever knew it. I arrived yesterday, dined at Sir Joshua's with a tolerable party; the chaise is now at the door; I dine at Richmond, lie at Hampton, &c. Adieu.

N° CLVIII.

The Same to the Same.

Bentinck-street, October 14th, 1782.

On the approach of winter, my paper house at Hampton becomes less comfortable; my visits to

* Lord North.

Bentinck-street grow longer and more frequent, and the end of next week will restore me to the town, with a lively wish, however, to repeat the same, or a similar experiment, next summer. I admire the assurance with which you propose a month's residence a Sheffield, when you are not sure of being allowed three days. Here it is currently reported, that camps will not separate till Lord Howe's *return* from Gibraltar, and as yet we have no news of his arrival. Perhaps indeed you may have more intimate correspondence with your old friend Lord Shelburne, and already know the hour of your deliverance. I should like to be informed. As Lady Sheffield has entirely forgotten me, I shall have the pleasure of forming a new acquaintance. I have often thought of writing, but it is now too late to repent.

I am at a loss what to say or think about our parliamentary state. A certain late Secretary of Ireland reckons the House of Commons thus: Minister one hundred and forty, Lord North one hundred and twenty, Fox ninety, the rest unknown, or uncertain. The second, by self or agents, talks too much of absence, neutrality, moderation. I still think he will discard the game.

I am not in such a fury with the letter of American independence; but I think it seems ill-timed and useless; and I am much entertained with the metaphysical disputes between Government and Secession about the meaning of it. Lord Loughborough will be in town Sunday seven-night. I long to see him and Co. I think he will take a very decided

decided part. If he could throw aside his gown, he would make a noble leader. The East India news are excellent. The French gone to the Mauritius, Heyder desirous of peace, the Nizam and Mahrattas our friends, and seventy lacks of rupees in the Bengal treasury, while we were voting the recal of Hastings. Adieu. Write soon.

N° CLIX.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to Lord* SHEFFIELD.

1782.

I HAVE designed writing every post. The air of London is admirable; my complaints have vanished, and the gout still respects me. Lord Loughborough, with whom I passed an entire day, is very well satisfied with his Irish expedition, and found the barbarous people very kind to him. The castle is strong, but the volunteers are formidable. London is dead, and all intelligence so totally extinct, that the loss of an army would be a favourable incident. We have not even the advantage of shipwrecks, which must soon, with the society of you and Gerard Hamilton, become the only pleasures of Brighton. My Lady is precious, and deserves to shine in London, when she regains her palace. The workmen are slow, but I hear that the Minister talks of hiring another house after Christmas.* Adieu, till Monday seven-night.

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

N° CLX.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to Lord* SHEFFIELD.

January 17th, 1783.

As I arrived about seven o'clock on Wednesday last, we were some time in town in mutual ignorance. Unlucky enough; yet our loss will be speedily repaired. Your reason for not writing is worthy of an Irish Baron: you thought Sarah might be at Bath, because you directed letters to her at Clifton near Bristol; where indeed I saw her in a delightful situation, swept by the winter winds, and scorched by the summer sun. A nobler reason for your silence would be the care of the public papers, to record your steps, words, and actions. I was pleased with your Coventry oration: a panegyric on * * * * is a subject entirely new, and which no orator before yourself would have dared to undertake. You have acted with prudence and dignity in casting away the military yoke. This next summer you will sit down (if you can sit) in the long lost character of a country gentleman.

For my own part, my late journey has only confirmed me in the opinion, that Number Seven in Bentinck-street is the best house in the world. I find that peace and war alternately, and daily, take their turns of conversation, and this (Friday) is the pacific day. Next week we shall probably hear some questions on that head very strongly asked, and very foolishly answered, &c. Give me a line by return of post, and probably I may visit Downing-street on Monday evening: late, however, as I am engaged to dinner and cards. Adieu.

N°

N° CLXI.

[Although Dr. Priestley may not be justified for publishing the following Letters, yet as he thought fit to print them with a volume of sermons soon after Mr. Gibbon's death, it will not be improper to insert them in this collection.]

Mr. GIBBON *to Dr.* PRIESTLEY.

SIR, January 23d, 1783.

As a mark of your esteem, I should have accepted with pleasure your History of the Corruptions of Christianity. You have been careful to inform me, that it is intended, not as a gift, but as a challenge, and such a challenge you must permit me to decline. At the same time you glory in outstripping the zeal of the Mufti and the Lama, it may be proper to declare, that I should equally refuse the defiance of those venerable divines. Once, and once only, the just defence of my own veracity provoked me to descend into the amphitheatre; but as long as you attack opinions which I have never maintained, or maintain principles which I have never denied, you may safely exult in my silence and your own victory. The difference between us, (on the credibility of miracles,) which you chuse to suppose, and wish to argue, is a trite and ancient topic of controversy, and, from the opinion which you entertain of yourself and of me, it does not appear probable that our dispute would either edify or enlighten the Public.

That Public will decide to whom the *invidious* name

name of Unbeliever more justly belongs; to the Historian, who, without interposing his own sentiments, has delivered a simple narrative of authentic facts, or to the disputant who proudly rejects all natural proofs of the immortality of the soul, overthrows (by circumscribing) the inspiration of the evangelists and apostles, and condemns the religion of every Christian nation, as a fable less innocent, but not less absurd, than Mahomet's journey to the third Heaven.

And now, Sir, since you assume a right to determine the objects of my past and future studies, give me leave to convey to your ear the almost unanimous, and not offensive wish, of the philosophic world:—that you would confine your talents and industry to those sciences in which real and useful improvements *can* be made. Remember the end of your predecessor Servetus, not of his life, (the Calvins of our days are restrained from the use of the same fiery arguments,) but, I mean, the end of his reputation. His theological writings are lost in oblivion; and if his book on the Trinity be still preserved, it is only because it contains the first rudiments of the discovery of the circulation of the blood.

I am, Sir, your obedient humble servant.

N° CLXII.

Dr. Priestley *to Mr.* Gibbon.

Sir, Birmingham, 3d February, 1783.

It would have been impertinent in me, especially considering the object of my *History*, to have sent

sent you a copy of it as a mark of my *esteem* or *friendship*. What I meant was to act the part of a fair and open *adversary*, and I am truly sorry that you decline the discussion I proposed: for though you are of a different opinion, I do not think that either of us could be better employed; and, should the Mufti and the Lama, whose challenge, you say, you would also decline, become parties in the business, I should rejoice the more. I do not well know what you can mean by intimating, that I am a greater Unbeliever than yourself; that I attack opinions which you never maintained, and maintain principles which you never denied. If you mean to assert, that you are a believer in Christianity, and meant to recommend it, I must say, that your mode of writing has been very ill adapted to gain your purpose. If there be any certain method of discovering a man's real object, yours has been to discredit Christianity in fact, while in words you represent yourself as a friend to it: a conduct which I scruple not to call highly unworthy and mean; an insult on the common sense of the Christian world; as a method of screening you from the notice of the law, (which is as hostile to me as it is to you,) you must know that it could avail you nothing; and, though that mode of writing might be deemed ingenious and witty in the first inventor of it, it has been too often repeated to deserve that appellation now.

According to your own rule of conduct, this charge ought to provoke you to descend into the amphitheatre once more, as much as the accusation of

of Mr. Davis: for it is a call upon you to defend, not your *principles* only, but also your *honour*. For what can reflect greater dishonour on a man, than to say one thing and mean another? You have certainly been very far from confining yourself, as you pretend, to a simple narrative of authentic facts, without interposing your own sentiments. I hold no opinions, obnoxious as they are, that I am not ready both to *avow* in the most explicit manner, and also to defend with any person of competent judgment and ability. Had I not considered you in this light, and also as fairly open, by the strain of your writings, to such a challenge, I should not have called upon you as I have done. The Public will form its own judgment both of that and of your silence on the occasion; and finally decide between you, the *humble historian*, and me, the *proud disputant*.

As to my *reputation*, for which you are so very obligingly concerned, give me leave to observe, that, as far as it is an object with any person, and a thing to be enjoyed by himself, it must depend upon his particular notions and feelings.—Now, odd as it will appear to you, the esteem of a very few rational Christian friends (though I know that it will ensure me the detestation of the greater part of the present nominally Christian world that happen to hear me) gives me more real satisfaction, than the applause of what you call the philosophic world. I admire Servetus, by whose example you wish me to take warning, more for his courage in dying for the cause of important truth, than

than I should have done if, besides the certain discovery of the circulation of the blood, he had made any other the most celebrated discovery in philosophy.

However, I do not see what my philosophical friends (of whom I have many, and whom I think I value as I ought) have to do with my metaphysical or theological writings. They may, if they please, consider them as my particular whims or amusements, and accordingly neglect them. They have, in fact, interfered very little with my application to philosophy, since I have had the means of doing it. I was never more busy, or more successfully so, in my philosophical pursuits, than during the time that I have been employed about the History of the Corruptions of Christianity. I am at this very time *totus in illis*, as my friends know; and as the Public will know in due time, which with me is never long; and if you had thought proper to enter into the discussion I proposed, it would not have made me neglect my laboratory, or omit a single experiment that I should otherwise have made.

I am, Sir,
Your very humble servant,
J. PRIESTLEY.

N° CLXIII.

Mr. GIBBON *to Dr.* PRIESTLEY.

SIR, Bentinck-street, February 6th, 1783.

As I do not pretend to judge of the sentiments or intentions of another, I shall not inquire how far

far you are inclined to suffer, or inflict, martyrdom. It only becomes me to say, that the style and temper of your last letter have satisfied me of the propriety of declining all further correspondence, whether public or private, with such an adversary. I am, Sir, your humble servant.

N° CLXIV.

Dr. PRIESTLEY *to Mr.* GIBBON.

SIR, Birmingham, February 10th, 1783.

I NEITHER requested nor wished to have any *private correspondence* with you. All that my MS. card required, was a simple acknowledgment of the receipt of the copy of my work. You chose, however, to give me a specimen of your temper and feelings; and also, what I thought to be an opening to a further call upon you for a justification of yourself *in public*. Of this I was willing to take advantage; and, at the same time, to satisfy you, that my philosophical pursuits, for which, whether in earnest or not, you were pleased to express some concern, would not be interrupted in consequence of it.

As this correspondence, from the origin and nature of it, cannot be deemed *confidential*, I may, especially if I resume my observations on your conduct as an Historian, give the Public an opportunity of judging of the propriety of my answer to your first extraordinary letter, and also to this last truly *enigmatical* one; to interpret which requires much more sagacity, than to discover your real

real intentions with respect to Christianity, though you might think you had carefully concealed them from all human inspection.

Wishing to hear from you just as little as you please in private, and just as much as you please in public, I am, Sir, your humble servant.

N° CLXV.

Mr. GIBBON *to Dr.* PRIESTLEY.

February 22d, 1783.

IF Dr. Priestley consults his friends, he will probably learn, that a single copy of a paper, addressed under a seal to a single person, and not relative to any public or official business, must always be considered as *private* correspondence; which a man of honour is not at liberty to print without the consent of the writer. That consent in the present instance, Mr. Gibbon thinks proper to with-hold; and, as he desires to escape all further altercation, he shall not trouble Dr. Priestley or himself with explaining the motives of his refusal.

N° CLXVI.

Dr. PRIESTLEY *to Mr.* GIBBON.

Birmingham, 25th February, 1783.

DR. Priestley is as unwilling to be guilty of any real impropriety as Mr. Gibbon can wish him to be: but, as the correspondence between them relates not to any *private*, but only to a *public matter*, he

he apprehends that it may, according to Mr. Gibbon's own distinction, at the pleasure of either of the parties be laid before the public; who, in fact, are interested to know, at least, the result of it. Dr. Priestley's conduct will always be open to animadversion, that of Mr. Gibbon, or of any other person. His appeal is to men of honour, and even men of the world; and he desires no favour.

Dr. Priestley has sent a single copy of the correspondence to a friend in London, with leave to shew it to any other common friends, but with a prohibition to take any other copy: but between this and *printing* there is no difference, except in *mode* and *extent*. In the eye of the law and of reason both are equally publications; and has Mr. Gibbon never thought himself at liberty to shew a copy of a letter to a third person?

Mr. Gibbon may easily escape all further altercation by discontinuing this mutually disagreeable correspondence, by leaving Dr. Priestley to act as his own discretion or indiscretion may dictate; and for this, himself only, and not Mr. Gibbon, is responsible.

N° CLXVII.

Mr. GIBBON *to Lord* THURLOW.

MY LORD,

WITHOUT presuming to inquire into the state of public measures, which must be secret in order to be successful, I cannot but observe and congratulate, with the rest of my countrymen, the fair prospect

prospect of peace, or at least of negociation, which seems to be opening upon us.

I find it generally understood that the principal conduct of this important event will be entrusted to a minister whose eminent abilities have been long tried and distinguished. But a scene of business so various and extensive must afford several collateral and subordinate lines of negociation. If in any of these I should be thought qualified for public trust, I am ready to devote my time and my best industry to the service of my country, and shall think myself happy if I can discharge, in any degree, my debt of gratitude to His Majesty's Government.

Your Lordship's experience of mankind has undoubtedly taught you to distrust and dislike ostentatious professions; yet I may affirm with the confidence of truth that if I consulted only my private interest and inclination, I should not be lightly tempted to interrupt the tranquillity and leisure, which I now enjoy, and in which I am never busy and never idle.

The grateful recollection of your Lordship's indulgence on a former occasion has strongly solicited me to make this offer of my services. I should deem it no vulgar honour if they could ever deserve the approbation of a wise and intrepid statesman, who, in a divided country, has commanded the esteem and applause of the most hostile parties.

I am, with great respect, my Lord, &c.

E. GIBBON.

The Lord Chancellor.

N° CLXVIII.

Lord THURLOW *to Mr.* GIBBON.

DEAR SIR,

I SHALL certainly avail myself of your permission not to tender your services to the Minister, but whenever an occasion sufficiently considerable shall offer to suggest a name which possesses so many titles to the public confidence. And in that strange and distant scene (of foreign politics) it is almost the only suggestion I can make with perfect confidence.

I have the honour to be, &c.

THURLOW.

N° CLXIX.

M. GIBBON *à M.* DEYVERDUN, à Lausanne.

A Londres, ce 20 Mai, 1783.

QUE j'aime la douce et parfaite confiance de nos sentimens réciproques! Nous nous aimons dans l'éloignement et le silence, et il nous suffit à l'un et à l'autre, de savoir de tems en tems des nouvelles de la santé et du bonheur de son ami. Aujourd'hui j'ai besoin de vous écrire; je commence sans excuses et sans reproches, comme si nous allions reprendre la conversation familière du jour précédent. Si je proposois de faire un *compte rendu* de mes études, de mes occupations, de mes plaisirs, de mes nouvelles liaisons, de ma politique toujours muette, mais un peu plus rapprochée des grands

grands événemens, je multiplierois mes *in quarto*, et je ne sais pas encore votre avis sur ceux que je vous ai déjà envoyés. Dans cette histoire moderne, il seroit toujours question de la décadence des empires; et autant que j'en puis juger sur mes réminiscences et sur le rapport de l'ami Bugnon, vous aimez aussi peu la puissance de l'Angleterre que celle des Romains. Notre chute, cependant, a été plus douce. Après une guerre sans succès, et une paix assez peu glorieuse, il nous reste de quoi vivre contens et heureux; et lorsque je me suis dépouillé du rôle de Membre du Parlement, pour redevenir homme, philosophe, et historien, nous pourrions bien nous trouver d'accord sur la plupart des scènes étonnantes qui viennent de se passer devant nos yeux, et qui fourniront une riche matière aux plus habiles de mes successeurs.

Bornons nous à cette heure à un objet moins illustre sans doute, mais plus intéressant pour tous les deux, et c'est beaucoup que le même objet puisse intéresser deux mortels qui ne se sont pas vûs, qui à peine se sont écrit depuis—oui, ma foi—depuis huit ans. Ma plume, très paresseuse au commencement, ou plutôt avant le commencement, marche assez vîte, lorsqu'elle s'est une fois mise en train; mais une raison qui m'empêcheroit de lui donner carrière, c'est l'espérance de pouvoir bientôt me servir avec vous d'un instrument encore plus commode, la langue. Que l'homme, l'homme anglois, l'homme Gibbon, est un sot animal! Je l'espère, je le désire, je le puis, mais je ne sais pas si je le veux, encore moins si j'exécuterai cette

volonté. Voici mon histoire, autant qu'elle pourra vous éclairer, qu'elle pourra m'éclairer moi-même, sur mes véritables intentions, qui me paroissent très obscures, et très équivoques; et vous aurez la bonté de m'apprendre quelle sera ma conduite future. Il vous souvient, Seigneur, que mon grand-père a fait sa fortune, que mon père l'a mangée avec un peu trop d'appétit, et que je jouis actuellement du fruit, ou plutôt du reste de leurs travaux. Vous n'avez pas oublié que je suis entré au Parlement sans patriotisme, sans ambition, et que toutes mes vues se bornoient à la place commode et honnête d'un *Lord of Trade*. Cette place, je l'ai obtenue enfin; je l'ai possédée trois ans, depuis 1779 jusqu' à 1782, et le produit net, qui se montoit à sept cens cinquante livres sterling, augmentoit mon revenu au niveau de mes besoins et de mes désirs. Mais au printems de l'année précédente, l'orage a grondé sur nos têtes: Milord North a été renversé, votre serviteur chassé, et le *Board* même, dont j'étois membre, aboli et cassé pour toujours, par la réformation de M. Burke, avec beaucoup d'autres places de l'Etat, et de la maison du Roi. Pour mon malheur, je suis toujours resté Membre de la Chambre basse: à la fin du dernier Parlement (en 1780) M. Eliot à retiré sa nomination; mais la faveur de Milord North a facilité ma rentrée, et la reconnoissance m'imposoit le devoir de faire valoir, pour son service, les droits que je tenois en partie de lui. Cet hyver nous avons combattu sous les étendards réunis (vous savez notre

notre histoire) de Milord North et de M. Fox; nous avons triomphé de Milord Shelburne et de la paix. Avec beaucoup d'esprit, et des qualités très respectables, Milord North n'a plus ni le titre, ni le crédit de premier ministre; des collègues plus actifs lui enlèvent les morceaux les plus friands, qui sont aussitôt dévorés par la voracité de leurs créatures; nos malheurs et nos réformes ont diminué le nombre des graces; par orgueil ou par paresse, je sollicite aussi mal, et si je parviens enfin, ce sera peut-être à la veille d'une nouvelle révolution, qui me fera perdre dans un instant, ce qui m'aura coûté tant de soins et de recherches. Si je ne consultois que mon cœur et ma raison, je romperois sur le champ cette indigne chaine de la dépendance; je quitterois le Parlement, Londres, l'Angleterre; je chercherois sous un ciel plus doux, dans un pays plus tranquille, le repos, la liberté, l'aisance, et une société éclairée, et aimable. Je coulerois quelques années de ma vie sans espérance, et sans crainte, j'acheverois mon histoire, et je ne rentrerois dans ma patrie qu'en homme libre, riche, et respectable par sa position, aussi bien que par son caractère. Mes amis, et surtout Milord Sheffield, ne veulent pas me permettre d'être heureux suivant mon goût et mes lumières. Leur prudence exige que je fasse tous mes efforts, pour obtenir un emploi très sûr à la vérité, qui me donneroit mille guinées de rente, mais qui m'enleveroit cinq jours par semaine. Je me prête à leur zèle, et je leur ai promis de ne partir qu'en automne, après avoir

consacré l'été à cette dernière tentative. Le succès, cependant, est très incertain, et je ne sais si je le désire de bonne foi.

Si je parviens à me voir exilé, mon choix ne sera pas douteux. Lausanne a eu mes prémices; elle me sera toujours chère par le doux souvenir de ma jeunesse. Au bout de trente ans, je me rappelle les polissons qui sont aujourd'hui juges, les petites filles de la société du Printems, qui sont devenues grand-mères. Votre pays est charmant, et, malgré le dégoût de Jean Jacques, les mœurs, et l'esprit de ses habitans, me paroissent très assortis aux bords du lac Léman. Mais un trésor que je ne trouverois qu'à Lausanne, c'est un ami qui me convient également par les sentimens et les idées, avec qui je n'ai jamais connu un instant d'ennui, de sécheresse, ou de réserve. Autrefois dans nos libres épanchemens, nous avons cent fois fait le projet de vivre ensemble, et cent fois nous avons épluché tous les détails du roman, avec une chaleur qui nous étonnoit nous mêmes. A présent il demeure, ou plutôt vous demeurez, (car je me lasse de ce ton étudié,) dans une maison charmante et commode; je vois d'ici mon appartement, nos salles communes, notre table, et nos promenades; mais ce mariage ne vaut rien, s'il ne convient pas également aux deux époux, et je sens combien des circonstances locales, des goûts nouveaux, de nouvelles liaisons, peuvent s'opposer aux desseins, qui nous ont paru les plus agréables dans le lointain. Pour fixer mes idées, et pour nous épargner des regrets, il faut me dévoiler avec la franchise dont

je

je vous ai donné l'exemple, le tableau extérieur et intérieur de George Deyverdun. Mon amour est trop délicat, pour supporter l'indifférence et les égards, et je rougirois d'un bonheur dont je serois redevable, non à l'inclination, mais à la fidélité de mon ami. Pour m'armer contre les malheurs possibles, hélas! peut-être trop vraisemblables, j'ai essayé de me détacher de la pensée de ce projet favori, et de me représenter à Lausanne votre bon voisin, sans être précisément votre commensal. Si j'y étois réduit, je ne voudrois pas tenir maison, autant par raison d'économie, que pour éviter l'ennui de manger seul. D'un autre côté, une pension ouverte, fut-elle montée sur l'ancien pied de celle de Mesery, ne conviendroit plus à mon age, ni à mon caractère. Passerois-je ma vie au milieu d'une foule de jeunes Anglois échappés du collège, moi qui aimerois Lausanne cent fois davantage, si j'y pouvois être le seul de ma nation? Il me faudroit donc une maison commode et riante, un état au dessus de la bourgeoisie, un mari instruit, une femme qui ne ressembleroit pas à Madame Pavilliard, et l'assurance d'y être reçu comme le fils unique, ou plutôt comme le frère de la famille. Pour nous arranger sans gêne, je meublerai très volontiers un joli appartement sous le même toit, où dans le voisinage, et puisque le ménage le plus foible laisse encore de l'étoffe pour une forte pension, je ne serois pas obligé de chicaner sur les conditions pécuniaires. Si je me vois déchu de cette dernière espérance, je renoncerois en soupirant à ma seconde patrie, pour chercher un nouvel asyle,

non pas à Genève, triste séjour du travail et de la discorde, mais aux bords du lac de Neufchatel, parmi les bons Savoyards de Chamberry, ou sous le beau climat des Provinces Méridionales de la France. Je finis brusquement, parceque j'ai mille choses à vous dire. Je pense que nous nous ressemblons pour la correspondance. Pour le bavardage savant ou même amical, je suis de tous les hommes le plus paresseux, mais dès qu'il s'agit d'un objet réel, d'un service essentiel, le premier courier emporte toujours ma réponse. A la fin d'un mois, je commencerai à compter les semaines, les jours, les heures. Ne me les faites pas compter trop long tems. Vale.

N° CLXX.

M. Deyverdun *à M.* Gibbon.

Strasbourg, le 10 Juin, 1783.

Je ne saurois vous exprimer, Monsieur et cher ami, la variété, et la vivacité, des sensations que m'a fait éprouver votre lettre. Tout cela a fini par un fond de plaisir et d'espérance qui resteront dans mon cœur, jusqu'à ce que vous les en chassiez.

Un rapport singulier de circonstances contribue à me faire espérer que nous sommes destinés à vivre quelque tems agréablement ensemble. Je ne suis pas dégoûté d'une ambition que je ne connus jamais; mais par d'autres circonstances, je me trouve dans la même situation d'embarras et d'incertitude où vous êtes aussi à cette époque. Il y a un an que votre lettre, mon cher ami, m'auroit fait

fait plaisir sans doute, mais en ce moment, elle m'en fait bien davantage; elle vient en quelque façon à mon secours.

Depuis mon retour d'Italie, ne pouvant me déterminer à vendre ma maison, m'ennuyant d'y être seul (car je suis comme vous, Monsieur, et je déteste de manger sans compagnie) ne voulant pas louer à des étrangers, j'ai pris le parti de m'arranger assez joliment au premier étage, et de donner le second à une famille de mes amis, qui me nourrit, et que je loge. Cet arrangement a paru pendant long tems contribuer au bonheur des deux parties. Mais tout est transitoire sur cette terre. Ma maison sera vuide, selon toute apparence, sur la fin de l'été, et je me vois d'avance tout aussi embarrassé et incertain, que je l'étois il y a quelques années, ne sachant quelle nouvelle société choisir, et assez disposé à vendre enfin cette possession qui m'a causé bien des plaisirs et bien des peines. Ma maison est donc à votre disposition pour cet automne, et vous y arriveriez comme un Dieu dans une machine qui finit l'embroglio. Voilà quant à moi; parlons de vous maintenant avec la même sincérité.

Un mot de préambule. Quelque intéressé que je sois à votre résolution, convaincu qu'il faut aimer ses amis pour eux-mêmes, sentant d'ailleurs combien il seroit affreux pour moi de vous voir des regrets, je vous donne ici ma parole d'honneur, que mon intérêt n'influe en rien sur ce que je vais écrire, et que je ne dirai pas un mot que je ne vous disse, si l'hermite de la grotte étoit un autre que moi.

moi. Vos amis anglais vous aiment pour eux-mêmes; je ne veux moi que votre bonheur. Rappellez-vous, mon cher ami, que je vis avec peine votre entrée dans le Parlement, et je crois n'avoir été que trop bon prophète; je suis sûr que cette carrière vous a fait éprouver plus de privations que de jouissances, beaucoup plus de peines que de plaisirs; j'ai cru toujours, depuis que je vous ai connu, que vous étiez destiné à vivre heureux par les plaisirs du cabinet et de la société, que tout autre marché étoit un écart de la route du bonheur, et que ce n'étoit que les qualités réunies d'homme de lettres, et d'homme aimable de société, qui pouvoient vous procurer gloire, honneur, plaisirs, et une suite continuelle de jouissances. Au bout de quelques tours dans votre salle, vous sentirez parfaitement que j'avois bien vu, et que l'événement a justifié mes idées. Lorsque j'ai appris que vous étiez *Lord of Trade*, j'en ai été faché; quand j'ai su que vous aviez perdu cette place, je m'en suis réjouis pour vous; quand on m'a annoncé que Milord North étoit remonté sur sa bête,* j'ai cru vous voir très mal à votre aise, en croupe derrière lui, et je m'en suis affligé pour vous. Je suis donc charmé, mon cher ami, de vous savoir à pied, et je vous conseille très sincèrement de rester dans cette position, et bien loin de solliciter la place en question, de la refuser, si elle vous étoit offerte. Mille guinées vous dédommageront-elles de cinq jours

* Alluding to Lord North's having become a part of administration by accepting the office of Secretary of State.

pris

pris de la semaine? Je suppose, ce que cependant j'ai peine à croire, que vous me disiez que oui: et la variété et l'inconstance continuelle de votre ministère, vous promettent-elles d'en jouir long tems constamment, et n'est-il pas plus désagréable, mon cher Monsieur, de n'avoir plus 1000 livres sterl. de rente, qu'il n'a été agréable d'en jouir? D'ailleurs ne pourrez-vous pas toujours rentrer dans la carrière, si l'ambition ou l'envie de servir la patrie, vous reprennent; ne rentrerez-vous pas avec plus d'honneur, lorsque vos rentes étant augmentées naturellement, vous serez libre et indépendant?

En faisant cette retraite en Suisse, outre la beauté du pays, et les agrémens de la société, vous acquererez deux biens que vous avez perdus, la liberté et la richesse. Vous ne serez d'ailleurs point inutile; vos ouvrages continueront à nous éclairer, et indépendamment de vos talens, l'honnête homme, le galant homme, n'est jamais inutile.

Il me reste à vous présenter le tableau que vous trouveriez. Vous aimiez ma maison et mon jardin, c'est bien autre chose à présent. Au premier étage qui donne sur la descente d'Ouchy, je me suis arrangé un appartement qui me suffit, j'ai une chambre de domestique, deux sallons, et deux cabinets. J'ai au plein pied de la terrasse, deux autres sallons dont l'un sert en été de salle à manger, et l'autre de sallon de compagnie. J'ai fait un nouvel appartement de trois pièces dans le vuide entre la maison et la remise, en sorte que j'ai à vous offrir tout le grand appartement, qui consiste actuellement en onze pièces, tant grandes que petites, tournées au

Levant

Levant et au Midi, meublées sans magnificence déplacée, mais avec une sorte d'élégance dont j'espère que vous seriez satisfait. La terrasse a peu changé; mais elle est terminée par un grand cabinet mieux proportionné que le précédent, garnie tout du long, de caisses d'orangers, &c. La treille, qui ne vous est pas indifférente, a embelli, prospéré, et règne presqu'entièrement jusqu'au bout; parvenu à ce bout, vous trouverez un petit chemin qui vous conduira à une chaumière placée dans un coin; et de ce coin, en suivant le long d'une autre route à l'anglaise, le mur d'un manège. Vous trouverez au bout, un châlet avec écurie, vacherie, petite porte, petit cabinet, petite bibliothèque, et une galerie de bois doré, d'où l'on voit tout ce qui sort et entre en ville par la porte du Chêne, et tout ce qui se passe dans ce Faubourg. J'ai acquis la vigne au-dessous du jardin; j'en ai arraché tout ce qui étoit devant la maison; j'en ai fait un tapis vert arrosé par l'eau du jet d'eau; et j'ai fait tout autour de ce petit parc, une promenade très variée par les différens points de vue et les objets même intérieurs, tantôt jardin potager, tantot parterre, tantôt vigne, tantôt prés, puis châlet, chaumière, petite montagne; bref, les étrangers viennent le voir et l'admirent, et malgré la description pompeuse que je vous en fais, vous en serez content.

N. B. J'ai planté une quantité d'excellens arbres fruitiers.

Venons à moi; vous comprenez bien que j'ai vieilli, excepté pour la sensibilité; je suis à la mode,

mode, mes nerfs sont attaqués; je suis plus mélancolique, mais je n'ai pas plus d'humeur; vous ne souffrirez de mes maux que tout au plus négativement. Ensemble, et séparés par nos logemens, nous jouirons vis-à-vis l'un de l'autre, de la plus grande liberté. Nous prendrons une gouvernante douce et entendue, plutôt par commodité que par nécessité; car je me chargerois sans crainte de la surintendance. J'ai fait un ménage de quatre, pendant quelque tems; j'ai fait le mien, et j'ai remarqué que cela marchoit tout seul, quand c'étoit une fois en train. Les petites gens qui n'ont que ce mérite, font grand bruit pour rien. Mon jardin nous fournira avec abondance de bons fruits et d'excellens légumes. Pour le reste de la table et de la dépense domestique, je ne demanderois pas mieux que de vous recevoir chez moi, comme vous m'avez reçu chez vous; mais nos situations sont différentes à cet égard; cependant si vous étiez plus ruiné, je vous l'offrirois sans doute, et je devrois le faire; mais avec les rentes que vous aviez, quand j'étois chez vous, en les supposant même diminuées, vous vivrez très agréablement à Lausanne. Enfin à cet égard nous nous arrangerons, comme il vous sera le plus agréable, et en proportion de nos revenus. Toujours serez vous ainsi, à ce que j'espère, plus décemment et plus comfortablement, que vous ne seriez par tout ailleurs au même prix.

Quant à la société, quoique infiniment agréable, je commence ce chapitre par vous dire que j'éviterois de vous y inviter, si vous étiez entièrement désœuvré;

désœuvré; les jours sont longs alors, et laissent bien du vuide; mais homme de lettres, comme vous êtes, je ne connois point de société qui vous convienne mieux. Nous aurons autour de nous un cercle, comme il seroit impossible d'en trouver ailleurs dans un aussi petit espace. Madame de Corcelles, Mademoiselle Sulens, et M. de Montolieu, (Madame est morte,) Messrs. Polier et leurs femmes, Madame de Severy, et M. et Madame de Nassau, Mademoiselle de Chandieu, Madame de St. Cierge, et M. avec leurs deux filles jolies et aimables, Mesdames de Crousaz, Polier, de Charrières, &c. font un fonds de bonne compagnie dont on ne se lasse point, et dont M. de Servan est si content qu'il regrette toujours d'être obligé de retourner dans ses terres, et ne respire que pour s'établir tout à fait à Lausanne. Il passa tout l'hyver de 1782 avec nous, et il fut, on ne peut plus, agréable. Vous trouverez les mœurs changées en bien, et plus conformes à nos ages, et à nos caractères; peu de grandes assemblées, de grands repas, mais beaucoup de petits soupers, de petites assemblées, où l'on fait ce qu'on veut, où l'on cause, lit, &c. et dont on écarte avec soin les facheux de toute espèce. Il y a le Dimanche une société, où tout ce qu'il y a d'un peu distingué en étrangères et étrangers, est invité. Cela fait des assemblées de 40 à 50 personnes, où l'on voit ce qu'on ne voit guères le reste de la semaine, et ces espèces de *rout* font quelquefois plaisir. Nous sommes fort dégoûtés des étrangers, surtout des jeunes gens, et nous les écartons avec soin de nos petits comités,

à moins

à moins qu'ils n'ayent du mérite, ou quelques talens. A cet égard un de nos petits travers, c'est l'engouement; mais vous en profiterez, mon cher Monsieur, comme Edward Gibbon, et comme mon ami; vous serez d'abord l'homme à la mode, et je vois d'ici que vous soutiendrez fort bien ce rôle, sans vous en fâcher, dût on un peu vous surfaire. *Je sens que tu me flattes, mais tu me fais plaisir*, est peut-être le meilleur vers de Destouches. Voilà donc l'hyver; l'étude le matin, quelques conversations, quand vous serez fatigué, avec quelque homme de lettres, ou amateur, ou du moins qui aura vu quelque chose; à l'heure qu'il vous plaira un dîner, point de fermier général, mais l'honnête épicurien, avec un ou deux amis quand vous voudrez; puis quelques visites, une soirée, souvent un souper. Quant à l'été, vu votre manière d'aimer la campagne, on diroit que ma remise a été faite pour vous; pendant que vous vous y promènerez en sénateur, je serai souvent en bon paysan Suisse, devant mon châlet, ou dans ma chaumière; puis nous nous rencontrerons tout à coup, et tâcherons de nous remettre au niveau l'un de l'autre. Nous fermerons nos portes à l'ordinaire, excepté aux étrangers qui passent leur chemin; mais quand nous voudrons, nous y aurons tous ceux que nous aimerons à y voir; car on ne demande pas mieux que d'y venir se réjouir. J'ai eu, un beau jour d'Avril ce printems, un déjeûner, qui m'a coûté quelques Louis, où il y avoit plus de 40 personnes, je ne sais combien de petites tables, une bonne musique au milieu du verger, et une quantité

tité de jeunes et jolies personnes dansant des branles, et formant des chiffres en cadence; j'ai vu bien des fêtes, j'en ai peu vu de plus jolies. Quand mon parc vous ennuyera, nous aurons, ou nous louerons ensemble (et ce sera ainsi un plaisir peu cher) un cabriolet léger, avec deux chevaux gentils, et nous irons visiter nos amis dispersés dans les campagnes, qui nous recevront à bras ouverts. Vous en serez content de nos campagnes; toujours en proportion vous comprenez, et vous trouverez en général un heureux changement pour les agrémens de la société, et une sorte de recherche simple, mais élégante. Les bergères du *Printems*, excepté Madame de Vanberg, ne sont sans doute plus présentables, mais il y en a d'autres assez gentilles, et quoiqu'elles ne soyent pas en bien grand nombre, il y en aura toujours assez pour vous, mon cher Monsieur. Peu à peu mon imagination m'a emporté, et mon style s'égaye, comme cela nous arrivoit quelquefois dans nos châteaux en Espagne. Il est bien tems de finir cet article, résumons nous plus sérieusement.

Si vous exécutez le plan que vous avez imaginé, j'aimerois même à dire que vous embrassez, surtout d'après ce que vous marquez vous même, *Si je ne consultois que mon cœur et ma raison, je romperois sur le champ cette indigne chaine*, &c. Eh! que voulez-vous consulter, si ce n'est votre cœur et votre raison? Si, dis-je, vous exécutez ce plan, vous retrouverez une liberté et une indépendance, que vous n'auriez jamais dû perdre, et dont vous méritez

ritez de jouir, une aisance qui ne vous coûtera qu'un voyage de quelques jours, une tranquillité que vous ne pouvez avoir à Londres, et enfin un ami qui n'a peut-être pas été un jour sans penser à vous, et qui malgré ses défauts, ses foiblesses et son infériorité, est encore un des compagnons qui vous convient le mieux.

Il me reste à vous apprendre pourquoi je vous réponds si tard : vous savez déjà actuellement que ce n'est pas manque d'amitié et de zèle pour la chose ; mais votre lettre m'a été renvoyée de Lausanne ici, à Strasbourg, et je n'ai passé qu'une poste sans y répondre, ce qui n'est pas trop, vous l'avouerez, pour un pareil bavardage. Je suis parti de Lausanne la veille de Pâques pour venir voir un M. Bourcard de Basle, fort de mes amis ; il est ici auprès du Comte de Cagliostro, pour profiter de ses remèdes. Vous aurez entendu parler peut-être de cet homme extraordinaire à tous égards. Comme j'ai été assez malade tout l'hyver, je profite aussi de ses remèdes ; mais comme le tems du séjour du Comte ici n'est rien moins que sûr, le mieux sera que vous m'écriviez *à M. D. chez M. Bourcard du Kirshgarten, à Basle.*

Vous comprenez combien à tous égards, il est nécessaire m'écrire sans perte de tems, dès que vous aurez pris une résolution. Adieu, mon cher ami.

N° CLXXI.

M. Gibbon *à M.* Deyverdun.

Je reçois votre lettre du 10 Juin, le 21 de ce mois. Aujourd'hui Mardi 24, je mets la main à la plume (comme dit M. Fréron) pour y répondre, quoique ma missive ne puisse partir par arrangement des postes, que Vendredi prochain, 27 du courant. O merveille de la grace efficace! Elle n'agit pas moins puissamment sur vous, et moyennant le secours toujours prêt, et toujours prompt de nos couriers, un mois nous suffit pour la demande et la réponse. Je remercie mille fois le génie de l'amitié, qui m'a poussé, après mille efforts inutiles, à vous écrire enfin au moment le plus critique et le plus favorable. Jamais démarche n'a répondu si parfaitement à tous mes vœux et à toutes mes espérances. Je comptois sans doute sur la durée et la vérité de vos sentimens; mais j'ignorois (telle est la foiblesse humaine) jusqu'à quel point ils avoient pu être attiédis par le tems et l'éloignement; et je savois encore moins l'état actuel de votre santé, de votre fortune et de vos liaisons, qui auroient pu opposer tant d'obstacles à notre réunion. Vous m'écrivez, vous m'aimez toujours; vous désirez avec zèle, avec ardeur, de réaliser nos anciens projets; vous le pouvez, vous le voulez; vous m'offrez dès l'automne votre maison, et quelle terrasse! votre société, et quelle société! L'arrangement nous convient à tous les deux; je retrouve à la fois le compagnon de ma jeunesse, un sage

sage conseiller, et un peintre qui fait représenter et exagérer même les objets les plus rians. Ces exagérations me font pour le moins autant de plaisir que la simple vérité. Si votre portrait étoit tout à fait ressemblant, ces agrémens n'existeroient que hors de nous mêmes, et j'aime encore mieux les trouver dans la vivacité de votre cœur et de votre imagination. Ce n'est pas que je ne reconnoisse un grand fond de vérité dans le tableau de Lausanne ; je connois le lieu de la scène, je me transporte en idée sur notre terrasse, je vois ces côteaux, ce lac, ces montagnes, ouvrages favoris de la nature, et je conçois sans peine les embellissemens que votre goût s'est plu y ajouter. Je me rappelle depuis vingt ou trente ans les mœurs, l'esprit, l'aisance de la société, et je comprends que ce véritable ton de la bonne compagnie se perpétue, et s'épure de père en fils, ou plutôt de mère en fille ; car il m'a toujours paru qu'à Lausanne, aussi bien qu'en France, les femmes sont très supérieures aux hommes. Dans un pareil séjour, je craindrois la dissipation bien plus que l'ennui, et le tourbillon de Lausanne étonneroit un philosophe accoutumé depuis tant d'années à la tranquillité de Londres. Vous êtes trop instruit pour regarder ce propos, comme une mauvaise plaisanterie ; c'est dans les détroits qu'on est entrainé par la rapidité des courans : il n'y en a point en pleine mer. Dès qu'on ne recherche plus les plaisirs bruyans, et qu'on s'affranchit volontiers des devoirs pénibles, la liberté d'un simple particulier se fortifie par l'immensité de la ville. Quant à moi, l'application à mon grand ouvrage, l'habitude,

et la récompense du travail, m'ont rendu plus studieux, plus sédentaire, plus ami de la retraite. La Chambre des Communes et les grands dîners exigent beaucoup de tems; et la tempérance d'un repas anglois vous permet de goûter de cinq ou six vins différens, et vous ordonne de boire une bouteille de claret après le dessert. Mais enfin je ne soupe jamais, je me couche de bonne heure, je reçois peu de visites, les matinées sont longues, les étés sont libres, et dès que je ferme ma porte, je suis oublié du monde entier. Dans une société plus bornée et plus amicale, les démarches sont publiques, les droits sont réciproques, l'on dîne de bonne heure, on se goûte trop pour ne pas passer l'après-midi ensemble; on soupe, on veille, et les plaisirs de la soirée ne laissent pas de déranger le repos de la nuit, et le travail du lendemain. Quel est cependant le résultat de ces plaintes? c'est seulement que la mariée est trop belle, et que j'ose me servir de l'excuse honnête de la santé et du privilège d'un homme de lettres; il ne tiendra qu'à moi de modérer un peu l'excès de mes jouissances. Pour cet engouement que vous m'annoncez, et qui a toujours été le défaut des peuples les plus spirituels, je l'ai déjà éprouvé sur un plus grand théâtre. Il y a six ans que l'ami de Madame Necker fut reçu à Paris, comme celui de George Deyverdun pourroit l'être à Lausanne. Je ne connois rien de plus flatteur que cet accueil favorable d'un public poli et éclairé. Mais cette faveur, si douce pour l'étranger, n'est-elle pas un peu dangereuse pour l'habitant exposé à voir flétrir ses lauriers, par la faute

ou

ou par l'inconstance de ses juges? Non; on se soutient toujours, peut être pas précisément, au même point d'élévation. A l'abri de trois gros volumes in-quarto en langue étrangère, encore ce qui n'est pas un petit avantage, je conserverai toujours la réputation littéraire, et cette réputation donnera du relief aux qualités sociales, si l'on trouve l'historien sans travers, sans affectation et sans prétentions. Je serai donc charmé et content de votre société, et j'aurois pu dire en deux mots, ce qui j'ai bavardé en deux pages; mais il y a tant de plaisir à bavarder avec un ami! car enfin je possède à Lausanne un véritable ami; et les simples connoissances remplaceront sans beaucoup de peine, tout ce qui s'appelle liaison, et même amitié, dans ce vaste désert de Londres. Mais au moment où j'écris, je vois de tous côtés une foule d'objets dont la perte sera bien plus difficile à réparer. Vous connoissiez ma bibliothèque; mais je suis en état de vous rendre le propos de votre maison *c'est bien autre chose à cette heure;* formée peu à peu, mais avec beaucoup de soin et de dépense, elle peut se nommer aujourd'hui un beau cabinet de particulier. Non content de remplir à rangs redoublés la meilleure pièce qui lui étoit destinée, elle s'est débordée dans la chambre sur la rue, dans votre ancienne chambre à coucher, dans la mienne, dans tous les recoins de la maison de *Bentinck-street*, et jusques dans une chaumière que je me suis donnée à *Hampton Court*.

J'ai mille courtisans rangés autour de moi:
Ma retraite est mon Louvre, et j'y commande en roi.

Le fonds est de la meilleure compagnie Grecque, Latine, Italienne, Françoise, et Angloise, et les autres les moins chers à l'homme de goût, des ecclésiastiques, des Byzantins, des Orientaux, sont les plus nécessaires à l'historien de la Décadence et de la Chute, &c.. Vous ne sentez que trop bien le désagrément de laisser, et l'impossibilité de transporter cinq ou six milles volumes, d'autant plus que le ciel n'a pas voulu faire de la Suisse un pays maritime. Cependant mon zèle pour la réussite de nos projets communs, me fait imaginer que ces obstacles pourront s'applanir, et que je puis adoucir ou supporter ces privations douloureuses. Les bons auteurs classiques, la bibliothèque des nations, se retrouvent dans tous les pays. Lausanne n'est pas dépourvu de livres, ni de politesse, et j'ai dans l'esprit qu'on pourroit acquérir pour un certain tems, quelque bibliothèque d'un vieillard ou d'un mineur, dont la famille ne voudroit pas se défaire entièrement. Quant aux outils de mon travail, nous commencerons par examiner l'état de nos richesses; après quoi il faudroit faire un petit calcul du prix, du poids et de la rareté de chaque ouvrage, pour juger de ce qu'il seroit nécessaire de transporter de Londres, et de ce qu'on acheteroit plus commodément en Suisse; à l'égard de ces frais, on devroit les envisager comme les avances d'une manufacture transplantée en pays étranger, et dont on espère retirer dans la suite un profit raisonnable. Malheureusement votre bibliothèque publique, en y ajoutant même celle de M. de Bochat, est assez piteuse; mais celles de Berne et de Basle sont très nombreuses,

nombreuses, et je compterois assez sur la bonhommie Helvétique, pour espérer que, moyennant des recommendations et des cautions, il me seroit permis d'en tirer les livres dont j'aurois essentiellement besoin. Vous êtes très bien placé pour prendre les informations, et pour fixer les démarches convenables; mais vous voyez du moins combien je me retourne de tous les côtés, pour esquiver la difficulté la plus formidable.

Venons à présent à des objets moins relevés, mais très importans à l'existence et au bien-être de l'animal, le logement, les domestiques, et la table. Pour mon appartement particulier, une chambre à coucher, avec un grand cabinet et une antichambre, auroient suffi à tous mes besoins; mais si vous pouvez vous en passer, je me promenerai avec plaisir dans l'immensité de vos onze pièces, qui s'accommoderont sans doute aux heures et aux saisons différentes. L'article des domestiques renferme une assez forte difficulté, sur laquelle je dois vous consulter. Vous connoissez, et vous estimez Caplin mon valet de chambre, maître d'hotel, &c. qui a été nourri dans notre maison, et qui comptoit y finir ses jours. Depuis votre départ, ses talens et ses vertus se sont développés de plus en plus, et je le considère bien moins sur le pied d'un domestique, que sur celui d'un ami. Malheureusement il ne sait que l'Anglois, et jamais il n'apprendra de langue étrangère. Il m'accompagna, il y a six ans, dans mon voyage à Paris, mais il rapporta fidèlement à Londres toute l'ignorance, et tous les préjugés d'un bon patriote. A Lausanne il me coûteroit beaucoup, et à l'exception

tion du service personnel, il ne nous seroit que d'une très petite utilité. Cependant je supporterois volontiers cette dépense, mais je suis très persuadé que, si son attachement le portoit à me suivre, il s'ennuyeroit à mourir dans un pays où tout lui seroit étranger et désagréable. Il faudroit donc me détacher d'un homme dont je connois le zèle, la fidélité, rompre tout d'un coup de petites habitudes qui sont liées avec le bien-être journalier et momentané, et se résoudre à lui substituer un visage nouveau, peut-être un mauvais sujet, toujours quelque aventurier Suisse pris sur le pavé de Londres. Vous rappellez-vous un certain George Suisse qui a fait autrefois avec moi, le voyage de France et d'Italie? Je le crois marié et établi à Lausanne; s'il vit encore, si vous pouvez l'engager à se rendre ici, pour me ramener en Suisse, la compagnie d'un bon et ancien serviteur ne laisseroit pas d'adoucir la chute, et il resteroit peut-être auprès de moi, jusqu'à ce que nous eussions choisi un jeune homme du pays, adroit, modeste et bien élevé, à qui je ferois un parti avantageux. Les autres domestiques, gouvernantes, laquais, cuisinière, &c. se prennent et se renvoyent sans difficulté. Un article bien plus important, c'est notre table, car enfin nous ne sommes pas assez hermites, pour nous contenter des légumes et des fruits de votre jardin, tout excellens qu'ils sont; mais je n'ai presque rien à ajouter à l'honnêteté de vos propos, qui me donnent beaucoup plus de plaisir que de surprise. Si je me trouvois sans fortune, au lieu de rougir des bienfaits de l'amitié, j'accepterois vos offres aussi simplement

que

que vous les faites. Mais nous ne sommes pas réduits à ce point, et vous comprenez assez qu'une déconfiture angloise laisse encore une fortune fort décente au Pays de Vaud, et pour vous dire quelque chose de plus précis, je dépenserois sans peine et sans inconvénient cinq ou six cens Louis. Vous connoissez le résultat aussi bien que les détails d'un ménage; en supposant une petite table de deux philosophes Epicuriens, quatre, cinq, ou six domestiques, des amis assez souvent, des repas assez rarement, beaucoup de sensualité, et peu de luxe, à combien estimez-vous en gros la dépense d'un mois et d'une année? Le partage que vous avez déjà fait, me paroît des plus raisonnables; vous me logez, et je vous nourris. A votre calcul, j'ajouterois mon entretien personnel, habits, plaisirs, gages de domestiques, &c. et je verrois d'une manière assez nette, l'ensemble de mon petit établissement.

Après avoir essuyé tant de détails minutieux, le cher lecteur s'imagine sans doute que la résolution de me fixer pendant quelque tems aux bords du Lac Léman, est parfaitement décidée. Hélas! rien n'est moins vrai; mais je me suis livré au charme délicieux de compter, de fonder, de palper ce bonheur, dont je sens tout le prix, qui est à ma portée, et auquel j'aurai peut-être la bêtise de renoncer. Vous avez raison de croire, mais vous ignorez jusqu'à quel point vous l'avez, que ma carrière politique a été plus semée d'épines que de roses. Eh! qeul objet, quel mortel, pourroit me consoler de l'ennui des affaires, et de la honte de la dépendance? *La gloire?* Comme homme

homme de lettres, j'en jouis, comme orateur je ne l'aurai jamais, et le nom des simples soldats est oublié dans les victoires aussi bien que dans les défaites. *Le devoir ?* Dans ces combats à l'aveugle, où les chefs ne cherchent que leur avantage particulier, il y a toujours à parier que les subalternes feront plus de mal que de bien. *L'attachement personnel ?* Les ministres sont rarement dignes de l'inspirer; jusqu'à présent Lord North n'a pas eu à se plaindre de moi, et si je me retire du Parlement, il lui sera très aisé d'y substituer un autre muet, tout aussi affidé que son ancien serviteur. Je suis intimément convaincu, et par la raison, et par le sentiment, qu'il n'y a point de parti, qui me convienne aussi bien que de vivre avec vous, et auprès de vous à Lausanne; et si je parviens à la place *(Commissioner of the Excise or Customs)* où je vise, il y aura toutes les semaines cinq longues matinées, qui m'avertiront de la folie de mon choix. Vous vous trompez à la vérité à l'égard de l'instabilité de ces emplois; ils sont presque les seuls qui ne ressentent jamais des révolutions du ministère. Cependant si cette place s'offroit bientôt, je n'aurois pas le bon sens et le courage de la refuser. Quels autres conseillers veux-je prendre, sinon mon cœur et ma raison ? Il en est de puissans et toujours écoutés : les égards, la mauvaise honte, tous mes amis, ou soi-disant tels, s'écrieront que je suis un homme perdu, ruiné, un fou qui se dérobe à ses protecteurs, un misanthrope qui s'exile au bout du monde, et puis les exagérations sur tout ce qui seroit fait en ma faveur, si surement, si promptement,

si

si libéralement. Milord Sheffield opinera à me faire interdire et enfermer; mes deux tantes et ma belle mère se plaindront que je les quitte pour jamais, &c. Et l'embarras de prendre mon bonnet de nuit, comme disoit le sage Fontenelle, lorsqu'il n'étoit question que de se coucher, combien de bonnets de nuit ne me faudra-t-il pas prendre, et les prendre tout seul? car tout le monde, amis, parens, domestiques, s'opposera à ma fuite. Voilà à la vérité des obstacles assez peu redoutables, et en les décrivant, je sens qu'ils s'affoiblissent dans mon esprit. Grace à ce long bavardage vous connoissez mon intérieur, comme moi même, c'est à dire assez mal; mais cette incertitude, très amicale pour moi, seroit très facheuse pour vous. Votre réponse me parviendra vers la fin de Juillet, et huit jours après, je vous promets une réplique nette et décisive: *je pars* ou *je reste.* Si je pars, ce sera au milieu de Septembre; je mangerai les raisins de votre treille les premiers jours d'Octobre, et vous aurez encore le tems de me charger de vos commissions. Ne me dites plus, *Monsieur*, *et très cher ami;* le premier est froid, le second est superflu.

N° CLXXII.

M. Deyverdun *à M.* Gibbon.

Me voilà un peu embarrassé actuellement; je ne dois vous appeller ni Monsieur, ni ami. Eh bien! vous saurez qu'étant parti Samedi de Strasbourg, pendant que je venois ici, votre seconde lettre alloit là, et qu'ainsi je reçus votre troisième,

Dimanche,

Dimanche, et votre seconde, hier. La mention que vous y faisiez du Suisse George, dont je n'ai pu rien trouver dans la première, m'a fait comprendre qu'il y en avoit une seconde, et j'ai cru devoir attendre un courier, la troisième n'exigeant pas de réponse.

Pour votre parole, permettez que je vous en dispense encore, et même jusqu'au dernier jour, je sens bien qu'un procédé contraire vous conviendroit; mais certes il ne me convient pas du tout. Ceci, comme vous le dites, est une espèce de mariage, et pensez vous que malgré les engagemens les plus solemnels, je n'eusse pas reconduit chez elle, du pied des autels, la femme la plus aimable qui m'eut temoigné des regrets? Jamais je ne me consolerois, si je vous voyois mécontent dans la suite, et dans le cas de me faire des reproches. C'est à vous à faire, si vous croyez nécessaire, des démarches de votre côté, qui fortifient votre résolution; pour moi, je n'en ferai point d'essentielles, jusqu'à ce que j'aye reçu encore une lettre de vous. Après ce petit préambule, parlons toujours comme si l'affaire étoit décidée, et repassons votre lettre. Tout ce que vous dites des grandes et petites villes, est très vrai, et votre comparaison des détroits et de la pleine mer, est on ne peut pas plus juste et agréable; mais enfin, *comme on fait son lit, on se couche*, disoit Sancho Pancha d'agréable mémoire, et qui peut mieux faire son lit à sa guise qu'un étranger, qui, n'ayant ni devoirs d'état ni de sang à remplir, peut vivre entièrement isolé, sans que personne y puisse trouver à redire? Moi même, bourgeois et citoyen

de

de la ville, je suis presqu'entièrement libre. L'été, par exemple, je déteste de m'enfermer le soir dans des chambres chaudes, pour faire une partie. Eh bien! on m'a persécuté un peu la première année; à présent on me laisse en repos. Il y aura sans doute quelque changement dans votre manière de vivre: mais il me semble qu'on se fait aisément à cela. Les dîners, surtout en femmes, sont très rares; les soupers peu grands; on reste plutôt pour être ensemble, que pour manger, et plusieurs personnes ne s'asseyent point. Je crois, tout compté et rabattu, que vouz aurez encore plus de tems pour le cabinet qu'à Londres; on sort peu le matin, et quand nos amis communs viendront chez moi, et vous demanderont, je leur dirai; " ce n'est pas un oisif comme vous autres, il travaille dans son cabinet," et ils se tairont respectueusement.

Pour les bibliothèques publiques, votre idée ne pourroit, je pense, se réaliser pour un lecteur ou même un écrivain ordinaire, mais un homme qui joue un rôle dans la république des lettres, un homme aimé et considéré, trouvera, je m'imagine, bien des facilités; d'ailleurs, j'ai de bons amis à Berne, et je prendrai ici des informations.

Passons à la table. Si j'étois à Lausanne, cet article seroit plus sûr, je pourrois revoir mes papiers, consulter; j'ai une chienne de mémoire. A vue de pays cela pourra aller de 20 à 30 Louis par mois, plus ou moins, vous sentez, suivant la friandise, et le plus ou moins de convives. Marquez moi dans votre première combien vous coûte le vôtre.

Je sens fort bien tous les bonnets de nuit: point de

de grands changemens sans embarras, même sans regrets; vous en aurez quelquefois sans doute: par exemple, si votre salle à manger, votre salle de compagnie, sont plus riantes, vous perdrez pour le vase de la bibliothèque. Pour ce qui est des représentations, des discours au moins inutiles, il me semble que le mieux seroit de masquer vos grandes opérations, de ne parler que d'une course, d'une visite chez moi, de six mois ou plus ou moins. Vous feriez bien, je pense, d'aller chez mon ami Louis Teissier; c'est un brave et honnête homme, qui m'est attaché, qui aime notre pays; il vous donnera tout plein de bons conseils avec zèle, et vous gardera le secret.

Vous aurez quelquefois à votre table un poëte; —oui, Monsieur, un poëte:—nous en avons un enfin. Procurez vous un volume 8vo. *Poësies Helvétiennes, imprimées l'année passée chez Mouser, à Lausanne.* Vouz trouverez entr'autres dans l'épitre au jardinier de la grotte, votre ami et votre parc. Toute la prose est de votre très humble serviteur, qui désire qu'elle trouve grace devant vous.

Le Comte de Cagliostro a fait un séjour à Londres. On ne sait qui il est, d'où il est, d'où il tire son argent; il exerce *gratis* ses talens pour la médecine; il a fait des cures admirables; mais c'est d'ailleurs le composé le plus étrange. J'ai cessé de prendre ses remèdes qui m'échauffoient—l'homme d'ailleurs me gâtoit le médecin. Je suis revenu à Basle avec mon ami. Adieu; récrivez moi le plutôt possible.

N°

N° CLXXIII.

M. GIBBON *à M.* DEYVERDUN.

Hampton Court, ce 1 Juillet, 1783.

APRÈS avoir pris ma résolution, l'honneur, et ce qui vaut encore mieux l'amitié, me défendent de vous laisser un moment dans l'incertitude. JE PARS. Je vous en donne ma parole, et comme je suis bien aise de me fortifier d'un nouveau lien, je vous prie très sérieusement de ne pas m'en dispenser. Ma possession, sans doute, ne vaut pas celle de Julie; mais vous serez plus inéxorable que St. Preux. Je ne sens plus qu'une vive impatience pour notre réunion. Mais le mois d'Octobre est encore loin; 92 jours, et nous aurons tout le tems de prendre, et de nous donner des éclaircissemens dont nous avons besoin. Après un mûr examen, je renonce au voyage de George Suisse, qui me paroît incertain, cher et difficile. Après tout mon valet de chambre et ma bibliothèque sont les deux articles les plus embarrassans. Si je ne retenois pas ma plume, je remplirois sans peine la feuille; mais il ne faut pas passer du silence à un babil intarissable. Seulement si je connois le Comte de Cagliostro, cet homme extraordinaire, &c. Savez vous le Latin? oui, sans doute; mais faites, comme si je ne le savois point. Quand retournez vous à Lausanne vous même? Vale.

N°

N° CLXXIV.

Mad. DE GENLIS *à M.* GIBBON,

St. Leu, ce 3 Juillet, 1783.

QUOIQUE je doive craindre, Monsieur, que vous ne m'ayez absolument oubliée, je ne puis refuser à mon frère une lettre pour une personne si justement célèbre; il a le plus grand désir de faire connoissance avec vous, Monsieur. Il sait que j'ai eu l'avantage de vous voir dans le court espace de tems que vous avez passé à Paris il y a sept ou huit ans. J'ai eu l'honneur depuis de vous écrire deux fois et de vous envoyer *Le Théâtre d'Education.* Je n'ai point reçu de réponse, ainsi je trouve moi même qu'il y a bien de la présomption à vous importuner encore par une nouvelle lettre, mais j'ai saisi avec plus d'empressement que de *confiance* une occasion de me rappeller à votre souvenir et de vous renouveller l'assurance des sentimens qu'il est impossible de ne pas vous conserver quand on a eu l'avantage de vous connoître et le plaisir de lire vos ouvrages. J'ai l'honneur d'être, Monsieur, votre très humble et très obéissante Servante,

DUEREST, Comtesse de GENLIS.

N° CLXXV.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to the Right Honourable Lord* SHEFFIELD.

July 10th, 1783.

YOU will read the following lines with more patience and attention than you would probably give

give to an hasty conference, perpetually interrupted by the opening of the door, and perhaps by the quickness of our own tempers. I neither expect nor desire an answer on a subject of extreme importance to myself, but which friendship alone can render interesting to you. We shall soon meet at Sheffield.

It is needless to repeat the reflections which we have sometimes debated together, and which I have often seriously weighed in my silent solitary walks. Notwithstanding your active and ardent spirit, you must allow that there is some perplexity in my present situation, and that my future prospects are distant and cloudy. I have lived too long in the world to entertain a very sanguine idea of the friendship or zeal of ministerial patrons; and we are all sensible how much the powers of patronage are reduced. * * * * * * * At the end of the Parliament, or rather long before that time, (for their lives are not worth a year's purchase,) our Ministers are kicked down stairs, and I am left their disinterested friend, to fight through another opposition, and to expect the fruits of another revolution. But I will take a more favourable supposition, and conceive myself in six months firmly seated at the board of Customs; before the end of the next six months I should infallibly hang myself. Instead of regretting my disappointment, I rejoice in my escape; as I am satisfied that no salary could pay me for the irksomeness of attendance, and the drudgery of business so repug-

nant to my taste, (and I will dare to say,) so unworthy of my character. Without looking forwards to the possibility, still more remote, of exchanging that laborious office for a smaller annuity, there is surely another plan, more reasonable, more simple, and more pleasant; a temporary retreat to a quiet and less expensive scene. In a four years residence at Lausanne, I should live within my income, save, and even accumulate, my ready money; finish my History, an object of profit, as well as fame, expect the contingencies of elderly lives, and return to England at the age of fifty, to form a lasting independent establishment, without courting the smiles of a Minister, or apprehending the downfal of a party. Such have been my serious sober reflections. Yet I much question, whether I should have found courage to follow my reason and my inclination, if a friend had not stretched his hand to draw me out of the dirt. The twentieth of last May I wrote to my friend Deyverdun, after a long interval of silence, to expose my situation, and to consult in what manner I might best arrange myself at Lausanne. From his answer, which I received about a fortnight ago, I have the pleasure to learn, that his heart and his house are both open for my reception; that a family which he had lodged for some years is about to leave him, and that at no other time my company could have been so acceptable and convenient. I shall step, at my arrival, into an excellent apartment and a delightful situation; the fair division of our expenses will render them very moderate, and I shall pass

pass my time with the companion of my youth, whose temper and studies have always been congenial to my own. I have given him my word of honour to be at Lausanne in the beginning of October, and no power or persuasion can divert me from this IRREVOCABLE resolution, which I am every day proceeding to execute.

I wish, but I scarcely hope, to convince you of the propriety of my scheme; but at least you will allow, that when we are not able to prevent the *follies* of our friends, we should strive to render them as easy and harmless as possible. The arrangement of my house, furniture, and books will be left to meaner hands, but it is to your zeal and judgment alone that I can trust the more important disposal of Lenborough and * * * *. On these subjects we may go into a committee at Sheffield-place, but you know it is the rule of a committee, not to hear any arguments against the *principle* of the bill. At present I shall only observe, that neither of these negociations ought to detain me here; the former may be dispatched as well, the latter much better, in my absence. *Vale.*

N° CLXXVI.

M. GIBBON *à M.* DEYVERDUN.

Sheffield-place, le 31 Juillet, 1783.

VOTRE papier s'est furieusement rapetissé; vous avez si bien retranché le superflu, que vous oubliez l'essentiel, et ce n'est que par des conjectures fines et savantes que je devine la date du tems et du

lieu. Quant à moi je suis actuellement au château de Milord Sheffield, à quarante milles de Londres, ce qui ajoute deux jours pour l'arrivée et le départ du courier. Je reçois votre lettre (je ne sais du quantième) le 30 Juillet de l'an de grace 1783, je réponds du 31 du dit mois et de la dite année. Le zèle ne se rallentit point pour la consommation du grand œuvre. Je sens votre procédé délicat et généreux, et quoique je n'eusse pas été faché de trouver dans votre fermeté un appui à la mienne, mon inclination est si bien affermie sur la base inébranlable de l'inclination et de la raison, que je ne crains plus les obstacles extérieurs ni intérieurs. Dès que j'ai osé fixer mon départ, les nuages qui le couvroient se sont évanouis; les montagnes s'aplanissoient devant moi, et les dragons qui s'étoient présentés sur ma route, se sont apprivoisés. La semaine passée, je frappai le grand coup par la cassation du bail de ma maison de *Bentinck-street;* et après le mois de Septembre, si je ne couche pas à Lausanne, je coucherai dans la rue. Mes différens bonnets de nuit s'arrangent tous les jours, avec beaucoup d'ordre et de facilité. Lord Sheffield lui même, ce terrible St. George, vrai champion de l'Angleterre, s'est rendu à mes raisons, ou plutôt aux vôtres. Il est charmé du tableau de votre première lettre, et malgré l'activité de son ame, au lieu de me condamner, il me porte envie; et nous disputons (un peu en l'air) sur le projet d'une visite que lui, son aimable compagne et sa fille ainée, se proposent de nous faire dans deux ans aux bords du Lac Léman. Bien

loin

loin de combattre mon dessein, il me conseille, il me seconde dans l'exécution, et je n'aurai pas besoin de recourir aux lumières de votre ami Louis Teissier, d'autant plus que pour les menus détails de la correspondance étrangère, je trouve dans le libraire Elmsly un conseiller sage, instruit et discret. * * * * * * * *

Votre calcul de la dépense de la maison surpasse, non pas absolument mes moyens, mais un peu mes espérances et mes conjectures. La consommation en Suisse n'est point chargée d'impôts; le vin y coule comme l'eau de fontaine; votre jardin produit des fruits et des légumes. Se peut-il que vingt ou trente Louis se dépensent tous les mois pour le pain, la viande, le bois, la chandelle, quelque peu de vin étranger, les domestiques de la cuisine, &c.? Je me flatte que dans l'incertitude, vous avez cavé au plus fort; mais enfin tout ce détail se réglera suivant nos goûts et nos facultés; et un mois d'expérience sera plus instructif que cent pages de raisonnemens. La comparaison que vous me demandez de mon ménage de Londres, ne meneroit à rien. A la rigueur je ne tiens pas maison; je ne donne presque jamais à manger: en hyver je dine assez rarement chez moi; je ne soupe jamais; et une partie assez considérable de la dépense (celle des clubs et des *tavernes)* n'entre point dans le compte de la maison. Ma nourriture domestique n'excède pas toutefois votre calcul Lausannois; mais je sens la différence entre le petit couvert triste et mesquin d'un garçon, et la table

honnête et hospitalière de deux amis, qui auront d'autres amis, &c.

Votre idée de masquer mes grandes opérations est de la plus profonde politique; mais les déclarations, et même les démarches qui seront nécessaires pour me retirer de la Chambre des Communes, déclareront un peu trop tôt l'étendue de mes projets. Cependant on peut tirer quelque parti de cette honnête dissimulation, pour calmer un peu les scrupules, et les regrets des dames agées que vous connoissez, et que vous ne connoissez pas. Mais le moyen le plus efficace pour arrêter, ou pour ne pas écouter les mauvais discours, c'est de s'y dérober par une prompte fuite, et depuis que ma résolution a été prise, je compte les jours et les momens. Le 10 du mois prochain je retournerai à Londres, où je travaillerai vivement à préparer ce grand changement d'état. J'attends tous les jours la réponse de Madame Gibbon, à qui j'ai tâché de persuader qu'une entrevue de trois ou quatre jours à Bath, seroit moins douce qu'amère à tous les deux. Si elle se rend, ou fait semblant de se rendre à mes raisons, je compte que tout sera fini la première, ou du moins la seconde semaine de Septembre, et comme je couperai droit par la Champagne, et la Franche-Comté, je pourrois fort bien me trouver à Lausanne vers le 20 ou le 25 de ce mois là, supposé toujours que cette promptitude vous convienne, que votre maison sera libre, et que vous y serez rendu vous même. J'avois quelque idée de me détourner par Strasbourg, de vous prendre à Basle, et de passer avec vous par

Berne,

Berne, &c. mais, tout bien considéré, j'aime mieux abréger le grand voyage et réserver cette promenade (si nous avions envie de la faire) pour une saison plus tranquille. J'attends votre réponse dans une trentaine de jours; mais sans l'attendre je vous écrirai de Londres, pour continuer le fil de l'histoire, et peut-être pour vous charger de quelques achats de livres, qui se feront plus commodément à Basle qu'à Lausanne. Vous ne me donnez point de commissions. Cependant ce pays n'est pas sans industrie. Milord et Milady Sheffield vous embrassent très amicalement. Ce sera pour moi la perte la plus sensible.

N° CLXXVII.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to the Right Honourable Lord* SHEFFIELD.

Monday, August 18th, 1783.

IN the preparation of my journey I have not felt any circumstance more deeply than the kind concern of Lady Sheffield and the silent grief of Mrs. Porten. Yet the age of my friends makes a very essential difference. I can scarcely hope ever to see my aunt again; but I flatter myself, that in less than two years, my *sister** will make me a visit, and that in less than four, I shall return it with a cheerful heart at Sheffield-place. Business advances; this morning my books were shipped for Rouen, and will reach Lausanne almost

* Meaning Lady Sheffield.

as soon as myself. On Thursday morning the bulk of the library moves from Bentinck-street to Downing-street. I shall escape from the noise to Hampton Court, and spend three or four days in taking leave. I want to know your precise motions, what day you arrive in town, whether you visit Lord * * * * * * before the races, &c. I am now impatient to be gone, and shall only wait for a last interview with you. Your medley of judges, advocates, politicians, &c. is rather *useful* than pleasant. Town is a vast solitude. Adieu.

N° CLXXVIII.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to the Right Honourable Lord* SHEFFIELD.

Bentinck-street, Aug. 20th, 1783.

I AM now concluding one of the most unpleasant days of my life. Will the day of our meeting again be accompanied with proportionable satisfaction? The business of preparation will serve to agitate and divert *my* thoughts; but I do not like your brooding over melancholy ideas in your solitude, and I heartily wish that both you and my dear Lady S. would immediately go over and pass a week at Brighton. Such is our imperfect nature, that dissipation is a far more efficacious remedy than reflection. At all events, let me hear from you soon. I have passed the evening at home, without gaining any intelligence.

N°

N° CLXXIX.

M. Deyverdun *à M.* Gibbon.

De Neuchâtel, le 20 Août, 1783.

Il y a long tems que je n'ai été aussi mécontent de moi que je le suis dans ce moment; j'ai fait par l'événement une grande étourderie; j'ai manqué à ceux qui me quittent, et à celui qui vient me joindre; enfin je me suis très mal conduit. M. * * *, qui loge chez moi, me paroîssoit si disposé à quitter ma maison, quand je partis au printems, que ne doutant pas qu'il ne trouvât à s'arranger pendant tout l'été, je la regardois déjà d'avance comme vacante. Le plaisir extrême que j'avois à vous l'offrir, n'a pas peu contribué à soutenir cette illusion; enfin n'entendant parler cependant de rien, je lui ai écrit, après avoir reçu il y a six jours votre dernière, et il vient de me répondre qu'il n'a rien trouvé encore, mais qu'il n'épargnera ni soins ni dépenses, pour déloger, je ne lui ai au reste point marqué de quoi il étoit question; mais je l'ai prié de me dire à quelle époque il croyoit que ma maison pourroit être vacante. Je lui récrirai demain, car il me paroît qu'il est piqué, et tel que je le connois, malgré ce que je pourrai lui marquer, il sera fort empressé à décamper; mais malgré cela, il ne faut plus compter sur la maison entière pour votre arrivée.

Je vous demande mille pardons, mon cher ami, je me mets à votre merci; et en vérité si vous me voyiez en ce moment, vous auriez pitié de moi. Que

Que nous reste-t-il à faire? car enfin il ne faut pas perdre la tête. J'ai un appartement de deux chambres sans lit, et deux petits cabinets, où vous pourriez être passablement, en attendant que la maison fût tout à fait libre; le tout est à plein pied de la terrasse; je me procurerois un logement au bout de mon jardin, et nous pourrions nous faire apporter à manger, chose pratiquée par nombre de Grands Seigneurs, entr'autres par Monseigneur le Margrave d'Anspach. 2. Ou bien louer un appartement garni que nous occuperons ensemble. Ou enfin 3. passer l'hyver dans quelle autre ville du Continent qu'il vous plaira choisir, ou j'irai vous joindre et vous porter mes excuses. Une réflexion que je fais dans ce moment-ci, et qui me console un peu, c'est que dans votre première lettre, votre résolution ne tenoit point à ma maison, ni même à l'idée de loger et vivre avec moi. Ce second article aura toujours lieu, s'il vous convient, et le premier ne sera que différé; ainsi appaisez-vous, mon cher ami, pardonnez-moi, et écrivez-moi tout de suite lequel de ces partis vous convient le mieux, pour que je m'y conforme; ou si vous en imaginez un nouveau, annoncez-le-moi. Une réflexion qui contribue encore à me consoler, c'est que pendant le tems que nous camperons ainsi en quelque manière, nous aurons le tems de bien voir autour de nous, et de nous arranger à notre aise, d'une manière stable et commode pour notre établissement. Encore une fois cependant, mon cher ami, mille pardons.

Milord

Milord Sheffield s'est montré plus raisonnable que je ne l'aurois cru; diantre! n'allez pas dire cela à sa seigneurie; mais dites-lui, je vous prie, combien me plait l'espoir d'avoir l'honneur de le connoître; je vois encore d'ici son beau parc et le charmant ruisseau. Son suffrage dans des circonstances qui doivent sans doute le prévenir contre moi, me fait le plus grand plaisir, parceque je le regarde comme une bien forte preuve que vous prenez un parti convenable à votre bonheur. Des commissions, je ne saurois trop que vous dire dans ce moment; comme vous avez une maison montée, voy ezs'il n'y auroit pas des choses anglaises auxquelles vous êtes accoutumé, et qui vous feroient plaisir, on en pourroit remplir une caisse. Un service de cette porcelaine de Bath, par exemple, nous conviendroit, ce me semble, assez.

Une de mes craintes maintenant, c'est que cette lettre ne vous parvienne peut-être point avant votre départ; cela seroit très facheux. Toujours aurai-je soin de me trouver à Lausanne, au moins vers le milieu du mois prochain. Des couriers, comme celui que vous amenez, sont ordinairement de vrais domestiques de Grands Seigneurs, chers et importans; mais vous les connoîtrez en route. Ne soyez pas trop faché contre moi, du contretems que je vous annonce, et pensez qu'il y a enfin un appartement honnête de garçon, ma terrasse, mon jardin et votre ami, qui ne peuvent vous manquer—

Tout à vous,

D.

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N° CLXXX.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to the Right Honourable Lord* SHEFFIELD.

Friday, August 22d, 1783.

I AM astonished with your apparition and flight, and am at a loss to conjecture the mighty and sudden business of * * * * *, which could not be delayed till next week. Timeo * * * * * their selfish cunning, and your sanguine unsuspecting spirit. Not dreaming of your arrival, I thought it unnecessary to apprise you, that I delayed my visit to Hampton to this day; on Monday I shall return, and will expect you Tuesday evening, either in Bentinck or Downing-street, as you like best. You have seen the piles of learning accumulated in your parlour; the transportation will be achieved to day, and Bentinck-street is already reduced to a light, ignorant habitation, which I shall inhabit till about the first of September; four days must be allowed for clearing and packing; these I shall spend in Downing-street, and after seeing you a moment on your return, I shall start about Saturday the sixth. London is a desert, and life, without books, business, or society, will be somewhat tedious. From this state, you will judge that your plan coincides very well, only I think you should give me the whole of Wednesday in Bentinck-street. With regard to Bushy, perhaps as a compliment to Lord L. you had better defer it till your return. I admire Gregory Way, and should envy him, if I did not possess a disposition somewhat

what similar to his own. My lady will be reposed, and restored at Brighton; the torrent of Lords, Judges, &c. a proper remedy for you, was a medicine ill-suited to her constitution. I *tenderly* embrace her.

N° CLXXXI.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to* * * * * * *.

MY LORD,

I AM ignorant (as I ought to be) of the present state of our negociations of peace; I am likewise ignorant how far I may appear qualified to co-operate in this important and salutary work. If, from any advantages of language or local connections, your lordship should think that my services might be usefully employed, particularly in any future intercourse with the Court of France, permit me to say, that my love of ease and literary leisure shall never stand in competition with the obligations of duty and gratitude which I owe to his Majesty's government.

I am, with the highest respect,

My Lord, &c.

N° CLXXXII.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to the Right Honourable Lady* SHEFFIELD.

Bentinck-street, August 30th, 1783.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

FOR the names of Sheffelina, &c. are too playful for the serious temper of my mind. In the whole period

period of my life I do not recollect a day in which I felt more unpleasant sensations, than that on which I took my leave of Sheffield-place. I forgot my friend Deyverdun, and the fair prospect of quiet and happiness which awaits me at Lausanne. I lost sight of our almost certain meeting at the end of a term, which, at our age, cannot appear very distant; nor could I amuse my uneasiness with the hopes, the more doubtful prospect, of your visit to Switzerland. The agitation of preparing every thing for my departure has, in some degree, diverted these melancholy thoughts; yet I still look forwards to the decisive day (to-morrow se'nnight) with an anxiety of which yourself and Lord Sheffield have the principal share.

Surely never any thing was so unlucky as the unseasonable death of Sir John Russel, on his passage to his friend at Sheffield-place, which so strongly reminded us of the instability of human life and human expectations. The inundation of the assizes must have distressed and overpowered you; but I hope and I wish to hear from yourself, that the air of your favourite Brighton, the bathing, and the quiet society of two or three friends have composed and revived your spirits. Present my love to Sarah, and compliments to Miss Carter, &c. Give me a speedy and satisfactory line.

I am most truly yours.

N° CLXXXIII.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to the Right Hon. Lord* SHEFFIELD.

Downing-street, Sept. 8th, 1783.

As we are not unconscious of each other's feelings, I shall only say, that I am glad you did not go alone into Sussex; an American rebel* to dispute with gives a diversion to uneasy spirits, and I heartily wished for such a friend or adversary during the remainder of the day. No letter from Deyverdun; the post is arrived, but two Flanders mails are due. Æolus does not seem to approve of my designs, and there is little merit in waiting till Friday. I should wait with more reluctance, did I think there was much chance of success. I dine with Craufurd, and if any thing is decided, will send an extraordinary Gazette. You have obliged me beyond expression, by your kindness to aunt Kitty;† she will drink her afternoon tea at Sheffield next Friday. For my sake Lady Sheffield will be kind to the old lady, who will not be troublesome, and will vanish at the first idea of Brighton. Has not that salubrious air already produced some effects? Peace will be proclaimed to-morrow; odd! as war was never declared. The buyers of stock seem as indifferent as yourself about the definitive treaty. Tell Maria, that though you had forgotten the

* Mr. Silas Deane, formerly in a diplomatic situation at Paris; a man well-informed in the commercial relations of several countries.

† Mrs. Porten.

Annales

Annales de la Vertu, I have directed them to be sent, but know nothing of their plan or merit. Adieu. When you see my Lady, say every thing tender and friendly to her. I did not know how much I loved her. She may depend upon my keeping a separate, though not perhaps a very frequent account with her. *A propos*, I think aunt Kitty has a secret wish to sleep in my room; if it is not occupied, she might be indulged. Once more, adieu.

N° CLXXXIV.

M. Gibbon *à M.* Deyverdun.

Downing-street, à Londres, le 9 Septembre, 1783.

Selon ma diligence ordinaire je répondis le 31 Juillet à votre lettre sans date, reçue le jour auparavant. Je voyois couler le mois d'Août, fortement persuadé, qu'il ne s'acheveroit point, sans m'apporter votre *ultimatum*. Nous voici au 9 Septembre, quarante jours depuis ma missive, et je n'ai point encore de vos nouvelles! Il est vrai que des vents contraires nous retiennent deux malles de Flandres, et vos dépêches peuvent et doivent s'y trouver. Mais si elles ne m'apportent rien de votre part, je serai très étonné, et pas moins embarrassé. Se peut-il que vos lettres, ou les miennes se soient égarées en chemin? êtes vous mort? êtes vous malade? avez vous changé d'avis? est-il survenu des difficultés? Je vous ai écrit de nouveau le 19 Août; mais l'incertitude de mes craintes me fait encore hasarder ce billet. Après des travaux inouis, j'ai enfin

enfin brisé tous mes liens, et depuis ma résolution je n'ai pas eu un instant de regrets; ma vive impatience se fortifie tous les jours, et depuis que j'ai abandonné ma maison et ma bibliothèque, l'ennui a prêté des ailes à l'espérance et à l'amitié. Enfin j'avois fixé mon départ au commencement de la semaine; à cette heure il est renvoyé à Vendredi prochain, 12 de ce mois, dans la supposition toujours d'une lettre de votre part, car je ne saurois entreprendre ma course sans être assuré de la réception qui m'attend au bout. Je me ferai toujours précéder par un mot de billet; mais la saison est tellement orageuse, qu'il me sera impossible d'arrêter le jour de mon arrivée à Lausanne, jusqu'à ce que je me voye en sureté au-delà de la mer. Adieu. Vous devez être de retour à Lausanne. Annoncez moi aux enfans de mes anciennes connoissances.

N° CLXXXV.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to the Right Honourable Lord* SHEFFIELD.

Thursday, September 11th, 1783.

THE scheme*(which you may impart to my Lady) is completely vanished, and I support the disappointment with heroic patience. Craufurd goes down to Chatsworth to-morrow, and Fox does not recommend my waiting for the event; yet the appointment is not yet declared, and I am ignorant of the name and merits of my successful compe-

* Of going as Secretary to the Embassy to Paris.

titor. Is it not wonderful that I am still in suspence, without a letter from Deyverdun? No, it is not wonderful, since no Flanders mail is arrived: to-morrow three will be due. I am therefore in a miserable state of doubt and anxiety; in a much better house indeed than my own, but without books, or business, or society. I send or call two or three times each day to Elmsly's, and can only say that I shall fly the next day, Saturday, Sunday, &c. after I have got my *quietus*. No news, except that we keep Negapatnam. The other day the French Ambassador mentioned that the Empress of Russia, a precious ———, had proposed to ratify the principles of the armed neutrality, by a definitive treaty; but that the French, obliging creatures! had declared, that they would neither propose nor accept an article so disagreeable to England. Grey Elliot was pleased with your attention, and says you are a perfect master of the subject.* Adieu. If I could be sure that no mail would arrive to-morrow, I would run down with my aunt. My heart is not light. I embrace my Lady with true affection, but I need not repeat it.

N° CLXXXVI.

Lord LOUGHBOROUGH *to* EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq.*

MY DEAR SIR, Bedford-square, Sept. 11th, 1783.

THIS is not literally but not far from it, the first time since I have attempted to write; when you

* Policy of Great Britain towards America.

did

did me the favour to call, I was less able to speak. My disorder, which, in substance, I believe, was gout, assumed so different a form that it misled my medical friends; and in the puzzle I have suffered more, and been more seriously in danger than I ever was. At present I recover sensibly, but very slowly; and I am to try about the middle of the week, a very slow journey to Buxton.

Your letter was a real addition to my complaints at the time I received it, and I cannot yet bring myself to look at it with a healthy eye. Many selfish considerations mingle themselves with my judgment upon it, and, no doubt, bias my opinion. I extremely regret the loss of your society, which in a more settled state than the late times have afforded, I hoped to have enjoyed more frequently. I am confident that not only Lord North, but some other friends of yours, who, if any thing is permanent, would have found their consequence increase, never would have lost sight of your object. Absence delays and slackens the most active pursuits of one's friends, and though some of us will miss you too often to forget, we shall want to conjure you back again to remind others.

I shall beg the favour of Lord Sheffield to do nothing about your seat without apprizing me. My state of health drives me as fast as I can to Buxton, and the moment I feel myself re-established, a thousand cares will bring me back to London. I do not propose to be gone above a month, and I trust you will not have taken your

departure before the 10th of next month, when I hope to see you.

I ever am, my dear Sir,
Your's most sincerely,
LOUGHBOROUGH.

N° CLXXXVII.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to the Right Honourable Lord* SHEFFIELD.

Downing-street, Friday, Sept. 12th, 1783.

SINCE my departure is near, and inevitable, you and Lady Sheffield will be rather sorry than glad to hear that I am detained, day after day, by the caprice of the winds. A state of suspence is painful, but it will be alleviated by the short notes which I mean to write, and hope to receive, every post. A separation has some advantages, though they are purchased with bitter pangs; among them is the pleasure of knowing how dear we are to our friends, and how dear they are to us. It will be a kind office to sooth aunt Kitty's sorrows, and "to rock the cradle of declining age." She will be vexed to hear that I am not yet gone; but she is reasonable and cheerful. Adieu. Most truly yours.

N° CLXXXVIII.

The Same to the Same.

Downing-street, Saturday, September 13th, 1783.

Enfin la bombe a crevé.—The three Flanders mails are arrived this day, but without any letters from Deyverdun. Most incomprehensible! After many

many adverse reflections, I have finally resolved to begin my journey on Monday; a heavy journey, with much apprehension, and much regret. Yet I consider, first, That if he is alive and well, (an unpleasant *if,*) scarcely any event can have happened to disappoint our mutual wishes; and, 2dly, That, supposing the very worst, even that worst would not overthrow my general plan of living abroad, though it would derange my hopes of a quiet and delightful establishment with my friend. Upon the whole, without giving way to melancholy fears, my reason conjectures that his indolence thought it superfluous to write any more, that it was my business to act and move, and his duty to sit still and receive me with open arms. London is a desert. Sir Henry Clinton found me out this morning: he talks with rapture of visits to be made at Sheffield, and returned at Brighton. I envy him those visits more than the red ribbon. Adieu.

N° CLXXXIX.

The Same to the Same.

Dover, Wednesday, 17th September, 1783, ten o'clock in the morning.

THE best laws are useless without proper guardians. Your letter per Sunday's post is not arrived, (as its fate is uncertain and irrevocable, you must repeat any material article,) but that per Monday's post reached me last night. Oliver* is more insolent

* Mr. Oliver Cromwell, the only male descendant of the Protector; a respectable Solicitor, with whom I transacted some

solent than his great-grandfather; but you will cope with one, and would not have been much afraid of the other. Last night the wind was so high, that the vessel could not stir from the harbour; this day it is brisk and fair. We are flattered with the hope of making Calais harbour by the same tide, in three hours and a half; but any delay will leave the disagreeable option of a tottering boat or a tossing night. What a cursed thing to live in an island, this step is more awkward than the whole journey! The triumvirate of this memorable embarkation will consist of the grand Gibbon, Henry Laurence, Esq. President of Congress, and Mr. Secretary, Colonel, Admiral, Philosopher, Thompson,* attended by three horses, who are not the most agreeable fellow passengers. If we survive, I will finish and seal my letter at Calais. Our salvation shall be ascribed to the prayers of my Lady and Aunt; for I do believe they both pray.

Boulogne, Thursday Morning, Ten o'clock.

Instead of Calais, the wind has driven us to Boulogne, where we landed in the evening, without much noise and difficulty. The night is passed, the custom-house is dispatched, the post-horses are ordered, and I shall start about eleven o'clock. I had not the least symptom of sea-sickness, while

business on the part of Mr. Gibbon, and why my friend denominates him proud I cannot guess. He was a very sensible pleasing gentleman. S.

* Now Count Rumford.

my

my companions were spewing round me. Laurence has read the pamphlet,* and thinks it has done much mischief. A good sign! Adieu. The Captain is impatient. I shall reach Lausanne by the end of next week, but may probably write on the road.

N° CXC.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to the Right Honourable Lord* SHEFFIELD.

Langres, September 23d, 1783.

LET the geographical Maria place before you the map of France, and trace my progress as far as this place, through the following towns: Boulogne, (where I was forced to land,) St. Omer, (where I recovered my road,) Aire, Bethune, Douay, Cambray, St. Quintin, La Fere, Laon, Rheims, Chalons, St. Dizier, and Langres, where I have just finished my supper. The Inns, in general, more agreeable to the palate, than to the sight or smell. But, with some short exceptions of time and place, I have enjoyed good weather and good roads, and at the end of the ninth day, I feel so little fatigued, that the journey appears no more than a pleasant airing. I have generally conversed with Homer and Lord Clarendon, often with Caplin and Muff;† sometimes with the French postillions, of the abovementioned animals the least rational. To-

* Lord Sheffield's Observations on the Commerce of the American States.

† His dog.

morrow I lie at Besançon, and, according to the arrangement of post or hired horses, shall either sup at Lausanne on Friday, or dine there Saturday. From Lausanne I will immediately write. If aunt Kitty's gratitude and good-breeding have not driven her away upon the first whisper of Brighton, she will share this intelligence; if she is gone, a line from you would be humane and attentive. Adieu. I am going into an excellent bed, about six feet high from the ground.

N° CXCI.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to the Right Honourable Lord* SHEFFIELD.

Lausanne, September 30th, 1783.

I ARRIVED safe in harbour last Saturday, the 27th instant, about ten o'clock in the morning; but as the post only goes out twice a week, it was not in my power to write before this day. Except one day, between Langres and Besançon, which was laborious enough, I finished my easy and gentle airing without any fatigue, either of mind or body. I found Deyverdun well and happy, but much more happy at the sight of a friend, and the accomplishment of a scheme which he had so long and impatiently desired. His garden, terrace, and *park*, have even exceeded the most sanguine of my expectations and remembrances; and you yourself cannot have forgotten the charming prospect of the lake, the mountains, and the declivity of the Pays de Vaud. But as human life is perpetually

perpetually chequered with good and evil, I have found some disappointments on my arrival. The easy nature of Deyverdun, his indolence, and his impatience, had prompted him to reckon too positively that his house would be vacant at Michaelmas; some unforeseen difficulties have arisen, or have been discovered when it was already too late, and the consummation of our hopes is (I am much afraid) postponed to next spring. At first I was knocked down by the unexpected thunderbolt, but I have gradually been reconciled to my fate, and have granted a free and gracious pardon to my friend. As his own apartment, which afforded me a temporary shelter, is much too narrow for a settled residence, we hired for the winter a convenient ready-furnished apartment in the nearest part of the Rue de Bourg, whose back door leads in three steps to the terrace and garden, as often as a tolerable day shall tempt us to enjoy their beauties; and this arrangement has even its advantage, of giving us time to deliberate and provide, before we enter on a larger and more regular establishment. But this is not the sum of my misfortunes; hear, and pity! The day after my arrival (Sunday) we had just finished a very temperate dinner, and intended to begin a round of visits on foot, *chapeau sous le bras*, when, most unfortunately, Deyverdun proposed to shew me something in the court; we boldly and successfully ascended a flight of stone steps, but in the descent I missed my footing, and strained, or sprained, my ancle in a painful manner. My old latent

latent enemy, (I do not mean the Devil,) who is always on the watch, has made an ungenerous use of his advantage, and I much fear that my arrival at Lausanne will be marked with a fit of the gout, though it is quite unnecessary that the intelligence or suspicion should find its way to Bath. Yesterday afternoon I lay, or at least sat, in state to receive visits, and at the same moment my room was filled with four different nations. The loudest of these nations was the single voice of the Abbé Raynal, who, like your friend, has chosen this place for the asylum of freedom and history. His conversation, which might be very agreeable, is intolerably loud, peremptory, and insolent; and you would imagine that he alone was the monarch and legislator of the world. Adieu. I embrace my Lady, and the infants. With regard to the important transactions for which you are constituted plenipotentiary, I expect with some impatience, but with perfect confidence, the result of your labours. You may remember what I mentioned of my conversation with Charles Fox about the place of Minister at Berne: I have talked it over with Deyverdun, who does not dislike the idea, provided this place was allowed to be my villa, during at least two-thirds of the year; but for my part, I am sure that * * * * * are worth more than ministerial friendship and gratitude; so I am inclined to think, that they are preferable to an office which would be procured with difficulty, enjoyed with constraint and expense, and lost, perhaps,

perhaps, next April, in the annual revolutions of our domestic government. Again adieu.

N° CXCII.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to the Right Honourable Lady* SHEFFIELD.

Lausanne, October 28th, 1783.

THE progress of my gout is in general so regular, and there is so much uniformity in the History of its Decline and Fall, that I have hitherto indulged my laziness, without much shame or remorse, without supposing that you would be very anxious for my safety, which has been sufficiently provided for by the triple care of my friend Deyverdun, my humbler friend Caplin, and a very conversable physician, (not the famous Tissot), whose ordinary fee is ten batz, about fifteen pence English. After the usual increase and decrease of the member (for it has been confined to the injured part) the gout has retired in good order, and the remains of weakness, which obliged me to move on the rugged pavement of Lausanne with a stick, or rather small crutch, are to be ascribed to the sprain, which might have been a much more serious business. As I have now spent a month at Lausanne, you will inquire with much curiosity, more kindness, and some mixture of spite and malignity, how far the place has answered my expectations, and whether I do not repent of a resolution which has appeared so rash and ridiculous to my ambitious friends? To this question, however

ever natural and reasonable, I shall not return an immediate answer, for two reasons: 1. *I have not yet made a fair trial.* The disappointment and delay with regard to Deyverdun's house, will confine us this winter to lodgings, rather convenient than spacious or pleasant. I am only beginning to recover my strength and liberty, and to look about on persons and things; the greatest part of those persons are in the country taken up with their vintage; my books are not yet arrived, and, in short, I cannot look upon myself, as settled in that comfortable way which you and I understand and relish. Yet the weather has been heavenly, and till this time, the end of October, we enjoy the brightness of the sun, and somewhat gently complain of its immoderate heat. 2. If I should be too sanguine in explaining my satisfaction in what I have done, you would ascribe that satisfaction to the novelty of the scene, and the inconstancy of man; and I deem it far more safe and prudent to postpone any positive declaration, till I am placed by experience beyond the danger of repentance and recantation. Yet of one thing I am sure, that I possess in this country, as well as in England, the best cordial of life, a sincere, tender, and sensible friend, adorned with the most valuable and pleasant qualities both of the heart and head. The inferior enjoyments of leisure and society are likewise in my power; and in the short excursions which I have hitherto made, I have commenced or renewed my acquaintance with a certain number of persons, more especially women, (who, at least in

France

France and this country, are undoubtedly superior to our prouder sex,) of rational minds and elegant manners. I breakfast alone, and have declared that I receive no visits in a morning, which you will easily suppose is devoted to study. I find it impossible, without inconvenience, to defer my dinner beyond two o'clock. We have got a very good woman cook. Deyverdun, who is somewhat of an Epicurean philosopher, understands the management of a table, and we frequently invite a guest or two to share our luxurious, but not extravagant repasts. The afternoons are (and will be much more so hereafter) devoted to society, and I shall find it necessary to play at cards much oftener than in London: but I do not dislike that way of passing a couple of hours, and I shall not be ruined at shilling whist. As yet I have not supped, but in the course of the winter I must sometimes sacrifice an evening abroad, and in exchange I hope sometimes to steal a day at home, without going into company. * * * * * * *
I have all this time been talking to Lord Sheffield; I hope that he has dispatched my affairs, and it would give me pleasure to hear that I am no longer member for Lymington, nor Lord of *Lenborough*. Adieu. I feel every day that the distance serves only to make me think with more tenderness of the persons whom I love.

N°

N° CXCIII.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to the Right Honourable Lord* SHEFFIELD.

Lausanne, November 14th, 1783.

LAST Tuesday, November eleventh, after plaguing and vexing yourself all the morning, about some business of your fertile creation, you went to the House of Commons, and passed the afternoon, the evening, and perhaps the night, without sleep or food, stifled in a close room by the heated respiration of six hundred politicians, inflamed by party and passion, and tired of the repetition of dull nonsense, which, in that illustrious assembly, so far outweighs the proportion of reason and eloquence. On the same day, after a studious morning, a friendly dinner, and a cheerful assembly of both sexes, I retired to rest at eleven o'clock, satisfied with the past day, and certain that the next would afford me the return of the same quiet and rational enjoyments. *Which has the better bargain?* Seriously, I am every hour more grateful to my own judgment and resolution, and only regret that I so long delayed the execution of a favourite plan, which I am convinced is the best adapted to my character and inclinations. Your conjecture of the revolutions of my face, when I heard that the house was for this winter inaccessible, is probable, but false. I bore my disappointment with the temper of a sage, and only use it to render the prospect of next year still more pleasing to my imagination.

imagination. You are likewise mistaken, in imputing my fall to the awkwardness of my limbs. The same accident might have happened to Slingsby himself, or to any *hero* of the age, the most distinguished for his *bodily activity*. I have now resumed my entire strength, and walk with caution, yet with speed and safety, through the streets of this mountainous city. After a month of the finest autumn I ever saw, the *bise** made me feel my old acquaintance; the weather is now milder, and this present day is dark and rainy, not much better than what you probably enjoy in England. The town is comparatively empty, but the Noblesse are returning every day from their chateaux, and I already perceive that I shall have more reason to complain of dissipation than of dulness. As I told Lady S. I am afraid of being too rash and hasty in expressing my satisfaction; but I must again repeat, that appearances are extremely favourable. I am sensible that general praise conveys no distinct ideas, but it is very difficult to enter into particulars where the individuals are unknown, or indifferent to our correspondent. You have forgotten the *old* generation, and in twenty years a new one is grown up. Death has swept many from the world, and chance or choice has brought many to this place. If you inquire after your old acquaintance Catherine, you must be told, that she is solitary, ugly, blind, and universally forgotten. Your later flame, and our goddess, the Eliza,† passed a

* The North East wind.

† Lady Elizabeth Foster, now Duchess of Devonshire.

month

month at the inn. She came to consult Tissot, and was acquainted with Cerjat. And now to business. * * * * * * *

With regard to meaner cases, these are two, which you can and will undertake. 1. As I have not renounced my country, I should be glad to hear of your parliamentary squabbles, which may be done with small trouble and expense. After an interesting debate, my Lady in due time may cut the speeches from Woodfall. You will write or dictate any curious anecdote, and the whole, inclosed in a letter, may be dispatched to Lausanne. 2. A set of Wedgewood china, which we talked of in London, and which would be most acceptable here. As you have a *sort* of a taste, I leave to your own choice the colour and the pattern; but as I have the inclination and means to live very handsomely *here*, I desire that the size and number of things may be adequate to a plentiful table. If you see Lord North, assure him of my gratitude; had he been a more successful friend, I should now be drudging at the Board of Customs, or vexed with business in the amiable society of ———. To Lord Loughborough present an affectionate sentiment; I am satisfied of his intention to serve me, if I had not been in such a fidget. I am sure you will not fail, while you are in town, to visit and comfort poor aunt Kitty. I wrote to her on my first arrival, and she may be assured that I will not neglect her. To my Lady I say nothing; we have now our private correspondence, into which the eye of an husband should not be permitted to intrude.

intrude. I am really satisfied with the success of the pamphlet;* not only because I have a sneaking kindness for the author, but as it shews me that plain sense, full information, and warm spirit, are still acceptable in the world. You talk of Lausanne as a place of retirement, yet, from the situation and freedom of the Pays de Vaud, all nations, and all extraordinary characters, are astonished to meet each other. The Abbé Raynal, the grand Gibbon, and Mercier, author of the *Tableau de Paris*, have been in the same room. The other day the Prince and Princess de Ligne, the Duke and Duchess d'Ursel, &c. came from Brussels on purpose (literally true) to act a comedy at * * * * * *, in the country. He was dying, and could not appear; but we had comedy, ball, and supper. The event seems to have revived him; for that great man is fallen from his ancient glory, and his nearest relations refuse to see him. I told you of poor Catherine's deplorable state; but Madame de Mesery, at the age of sixty-nine, is still handsome. Adieu.

N° CXCIV.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to the Right Honourable Lord* SHEFFIELD.

Lausanne, December 20th, 1783.

I HAVE received both your epistles; and as any excuse will serve a man who is at the same time

* Observations on the Commerce with the American States.

very busy and very idle, I patiently expected the second, before I entertained any thoughts of answering the first. * * * * * *
I therefore conclude, that on every principle of common sense, before this moment your active zeal has already expelled me from the house, to which, without regret, I bid an everlasting farewel. The agreeable hour of five o'clock in the morning, at which you commonly retire, does not tend to revive my attachment; but if you add the soft hours of your morning Committee,* in the discussion of taxes, customs, frauds, smugglers, &c. I think I should beg to be released and quietly sent to the gallies, as a place of leisure and freedom. Yet I do not depart from my general principles of toleration. Some animals are made to live in the water, others on the earth, many in the air, and some, as it is now believed, even in fire. Your present hurry of Parliament I perfectly understand; when opposition make the attack,

—— *Horæ*
Momento cita mors venit, aut victoria læta.

But when the minister brings forward any strong and decisive measure, he at length prevails; but his progress is retarded at every step, and in every stage of the bill, by a pertinacious, though unsuccessful, minority. I am not sorry to hear of the splendour of Fox; I am proud, in a foreign country, of his fame and abilities, and our little animo-

* A select Committee for inquiring into frauds committed in respect to the revenue.

sities

sities are extinguished by my retreat from the English stage. With regard to the substance of the business, I scarcely know what to think: the vices of the Company,* both in their persons and their constitution, were manifold and manifest; the danger was imminent, and such an empire, with thirty millions of subjects, was not to be lost for trifles. Yet, on the other hand, the faith of charters, the rights of property! I hesitate and tremble. Such an innovation would at least require that the remedy should be as certain as the evil, and the proprietors may perhaps insinuate, that *they* were as competent guardians of their own affairs, as either * * * or * * * * * * *. Their acting without a salary, seems childish, and their not being removable by the Crown, is a strange and dangerous precedent. But enough of politics, which I now begin to view through a thin, cold, distant cloud, yet not without a reasonable degree of curiosity and patriotism. From the papers (especially when you add an occasional slice of the Chronicle) I shall be amply informed of facts and debates. From you I expect the causes, rather than the events, the true springs of action, and those interesting anecdotes which seldom ascend the garret of a Fleet-street editor. You say that many friends (alias acquaintance) have expressed curiosity and concern; I should not wish to be immediately forgotten. That others (you once mentioned Gerard Hamilton) condemn government, for suffering the

* East India Company.

departure of a man who might have done them some credit and some service, perhaps as much as * * * * himself. To you, in the confidence of friendship, and without either pride or resentment, I will fairly own that I am somewhat of Gerard's opinion; and if I did not compare it with the rest of his character, I should be astonished that * * * * suffered me to depart, without even a civil answer to my letter. Were I capable of hating a man, whom it is not easy to hate, I should find myself amply revenged by * * *. But the happy souls in Paradise are susceptible only of love and pity, and though Lausanne is not a Paradise, more especially in winter, I do assure you, in sober prose, that it has hitherto fulfilled, and even surpassed, my warmest expectation. Yet I often cast a look toward Sheffield-Place, where you now repose, if you can repose, during the Christmas recess. Embrace my Lady, the young Baroness, and the gentle Louisa, and insinuate to your silent Consort, that separate letters require separate answers. Had I an air balloon, the great topic of modern conversation, I would call upon you till the meeting of Parliament. *Vale.*

N° CXCV.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to Mrs.* PORTEN.

DEAR MADAM, Lausanne, December 27th, 1783.

THE unfortunate are loud and loquacious in their complaints, but real happiness is content with its own silent enjoyment; and if that happiness is of a quiet

a quiet uniform kind, we suffer days and weeks to elapse without communicating our sensations to a distant friend. By you, therefore, whose temper and understanding have extracted from human life on every occasion the best and most comfortable ingredients, my silence will always be interpreted as an evidence of content, and you would only be alarmed (the danger is not at hand) by the too frequent repetition of my letters. Perhaps I should have continued to slumber, I don't know how long, had I not been awakened by the anxiety which you express in your last letter. * * * * *

In speaking of the happiness which I enjoy, you will agree with me, in giving the preference to a sincere and sensible friend; and though you cannot discern the full extent of his merit, you will easily believe that Deyverdun is the man. Perhaps two persons so perfectly fitted to live together, were never formed by nature and education. We have both read and seen a great variety of objects; the lights and shades of our different characters are happily blended, and a friendship of thirty years has taught us to enjoy our mutual advantages, and to support our unavoidable imperfections. In love and marriage, some harsh sounds will sometimes interrupt the harmony, and in the course of time, like our neighbours, we must expect some disagreeable moments; but confidence and freedom are the two pillars of our union, and I am much mistaken, if the building be not solid and comfortable. In this season I rise (not at four in the morning) but a little before eight; at nine, I am called from

my study to breakfast, which I always perform alone, in the English style, and, with the aid of Caplin,* I perceive no difference between Lausanne and Bentinck-street. Our mornings are usually passed in separate studies; we never approach each other's door without a previous message, or thrice knocking, and my apartment is already sacred and formidable to strangers. I dress at half past one, and at two (an early hour, to which I am not perfectly reconciled) we sit down to dinner. After dinner, and the departure of our company, one, two, or three friends, we read together some amusing book, or play at chess, or retire to our rooms, or make visits, or go to the coffee-house. Between six and seven the assemblies begin, and I am oppressed only with their number and variety. Whist, at shillings or half-crowns, is the game I generally play, and I play three rubbers with pleasure. Between nine and ten we withdraw to our bread and cheese, and friendly converse, which sends us to bed at eleven; but these sober hours are too often interrupted by private or numerous suppers, which I have not the courage to resist, though I practise a laudable abstinence at the best furnished tables. Such is the skeleton of my life; it is impossible to communicate a perfect idea of the vital and substantial parts, the characters of the men and women with whom I have very easily connected myself in looser and closer bonds, according to their inclination and my own. If I do

* His English valet de chambre.

not

not deceive myself, and if Deyverdun does not flatter me, I am already a general favourite; and as our likings and dislikes are commonly mutual, I am equally satisfied with the freedom and elegance of manners, and (after proper allowances and exceptions) with the worthy and amiable qualities of many individuals. The autumn has been beautiful, and the winter hitherto mild, but in January we must expect some severe frost. Instead of rolling in a coach, I walk the streets, wrapped up in a fur cloak; but this exercise is wholesome, and except an accidental fit of the gout of a few days, I never enjoyed better health. I am no longer in Pavillard's house, where I was almost starved with cold and hunger, and you may be assured that I now enjoy every benefit of comfort, plenty, and even decent luxury. You wish me happy; acknowledge that such a life is more conducive to happiness, than five nights in the week passed in the House of Commons, or five mornings spent at the Custom-house. Send me, in return, a fair account of your own situation in mind and body. I am satisfied your own good sense would have reconciled you to inevitable separation; but there never was a more suitable diversion than your visit to Sheffield-Place. Among the innumerable proofs of friendship which I have received from that family, there are none which affect me more sensibly than their kind civilities to you, though I am persuaded that they are at least as much on your account as on mine. At length Madame de * * * * * is delivered by her tyrant's death;

her daughter, a valuable woman of this place, has made some inquiries, and though her own circumstances are narrow, she will not suffer her father's widow to be left totally destitute. I am glad you derived so much melancholy pleasure from the letters, yet had I known it, I should have withheld

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N° CXCVI.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to the Right Honourable Lord* SHEFFIELD.

Lausanne, January 24th, 1784.

WITHIN two or three days after your last *gracious* epistle, your complaints were silenced, and your inquiries were satisfied, by an ample dispatch of four pages which overflowed the inside of the cover, and in which I exposed my opinions of things in general, public as well as private, as they existed in my mind, in my state of ignorance and error, about the eighteenth or twentieth of last month. Within a week after that date I epistolised, in the same rich and copious strain, the two venerable females of Newman-street and Bath, whose murmurings must now be changed into songs of gratitude and applause. My correspondence with the holy matron of Northamptonshire has been less lively and loquacious. You have not forgotten the author's vindication of himself from the foul calumnies of pretended Christians. Within a fortnight after his arrival at Lausanne,

Lausanne, he communicated the joyful event to Mrs. Esther Gibbon. She answered, per return of post, both letters at the same time, and in very dutiful language, almost excusing her advice, which was intended for my spiritual, as well as temporal good, and assuring me, that *nobody should be able to injure me with her.* Unless the saint is an hypocrite, such an expression must convey a favourable and important meaning. At all events, it is worth giving *ourselves* some trouble about her, without indulging any sanguine expectations of inheritance. So much for my females; with regard to my male correspondents, you are the only one to whom I have given any signs of my existence, though I have formed many a generous resolution. Yet I am not insensible of the kind and friendly manner in which Lord Loughborough has distinguished me. He could have no inducements of interest, and now that I view the distant picture with impartial eyes, I am convinced that (for a statesman) he was sincere in his wishes to serve me. When you see *him*, the Paynes, Eden, Craufurd, &c. tell them that I am well, happy, and ashamed. On your side, the zeal and diligence of your pen has surprised and delighted me, and your letters, at this interesting moment, are exactly such as I wished them to be—authentic anecdotes, and rational speculations, worthy of a man who acts a part in the great theatre, and who fills a seat, not only in the general Pandæmonium, but in the private council of the Princes of the infernal regions.

With

With regard to the detail of parliamentary operations, I must repeat my request to you, or rather to my Lady, who will now be on the spot, that she will write, not with her pen, but with her scissars, and that after every debate which deserves to pass the sea and the mountains, she will dissect the faithful narrative of Woodfall, and send it off by the next post, as an agreeable supplement to the meagre accounts of our weekly papers. The wonderful revolutions of last month have sounded to my ear more like the shifting scenes of a comedy, or comic opera, than like the sober events of real and modern history; and the irregularity of our winter posts, which sometimes retarded, and sometimes hastened the arrival of the dispatches, has increased the confusion of our ideas. Surely the Lord has blinded the eyes of Pharaoh and his servants; the obstinacy of last spring was nothing compared to the headstrong and headlong madness of this winter. I expect with much impatience the first days of your meeting; the purity and integrity of the coalition will suffer a fiery trial; but if they are true to themselves and to each other, a majority of the House of Commons must prevail; the rebellion of the young gentlemen will be crushed, and the masters will resume the government of the school. After the address and answer, I have no conception that Parliament can be dissolved during the session; but if the present Ministry can outlive the storm, I think the death-warrant will infallibly be signed in the summer.

Here

Here I blush for my country, without confessing her shame. Fox acted like a man of honour, yet surely his union with Pitt affords the only hope of salvation. How miserably are we wasting the season of peace!

I have written three pages before I come to my own business and feelings. * * * * * * *

N° CXCVII.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to the Right Honourable Lord* SHEFFIELD.

BARON! Lausanne, February 2d, 1784.

AFTER my last enormous dispatch, nothing can remain, except some small gleanings, or occasional hints: and thus in order: I am not conscious that any of your valuable MSS. have miscarried, or that I have omitted to answer any essential particulars. They stand in my bureau carefully arranged, and docketed under the following dates; September twenty-three, October twenty-three, November eighteen, December two, December fifteen, December nineteen, December twenty-three, December twenty-nine, January sixteen, which last I received this day, February second. For greater perspicuity, it will not be amiss (on either side) to number our future epistles, by a conspicuous Roman character inscribed in the front, to which we may at any time refer. But instead of writing by Ostend, the shorter and surer way, especially on all occasions that deserve celerity, will be

be to inclose them to my banker, M. de Lessart at Paris, who will forward them to me. Through Germany the passage by sea is more uncertain, the roads worse, and the distance greater: we often complain of delay and irregularity at this interesting moment. By your last I find that you have boldly and generously opened a treaty with the enemy, which I proposed with fear and hesitation. I impatiently expect the result; and again repeat, that *whatever* you can obtain for * * * * I shall consider it as so much saved out of the fire, &c. &c. Do you remember Dunning's motion (in the year 1780) to address the Crown against a dissolution of Parliament; a simple address we rejected, as an infringement on the prerogative? yet how far short of these strong democratical measures, for which you have probably voted, as I should probably have done: such is the contagion of party. Fox drives most furiously, yet I should not be surprised if Pitt's moderation and character should insensibly win the nation, and even the House, to espouse his cause. * * * * * * Unless when I look back on England with a selfish or a tender regard, my hours roll away very pleasantly, and I can again repeat with truth, that I have not regretted one single moment the step which I have taken. We are now at the height of the winter dissipation, and I am peculiarly happy when I can steal away from great assemblies, and suppers of twenty or thirty people, to a more private party of some of those persons whom I begin

to

to call my friends. Till we are settled in our house little can be expected on our side; yet I have already given two or three handsome dinners; and though every thing is grown dearer, I am not alarmed at the general view of my expense. Deyverdun salutes you; and we are agreed that few married couples are better entitled to the flitch of bacon than we shall be at the end of the year. When I had written about half this epistle my books arrived: at our first meeting all was rapture and confusion, and two or three posts, from the second to this day, the fourteenth, have been suffered to depart unnoticed. Your letter of the twenty-seventh of January, which was not received till yesterday, has again awakened me, and I thought the surest way would be to send off this single sheet without any farther delay.

I sincerely rejoice in the stability of Parliament;* and the first faint dawn of reconciliation, which must however be effected by the equal balance of parties, rather than by the wisdom of the country gentlemen.†

My Lady!—But it would be highly incongruous to begin my letter at the bottom of the page. Adieu, therefore, till next post.

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

† At the St. Alban's Tavern.

N° CXCVIII.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to the Right Honourable Lord* SHEFFIELD.

Lausanne, May 11th, 1784.

ALAS! alas! alas! We may now exchange our mutual condolence. Last Christmas, on the change of administration, I was struck with the thunderbolt of the unexpected event, and in the approaching dissolution I foresaw the loss of * * * * * * * * *. The long continuance and various changes of the tempest rendered me by degrees callous and insensible; when the art of the mariners was exhausted I felt that we were sinking, I expected the ship to founder, and when the fatal moment arrived, I was even pleased to be delivered from hope and fear, to the calmness of despair. I now turn my eyes, not on the past, but on the present and the future; what is lost I try to consider as if it never had existed; and every day I congratulate my own good fortune, let me say my prudence and resolution, in migrating from your noisy stage to a scene of repose and content. But even in this separate state, I was still anxious for my friend upon English earth, and at first was much delighted with your hint, that you were setting off for Coventry, without any prospect of an opposition. Every post, Wednesdays and Saturdays, I eagerly looked for the intelligence of your victory; and in spite of my misbehaviour, which I do not deny, I must abuse *my Lady*, rather than you, for leaving me in so painful a situation.

Each

Each day raised and increased my apprehension; the *Courier de l'Europe* first announced the contest, the English papers proclaimed your defeat, and your last letter, which I received four days ago, shewed me that you exerted first the spirit, and at last the temper of an hero. I am not much surprised that you should have been swept away in the general unpopularity, since even in this quiet place, your friends are considered as a factious crew, acting in direct opposition both to the King and people. For myself I am at a loss what to say. If this repulse should teach you to renounce all connection with Kings and Ministers, and Patriots and Parties, and Parliaments; for all of which you are by many degrees too honest; I should exclaim, with Teague of respectable memory, "By my shoul, dear joy, you have *gained* a loss." Private life, whether contemplative or active, has surely more solid and independent charms; you have *some* domestic comforts; Sheffield-place is still susceptible of useful and ornamental improvements, (alas! how much better might even the last pounds have been laid out!) and if these cares are not sufficient to occupy your leisure, I can trust your restless and enterprising spirit to find new methods to preserve you from the insipidity of repose. But I much fear your discontent and regret at being excluded from that Pandæmonium which we have so often cursed, as long as you were obliged to attend it. The leaders of the party will flatter you with the opinion of their friendship and your own importance; the warmth of

of your temper makes you credulous and unsuspicious; and, like the rest of our species, male and female, you are not absolutely deaf to the voice of praise. Some other place will be suggested, easy, honourable, certain, where nothing is wanted but a man of character and spirit to head a superior interest; the opposition, if any, is contemptible, and the expense cannot be large. You will go down, find almost every circumstance falsely stated, repent that you had engaged yourself, but you cannot desert those friends who are firmly attached to your cause; besides, the money you have already spent would have been thrown away; another thousand will complete the business: deeper and deeper will you plunge, and the last evil will be worse than the first. You see I am a free-spoken counsellor; may I not be a true prophet! Did I consult my own wishes, I should observe to you, that as you are no longer a slave, you might soon be transported, as you seem to desire, to one of the Alpine hills. The purity and calmness of the air is the best calculated to allay the heat of a political fever; the education of the two Princesses might be successfully conducted under your eye and that of my Lady; and if you had resolution to determine on a residence, not a visit, at Lausanne, your worldly affairs might repose themselves after their late fatigues. But you know that *I* am a friend to toleration, and am always disposed to make the largest allowance for the different natures of animals; a lion and a lamb, an eagle and a worm. I am afraid we are too quiet for you; here it would not

not be easy for you to create any business; you have for some time neglected books, and I doubt whether you would not think our suppers and assemblies somewhat trifling and insipid. You are far more difficult than I am; you are in search of information, and you are not content with your company, unless you can derive from them information or extraordinary amusement. For my part, I like to draw knowledge from books, and I am satisfied with polite attention and easy manners. Finally, I am happy to tell, and you will be happy to hear, that this place has in every respect exceeded my best and most sanguine hopes. How often have you said, as often as I expressed any ill-humour against the hurry, the expense, and the precarious condition of my London life, "Ay, that is a nonsensical scheme of retiring to Lausanne that you have got into your head, a pretty fancy; you remember how much you liked it in your youth, but you have now seen more of the world, and if you were to try it again, you would find yourself woefully disappointed." I had it in my head, in my heart, I have tried it, I have not been disappointed, and my knowledge of the world has served only to convince me, that a capital and a crowd may contain much less real society, than the small circle of this gentle retirement. The winter has been longer, but as far as I can learn, less rigorous than in the rest of Europe. The spring is now bursting upon us, and in our own garden it is displayed in all its glory. I already occupy a temporary apartment, and we live in the lower part

of the house; before you receive this we shall be in full possession. We have much to enjoy and something to do, which I take to be the happiest condition of human life. Now for business, the kind of subject which I always undertake with the most reluctance, and leave with the most pleasure. * * * * * * * * *

Adieu.

And now, my Lady,

Let me approach your gentle, not grimalkin, presence, with deep remorse. You have indirectly been informed of my state of mind and body; (the whole winter I have not had the slightest return of the gout, or any other complaint whatsoever;) you have been apprised, and are now apprised, of my motions, or rather of my perfect and agreeable repose; yet I must confess (and I *feel)* that something of a direct and personal exchange of sentiment has been neglected on my side, though I still *persuade* myself that when I am settled in my new house I shall have more subject, as well as leisure, to write. Such tricks of laziness your active spirit is a stranger to, though Mrs. * * * * complains that she has never had an answer to her last letters. Poor Lady Pembroke! *you* will feel for her! after a cruel alternative of hope and fear, her only daughter, Lady Charlotte, died at *Aix en Provence;* they have persuaded her to come to this place, where she is intimately connected with the Cerjat family. She has taken an agreeable house, about three miles from the town, and lives retired. I have

have seen her; her behaviour is calm, but her affliction ———. I accept with gratitude your friendly proposal of Wedgewood's ware, and should be glad to have it bought and packed, and sent without delay through Germany; and I shall only say, that I wish to have a very complete service for two courses and a dessert, and that our suppers are numerous, frequently fifteen or twenty persons. Adieu. I do not mean this as your letter. You are very good to poor Kitty. With you I do not condole about Coventry.

N° CXCIX.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to Mrs.* GIBBON, Bath.

DEAR MADAM, Lausanne, May 28th, 1784.

I BEGIN without preface or apology, as if I had received your letter by the last post. In my own defence I know not what to say; but if I were disposed to recriminate, I might observe that you yourself are not perfectly free from the sin of laziness and procrastination. I have often wondered why we are not fonder of letter-writing. We all delight to talk of ourselves, and it is only in letters, in writing to a friend, that we can enjoy that conversation, not only without reproach or interruption, but with the highest propriety and mutual satisfaction; sure that the person whom we address feels an equal, or at least a strong and lively interest in the consideration of the pleasing subject. On the subject therefore of *self* I will entertain a friend, to whom none of my thoughts or actions,

none of my pains or pleasures, can ever be indifferent. When I first cherished the design of retiring to Lausanne, I was much more apprehensive of wounding your tender attachment, than of offending Lord Sheffield's manly and vehement friendship. In the abolition of the Board of Trade the motives for my retreat became more urgent and forcible; I wished to break loose, yet I delayed above a year before I could take my final resolution; and the letter in which I disclosed it to you cost me one of the most painful struggles of my life. As soon as I had conquered that difficulty, all meaner obstacles fell before me, and in a few weeks I found myself at Lausanne, astonished at my firmness and my success. Perhaps you still blame or still lament the step which I have taken. If on your own account, I can only sympathize with your feelings, the recollection of which often costs me a sigh: if on mine, let me fairly state what I have escaped in England, and what I have found at Lausanne. Recollect the tempests of this winter, how many anxious days I should have passed, how many noisy, turbulent, hot, unwholesome nights, while my political existence, and that of my friends, was at stake; yet these feeble efforts would have been unavailing; I should have lost my seat in parliament, and after the extraordinary expense of another year, I must still have pursued the road of Switzerland, unless I had been tempted by some selfish patron, or by Lord S.'s aspiring spirit, to incur a most inconvenient expense for a new seat; and once more, at the beginning of an opposition,

opposition, to engage in new scenes of business. As to the immediate prospect of any thing like a quiet and profitable retreat, I should not know where to look; my friends are no longer in power. With * * * * * and his party I have no connection; and were he disposed to favour a man of letters, it is difficult to say what he could give, or what I would accept; the reign of pensions and sinecures is at an end, and a commission in the Excise or Customs, the summit of my hopes, would give me income at the expense of leisure and liberty. When I revolve these circumstances in my mind, my only regret, I repeat it again and again, is, that I did not embrace this salutary measure three, five, ten years ago. Thus much I thought it necessary to say, and shall now dismiss this unpleasing part of the subject. For my situation here, health is the first consideration; and on that head your tenderness had conceived some degree of anxiety. I know not whether it has reached you that I had a fit of the gout the day after my arrival. The deed is true, but the cause was accidental; carelessly stepping down a flight of stairs, I sprained my ancle; and my ungenerous enemy instantly took advantage of my weakness. But since my breaking that double chain, I have enjoyed a winter of the most perfect health that I have perhaps ever known, without any mixture of the little flying incommodities which in my best days have sometimes disturbed the tranquillity of my English life. You are not ignorant of Dr. Tissot's reputation, and his merit is even above his

reputation. He assures me, that in his opinion, the moisture of England and Holland is most pernicious; the dry pure air of Switzerland most favourable to a gouty constitution: that experience justifies the theory; and that there are fewer martyrs of that disorder in this, than in any other country in Europe. This winter has every where been most uncommonly severe: and you seem in England to have had your full share of the general hardship: but in this corner, surrounded by the Alps, it has rather been long than rigorous; and its duration stole away our spring, and left us no interval between furs and silks. We now enjoy the genial influence of the climate and the season; and no station was ever more calculated to enjoy them than Deyverdun's house and garden, which are now become my own. You will not expect that the pen should describe, what the pencil would imperfectly delineate. A few circumstances may, however, be mentioned. My library is about the same size with that in Bentinck-street, with this difference, however, that instead of looking on a paved court, twelve feet square, I command a boundless prospect of vale, mountain, and water, from my three windows. My apartment is completed by a spacious light closet, or store-room, with a bed-chamber and dressing-room. Deyverdun's habitation is pleasant and convenient, though less extensive: for our common use we have a very handsome winter apartment of four rooms; and on the ground-floor, two cool saloons for the summer, with a sufficiency, or rather superfluity, of offices, &c.

&c. A terrace, one hundred yards long, extends beyond the front of the house, and leads to a close impenetrable shrubbery; and from thence the circuit of a long and various walk carries me round a meadow and vineyard. The intervals afford abundant supply of fruit, and every sort of vegetables; and if you add, that this villa (which has been much ornamented by my friend) touches the best and most sociable part of the town, you will agree with me, that few persons, either princes or philosophers, enjoy a more desirable residence. Deyverdun, who is proud of his own works, often walks me round, pointing out, with acknowledgment and enthusiasm, the beauties that change with every step and with every variation of light. I share, or at least I sympathize with his pleasure. He appears contented with my progress, and has already told several people, that he does not despair of making me a gardener. Be that as it may, you will be glad to hear that I am, by my own choice, infinitely more in motion, and in the open air, than I ever have been formerly; yet my perfect liberty and leisure leave me many studious hours; and as the circle of our acquaintance retire into the country, I shall be much less engaged in company and diversion. I have seriously resumed the prosecution of my History; each day and each month adds something to the completion of the great work. The progress is slow, the labour continual, and the end remote and uncertain; yet every day brings its amusement, as well as labour; and though I dare not fix a term, even in my own fancy, I

advance, with the pleasing reflection, that the business of publication (should I be detained here so long) must enforce my return to England, and restore me to the best of mothers and friends. In the meanwhile, with health and competence, a full independence of mind and action, a delightful habitation, a true friend, and many pleasant acquaintance; you will allow, that I am rather an object of envy than of pity; and if you were more conversant with the use of the French language, I would seriously propose to you to repose yourself with us in this fine country. My indirect intelligence (on which I sometimes depend with more implicit faith than on the kind dissimulation of your friendship) gives me reason to hope that the last winter has been more favourable to your health than the preceding one. Assure me of it yourself honestly and truly, and you will afford me one of the most lively pleasures.

N° CC.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to the Right Honourable Lord* SHEFFIELD.

Lausanne, June 19th, 1784.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

In this glorious season I frequently give tea and supper to a dozen men and women with ease and reputation, and heartily wish you and my Lady were among them. In this corner of Europe we enjoy, or shall speedily enjoy, (besides threescore English, with Lady Pembroke, and forty French, with

with the Duchess de Sivrac at their head,) M. and Madame Necker, the Abbé Raynal, the Hereditary Prince of Brunswick, Prince Henry of Prussia, perhaps the Duke of Cumberland; yet I am still more content with the humble natives, than with *most* of these illustrious *names*. Adieu. The post is on the wing, and you owe me a long epistle. I am, as usual, in the firm intention of writing next week to my Lady.

N° CCI.

The Same to the Same.

Lausanne, October 18th, 1784.

SINCE my retreat to Lausanne our correspondence has never received so long an interruption; and as I have been equally taciturn with the rest of the English world, it may now be a problem among that sceptical nation, whether the Historian of the Decline and Fall be a living substance or an empty name. So tremendous is the sleepy power of laziness and habit, that the silence of each post operated still more strongly to benumb the hand, and to freeze the *epistolary* ink. How or when I should have naturally awakened, I cannot tell; but the pressure of my affairs and the arrival of your last letter, compel me to remember that you are entrusted with the final amputation of the best limb of my property. The subject is in itself so painful, that I have postponed it, like a child's physic, from day to day; and losing whole mornings, as I walked about my library, in useless regret

regret and impotent resolution, you will be amazed to hear that (after peeping to see if you are all well, and returned from Ireland) I have not yet had the courage to peruse your letter, for fear of meeting with some gloomy intelligence; and I will now finish what I have to say of pecuniary matters, before I know whether its contents will fortify or overthrow my unbiassed sentiments. * * * * * * * To what purpose (will you say) are these tardy and useless repinings? To arraign your manager? No, I am satisfied with the skill and firmness of the pilot, and complain only of the untoward violence of the tempest. To repent of your retreat into Switzerland? No, surely, every subsequent event has tended to make it as necessary as it has proved agreeable. Why then these lamentations? Hear and attend—it is to interest (if possible more strongly) your zeal and friendship, to justify a sort of avarice, a love of money, very foreign to my character, but with which I cling to these last fragments of my fortune. * * * * * * * * * * * * As far as I can judge from the experience of a year, though I find Lausanne much more expensive than I imagined, yet my style of living (and a very handsome style it is) will be brought *nearly* within my ordinary revenues. I wish our poor country could say as much! But it was always my favourite and rational wish, that at the winding up of my affairs I might possess a sum, from one to two thousand pounds, neither buried in land, nor locked up in the funds, but free, light,

and

and ready to obey any call of interest, or pleasure, or virtue; to defray any extraordinary expense, support any delay, or remove any obstacle. For the attainment of this object, I trust in your assistance. * * * * * * * * *
Thus much for this money transaction; to you I need add no other stimulative, than to say that my ease and comfort very much depend on the success of this plan.

As I thought every man of sense and fortune in Ireland must be satisfied, I did not conceive the cloud so dark as you represent it. I will seriously peruse the new edition of your works; it would become a classic book, if you could find leisure (will you ever find it?) to introduce order and ornament. You must negociate *directly* with Deyverdun; but the state will not hear of parting with their only Reynolds.* I embrace my Lady; let her be angry, provided she be well. Adieu. Yours.

P.S. The care of Ireland may have amused you in the summer; but how do you mean to employ the winter? Do you not cast a longing, lingering look at St. Stephen's chapel? With your fiery spirit, and firm judgment, I almost wish you there; not for your benefit, but for the public. If you resolve to recover your seat, do not listen to any fallacious and infinite projects of interest, contest, return, petition, &c. but limit your expense.

* Alluding to his portrait.

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N° CCII.

M. GIBBON *à Madame de* SEVERY.

Lausanne, le 19 Octobre, 1784.

JE vous remercie mille fois, Madame, de votre obligeant souvenir, et de l'intérêt que vous voulez bien conserver pour notre voyage, auquel, hélas! il faudra renoncer dans ce moment. En général le climat de Lausanne a été aussi favorable à ma santé que sa société l'a été à mon cœur et à mon esprit. Cependant la goutte, mon ancien tyran, ne me permet pas d'oublier que j'ai été son esclave. Sans se montrer à découvert elle voltige autour de moi et me fait éprouver des ressentimens, des soupçons et surtout la crainte de me trouver arrêté sous son joug de fer, éloigné de ma maison et dans un mauvais cabaret de Genève. Je vous permets de soupçonner que l'amour de mon cabinet et d'une vie sédentaire ont influé sur ma résolution, pourvu que vous me rendiez la justice de croire que ce motif seul n'auroit point resisté à l'envie de vous accompagner et de cultiver une liaison qui me sera toujours chère et précieuse. Dès mon arrivée à Lausanne j'ai vivement senti vos bontés et celles de Monsieur de Severy, et j'aspire à mériter l'honneur de votre amitié. La dissipation de la ville, quoiqu'un peu affoiblie par les vendanges, va toujours son train; l'on joue, l'on soupe, et l'on attend avec impatience le retour des campagnards que le froid chassera bientôt de leurs bois et de leurs champs, pendant que ce même froid disperse les

les colonies angloises, qui vont avec les hirondelles et les gruës chercher vers le midi un climat plus doux. Hier nous suivimes à la cité le convoi funèbre de Monsieur le Banneret de Saussure; la république est divisée, la politique a travaillé, dans cet instant le sénat s'assemble pour lui donner un successeur. J'ai l'honneur d'être avec un parfait dévouement, Madame, votre très humble and très obéissant serviteur.

(Signé) GIBBON.

N° CCIII.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to the Right Honourable Lady* SHEFFIELD.

Lausanne, October 22d, 1784.

A FEW weeks ago, as I was walking on our terrace with M. Tissot, the celebrated physician; M. Mercier, the author of the *Tableau de Paris;* the Abbé Raynal; Monsieur, Madame, and Mademoiselle Necker; the Abbé de Bourbon, a natural son of Lewis the Fifteenth, the Hereditary Prince of Brunswick, Prince Henry of Prussia, and a dozen Counts, Barons, and extraordinary persons, among whom was a natural son of the Empress of Russia ——Are you satisfied with this list? which I could enlarge and embellish, without departing from truth; and was not the Baron of Sheffield (profound as he is on the subject of the American trade) doubly mistaken with regard to Gibbon and Lausanne? Whenever I used to hint my design of retiring, that illustrious Baron, after a proper effusion

effusion of d——d fools, condescended to observe, that such an obscure nook in Switzerland might please me in the ignorance of youth, but that after tasting for so many years the various society of Paris and London, I should soon be tired with the dull and uniform round of a provincial town. In the winter, Lausanne is indeed reduced to its native powers; but during the summer, it is possibly, after Spa, one of the most favourite places of general resort. The tour of Switzerland, the Alps, and the Glaciers, is become a fashion. Tissot attracts the invalids, especially from France; and a colony of English have taken up the habit of spending their winters at Nice, and their summers in the Pays de Vaud. Such are the splendour and variety of our summer visiters; and *you* will agree with me more readily than the Baron, when I say that this variety, instead of being a merit, is, in my opinion, one of the very few objections to the residence of Lausanne. After the dissipation of the winter, I expected to have enjoyed, with more freedom and solitude, myself, my friend, my books, and this delicious paradise; but my position and character make me here a sort of a public character, and oblige me to see and be seen. However, it is my firm resolution for next summer to assume the independence of a philosopher, and to be visible only to the persons whom I like. On that principle I should not, most assuredly, have avoided the Neckers and Prince Henry. The former have purchased the barony of Copet near Geneva; and as the buildings were very much

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out of repair, they passed this summer at a country-house at the gates of Lausanne. They afford a new example, that persons who have tasted of greatness can seldom return with pleasure to a private station. In the moments when we were alone he conversed with me freely, and I believe truly, on the subject of his administration and fall; and has opened several passages of modern history, which would make a very good figure in *the* American book.* If they spent the summers at the castle of Copet, about nine leagues from hence, a fortnight or three weeks visit would be a pleasant and healthful excursion; but, alas! I fear there is little appearance of its being executed. *Her* health is impaired by the agitation of her mind: instead of returning to Paris, she is ordered to pass the winter in the southern provinces of France, and our last parting was solemn; as I very much doubt whether I shall ever see her again. They have now a very troublesome charge, which you will experience in a few years, the disposal of a Baroness; Mademoiselle† Necker, one of the greatest heiresses in Europe, is now about eighteen, wild, vain, but good-natured, and with a much larger provision of wit than of beauty: what increases their difficulties is their religious obstinacy of marrying her only to a protestant. It would be an excellent opportunity for a young Englishman of a great name and a fair reputation. Prince

* Observations on the Commerce with the American States.

† Now Madame de Staël.

Henry

Henry must be a man of sense; for he took more notice, and expressed more esteem for me, than any body else. He is certainly (without touching his military character) a very lively and entertaining companion. He talked with freedom, and generally with contempt, of most of the princes of Europe; with respect of the Empress of Russia, but never mentioned the name of his brother, except once, when he hinted that it was *he himself* that won the battle of Rosbach. His nephew, and our nephew, the hereditary Prince of Brunswick, is here for his education. Of the English, who live very much as a national colony, you will like to hear of Mrs. Fraser and *one* more. Donna Catherina* pleases every body, by the perfect simplicity of her state of nature. You know she has had resolution to return from England (where she told me she saw you) to Lausanne, for the sake of Miss Bristow, who is in bad health, and in a few days they set off for Nice. *The other* is the Eliza; she passed through Lausanne, in her road from Italy to England; poorly in health, but still adorable, (nay, do not frown!) and I enjoyed some delightful hours by her bed-side. She wrote me a line from Paris, but has not executed her promise of visiting Lausanne in the month of October. My pen has run much faster, and much farther, than I intended on the subject of others; yet, in describing them, I have thrown some light over myself and my situation. A year, a very short one, has now

* The Honourable Mrs. Fraser.

elapsed

elapsed since my arrival at Lausanne; and after a cool review of my sentiments, I can sincerely declare, that I have never, during a single moment, repented of having executed my *absurd* project of retiring to Lausanne. It is needless to dwell on the fatigue, the hurry, the vexation which I must have felt in the narrow and dirty circle of English politics. My present life wants no foil, and shines by its own native light. The chosen part of my library is now arrived, and arranged in a room full as good as that in Bentinck-street, with this difference indeed, that instead of looking on a stone court, twelve feet square, I command, from three windows of plate-glass, an unbounded prospect of many a league of vineyard, of fields, of wood, of lake, and of mountains; a scene which Lord Sheffield will tell you is superior to all you can imagine. The climate, though severe in winter, has perfectly agreed with my constitution, and the year is accomplished without any return of the gout. An excellent house, a good table, a pleasant garden, are no contemptible ingredients in human happiness. The general style of society hits my fancy; I have cultivated a large and agreeable circle of acquaintance, and I am much deceived if I have not laid the foundations of two or three more intimate and valuable connections; but their names would be indifferent, and it would require pages, or rather volumes, to describe their persons and characters. With regard to my standing dish, my domestic friend, I could not be much disappointed, after an intimacy of eight-and-twenty years. His

heart and his head are excellent; he has the warmest attachment for me, he is satisfied that I have the same for him: some slight imperfections must be mutually supported; two bachelors, who have lived so long alone and independent, have their peculiar fancies and humours, and when the mask of form and ceremony is laid aside, every moment in a family-life has not the sweetness of the honeymoon, even between the husbands and wives who have the truest and most tender regard for each other. Should you be very much surprised to hear of my being married? Amazing as it may seem, I do assure you that the event is less improbable than it would have appeared to myself a twelvemonth ago. Deyverdun and I have often agreed, in jest and in earnest, that a house like ours would be regulated, and graced, and enlivened, by an agreeable female companion; but each of us seems desirous that his friend should sacrifice himself for the public good. Since my residence here I have lived much in women's company; and, to your credit be it spoken, I like you the better the more I see of you. Not that I am in love with any particular person. I have discovered about half-a-dozen *wives* who would please me in different ways, and by various merits: one as a mistress (a widow, vastly like *the* Eliza; if she returns I am to bring them together); a second, a lively entertaining acquaintance; a third, a sincere good-natured friend; a fourth, who would represent with grace and dignity at the head of my table and family; a fifth, an excellent economist

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and housekeeper; and a sixth, a very useful nurse. Could I find all these qualities united in a single person, I should dare to make my addresses, and should deserve to be refused. You hint in some of your letters, or rather postscripts, that you consider me as having renounced England, and having fixed myself for the rest of my life in Switzerland, and that you suspect the sincerity of my vague or insidious schemes of purchase or return. To remove, as far as I can, your doubts and suspicions, I will tell you, on that interesting subject, fairly and simply as much as I know of my own intentions. There is little appearance that I shall be suddenly recalled by the offer of a place or pension. I have no claim to the friendship of your young minister, and should he propose a Commissioner of the Customs, or Secretary at Paris, the supposed objects of my low ambition, Adam in Paradise would refuse them with contempt. *Here* therefore I shall certainly live till I have finished the remainder of my History; an arduous work, which does not proceed so fast as I expected, amidst the avocations of society, and miscellaneous study. As soon as it is completed, most probably in three or *four* years, I shall infallibly return to England, about the month of May or June; and the necessary labour of printing with care two or three quarto volumes, will detain me till their publication, in the ensuing spring. Lord Sheffield and yourself will be the loadstone that most forcibly attracts me; and as I shall be a vagabond on the face of the earth, I shall

be the better qualified to domesticate myself with you, both in town and country. Here then, at no very extravagant distance, we have the certainty (if we live) of spending a year together, in the peace and freedom of a friendly intercourse; and a year is no very contemptible portion of this mortal existence. Beyond that period all is dark, but not gloomy. Whether, after the final completion of my History, I shall return to Lausanne, or settle in England, must depend on a thousand events which lie beyond the reach of human foresight, the state of public and private affairs, my own health, the health and life of Deyverdun, the various changes which may have rendered Lausanne more dear, or less agreeable, to me than at present. But without losing ourselves in this distant futurity, which perhaps we may never see, and without giving any positive answer to Maria's parting question, whether I shall be buried in England or Switzerland, let me seriously and earnestly ask you, whether you do not mean to visit me next summer? The defeat at Coventry would, I should think, facilitate the project: since the Baron is no longer detained the whole winter from his domestic affairs, nor is there any attendance on the House that keeps him till Midsummer in dust and dispute. I can send you a pleasant route, through Normandy, Paris, and Lyons, a visit to the Glaciers, and your return down the Rhine, which would be commodiously executed in three or four months, at no very extravagant expense, and would be productive of health and spirits to you,

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of entertainment to you both, and of instruction to *the* Maria. Without the smallest inconvenience to myself, I am able to lodge yourselves and family, by arranging you in the winter apartment, which in the summer season is not of any use to us. I think you will be satisfied with your habitation, and already see you in your dressing-room; a small pleasant room, with a delightful prospect to the west and south. If poor aunt Kitty (you oblige me beyond expression by your tender care of that excellent woman) if she were only ten years younger, I would desire you to take her with you, but I much fear we shall never meet again. You will not complain of the brevity of this epistle; I expect, in return, a full and fair account of yourself, your thoughts and actions, soul and body, present and future, in the safe, though unreserved, confidence of friendship. The Baron in two words hinted but an indifferent account of your health; you are a fine machine; but as he was absent in Ireland, I hope I understand the cause and the remedy. Next to yourself, I want to hear of the two Baronesses. You must give me a faithful picture (and though a mother you can give it) of their present external and internal forms; for a year has now elapsed, and in *their* lives a year is an age. Adieu. Ever yours.

N° CCIV.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to the Right Honourable Lord* SHEFFIELD.

Lausanne, March 13th, 1785.

MY long silence (and it has been long) must not, on this occasion, be imputed to laziness, though that little devil may likewise have been busy. But you cannot forget how many weeks I remained in suspense, expecting every post the final sentence, and not knowing what to say in that passive uncertainty. It is now something more than a fortnight since your last letter, and that of Gosling informed me of the event. I have intended every day to write, and every day I have started back with reluctance and disgust, from the consideration of the wretched subject. Lenborough irrecoverably gone, for three-fourths of its real, at least of its ancient, value; my seat in parliament sunk in the abyss of your cursed politics, and a balance neatly cyphered and summed by Gosling, which shews me a very shallow purse, in which others have a clearer right to dip than myself.

March 21st.

Another week is now elapsed, and though nothing is changed in this too faithful state of my affairs, I feel myself able to encounter them with more spirit and resolution; to look on the future, rather than the past, on the fair, rather than on the foul side

side of the prospect. I shall speak in the confidence of friendship, and while you listen to the more doleful tale of my wants and wishes, you will have the satisfaction of hearing some circumstances in my present situation of a less unpleasing nature. 1. In the first place, I most heartily rejoice in the sale, however unfavourable, of the Bucks estate. Considering the dulness of the times, and the high interest of money, it is not a little to obtain even a tolerable price, and I am sensible how much your patience and industry have been exercised to extort the payment. 2. Your resistance to my Swiss expedition was more friendly than wise. Had I yielded, after eighteen months of suspense and anxiety, I should now, a still poorer man, be driven to embrace the same resource, which has succeeded according to, or even beyond, my most sanguine expectations. I do not pretend to have discovered the terrestrial paradise, which has not been known in this world since the fall of Adam; but I can truly declare, (now the charms of novelty are long since faded,) that I have found the plan of life the best adapted to my temper and my situation. I am now writing to you in a room as good as that in Bentinck-street, which commands the country, the lake, and the mountains, and the opening prospect of the spring. The aforesaid room is furnished without magnificence, but with every conveniency for warmth, ease, and study, and the walls are already covered with more than two thousand volumes, the choice of a chosen library. I have

health, friends, an amusing society, and perfect freedom. A Commissioner of the Excise! the idea makes me sick. If you ask me what I have saved by my retreat to Lausanne, I will fairly tell you (in the two great articles of a carriage and a house in town, both which were indispensable, and are now annihilated, with the difference of clubs, public places, servants wages, &c.) about four hundred pounds, or guineas, a-year; no inconsiderable sum, when it must be annually found as addition to an expense which is somewhat larger than my present revenue. 3. *What is then, you will ask, my present establishment? This* is not by any means a cheap country; and, except in the article of wine, I could give a dinner, or make a coat, perhaps for the same price in London as at Lausanne. My chief advantage arises from the things which I do not want; and in some respects my style of living is enlarged by the increase of my relative importance, an obscure bachelor in England, the master of a considerable house at Lausanne. Here I am expected to return entertainments, to receive ladies, &c. and to perform many duties of society, which, though agreeable enough in themselves, contribute to inflame the housekeeper's bills. But in a quiet, prudent, regular course of life, I think I can support myself with comfort and honour for six or seven hundred pounds a-year, instead of a thousand or eleven hundred in England.

Besides these uncertainties, (uncertain at least as to the time,) I have a sure and honourable supply from

from my own pen. I continue my History with pleasure and assiduity; the way is long and laborious, yet I see the end, and I can almost promise to land in England next September twelvemonth, with a manuscript of the current value of about four thousand pounds, which will afford either a small income or a large capital.

It is the privilege of friendship to make our friend a patient hearer, and active associate in our own affairs; and I have now written five pages on my private affairs, without saying a word either of the public, or of yourself. Of the public I have little to say; I never was a very warm patriot, and I grow every day a citizen of the world. The scramble for power or profit at Westminster or St. James's, and the names of Pitt and Fox, become less interesting to me than those of Cæsar and Pompey. You are not a friend of the young minister, but he was a great favourite on the continent, as he appears to be still; and you must own that the fairness of his character, his eloquence, his application to business, and even his youth, must prepossess at least the ignorant in his favour. Of the merit or defects of his administration I cannot pretend to speak; but I find, from the complaints of some interested persons, that his restraints on the smuggling of tea have already ruined the East India Companies of Antwerp and Sweden, and that even the Dutch will scarcely find it worth their while to send any ships to China. Your Irish friends appear to be more quiet, at least the volunteers and national congress

congress seem to subside. How far that tranquillity must be purchased on our side, by any pernicious sacrifices, you will best decide; and from some hint in your last letters, I am inclined to think that you are less affected than might be supposed with national or local prejudice. Your introduction I have attentively read; the matter, though most important in itself, is out of the line of my studies and habits, and the subordinate beauties of style you disclaim. Yet I can say with truth, that I never met with more curious and diligent investigation, more strong sense, more liberal spirit, and more cool and impartial temper in the same number of pages. By this time you have probably read Necker's book on the finances. Perhaps for you there is too much French enthusiasm and paint; but in many respects you must have gained a knowledge of his country; and on the whole, you must have been pleased with the picture of a great and benevolent mind. In your attack on Deyverdun for my picture I cannot promise you much success; he seems resolved to maintain his right of possession, and your only chance would be a personal assault. The next summer (how time slips away!) was fixed for your visit to Lausanne. We are prepared at all points to receive *you*, my Lady, and a princess or two, with their train; and if you have a proper contempt for St. Stephen's chapel, you are perfectly free, and at leisure (can you ever be at leisure?) for the summer season. As you are now in a great measure disengaged

engaged from any affairs, you may find time to inform me of your proceedings and your projects. At present I do not even know whether you pass the winter at Sheffield-place or in Downing-street. My Lady revenges herself of my long silence; yet I embrace her and the infants. Adieu. You have deranged the Decline and Fall this morning. I have finished my epistle since dinner, and am now going to a pleasant party and good supper.

N° CCV.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to the Right Honourable Lord* SHEFFIELD.

Lausanne, September 5th, 1785.

EXTRACT from a weekly English paper, September 5th, 1785. "It is reported, but we hope without foundation, that the celebrated Mr. Gibbon, who had retired to Lausanne, in Switzerland, to finish his valuable History, lately died in that city."

The hope of the Newspaper-writer is very handsome and obliging to the Historian; yet there are several weighty reasons which would incline me to believe that the intelligence may be true. *Primo*, It must one day be true; and therefore may very probably be so at present. *Secundo*, We may always depend on the impartiality, accuracy, and veracity of an English newspaper. *Tertio*, which is indeed the strongest argument, we are credibly informed

informed that for a long time past the said celebrated Historian has not written to any of his friends in England; and as that respectable personage had always the reputation of a most exact and regular correspondent, it may be fairly concluded from his silence, that he either is, or ought to be dead. The only objection that I can foresee, is the assurance that Mr. G—— himself read the article as he was eating his breakfast, and laughed very heartily at the mistake of his brother historian; but as he might be desirous of concealing that unpleasant event, we shall not insist on his apparent health and spirits, which might be affected by that subtle politician. He affirms, however, not only that he is alive, and was so on the 5th of September, but that his head, his heart, his stomach, are in the most perfect state, and that the climate of Lausanne has been congenial both to his mind and body. He confesses indeed, that after the last severe winter, the gout, his old enemy, from whom he hoped to have escaped, pursued him to his retreat among the mountains of Helvetia, and that the siege was long, though more languid than in his precedent attacks; after some exercise of patience he began to creep, and gradually to walk; and though he can neither run, nor fly, nor dance, he supports himself with firmness on his two legs, and would willingly kick the impertinent Gazetteer; impertinent enough, though more easily to be forgiven than the insolent *Courier du Bas Rhin,* who about three years ago amused himself

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and his readers with a fictitious epistle from Mr. Gibbon to Dr. Robertson.

Perhaps now you think, Baron, that I shall apologize in humble style for my silence and neglect. But, on the contrary, I do assure you that I am truly provoked at your Lordship's not condescending to be in a passion. I might really have been dead, I might have been sick; if I were neither dead nor sick, I deserved a volley of curses and reproaches for my infernal laziness, and you have defrauded me of my just dues. Had I been silent till Christmas, till doomsday, you would never have thought it worth your while to abuse me. Why then (let me ask in your name) did you not write before? That is indeed a very curious question of natural and moral philosophy. Certainly I am not lazy; elaborate quartos have proved, and will abundantly prove my diligence. I *can* write; spare my modesty on that subject. I like to converse with my friends by pen and tongue, and as soon as I can set myself a-going, I know no moments that run off more pleasantly. I am so well convinced of that truth, and so much ashamed of forcing people that I love to forget me, that I have now resolved to set apart the first hour of each day for the discharge of my obligations; beginning, *comme de raison*, with yourself, and regularly proceeding to Lord Loughborough and the rest. May Heaven give me strength and grace to accomplish this laudable intention! Amen. Certainly (yet I do not know whether it be so certain) I should write much oftener to you if you were not linked

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in business, and if my business had not always been of the unpleasant and mortifying kind. Even now I shove the ugly monster to the end of this epistle, and will confine him to a page by himself, that he may not infect the purer air of our correspondence. Of my situation here I have little new to say, except a very comfortable and singular truth, that my passion for my wife or mistress (Fanny Lausanne) is not palled by satiety and possession of two years. I have seen her in all seasons, and in all humours, and though she is not without faults, they are infinitely overbalanced by her good qualities. Her face is not handsome, but her person, and every thing about her, has admirable grace and beauty: she is of a very cheerful sociable temper; without much learning, she is endowed with taste and good sense; and though not rich, the simplicity of her education makes her a very good economist; she is forbid by her parents to wear any expensive finery; and though her limbs are not much calculated for walking, she has not yet asked me to keep her a coach. Last spring (not to wear the metaphor to rags) I saw Lausanne in a new light during my long fit of the gout, and must boldly declare, that either in health or sickness I find it far more comfortable than your huge metropolis. In London my confinement was sad and solitary; the many forgot my existence when they saw me no longer at Brookes's; and the few, who sometimes cast a thought or an eye on their friend, were detained by business or pleasure, the distance of the way, or the hours of the House of Commons, and

and I was proud and happy if I could prevail on Elmsley to enliven the dulness of the evening. Here the objects are nearer, and much more distinct, and I myself am an object of much larger magnitude. People are not kinder, but they are more idle, and it must be confessed that, of all nations on the globe, the English are the least attentive to the old and infirm; I do not mean in acts of charity, but in the offices of civil life. During three months I have had round my chair a succession of agreeable men and women, who came with a smile, and vanished at a nod; and as soon as it was agreeable I had a constant party at cards, which was sometimes dismissed to their respective homes, and sometimes detained by Deyverdun to supper, without the least trouble or inconvenience to myself. In a word, my plan has most completely answered; and I solemnly protest, after two years trial, that I have never in a single moment repented of my transmigration. The only disagreeable circumstance is the increase of a race of animals with which this country has been long infested, and who are said to come from an island in the Northern Ocean. I am told, but it seems incredible, that upwards of forty thousand English, masters and servants, are now absent on the continent; and I am sure we have our full proportion, both in town and country, from the month of June to that of October. The occupations of the closet, indifferent health, want of horses, in some measure plead my excuse; yet I do too much to please myself, and probably too little to satisfy my countrymen.

trymen. What is still more unlucky is, that a part of the colony of this present year are really good company, people one knows, &c.; the Astons, Hales, Hampdens, Trevors, Lady Clarges and Miss Carter, Lord Northington, &c. I have seen Trevor several times, who talks of you, and seems to be a more exact correspondent than myself. *His wife* is much improved by her diplomatic life, and shines in every company as a woman of fashion and elegance. But those who have repaid me for the rest, were Lord and Lady Spencer. I saw them almost every day, at my house or their own, during their stay of a month; for they were hastening to Italy, that they might return to London next February. He is a valuable man, and where he is familiar, a pleasant companion; she a charming woman, who, with sense and spirit, has the simplicity and playfulness of a child. You are not ignorant of her talents, of which she has left me an agreeable specimen, a drawing of the Historic Muse, sitting in a thoughtful posture to compose. So much of Self and Co. let us now talk a little of your house and your two countries. Does my Lady ever join in the abuse which I have merited from you? Is she satisfied with her own behaviour, her unpardonable silence, to one of the prettiest, most obliging, most entertaining, most, &c. epistles that ever was penned since the epistles of * * * * * *? Will she not *mew* one word of reply? I want some account of her spirits, health, amusements, of the elegant accomplishments of Maria, and the opening graces of Louisa; of yourself I wish to have some

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of those details which she is most likely to transmit. Are you patient in your exclusion from the House? Are you satisfied with legislating with your pen? Do you pass the whole winter in town? Have you resumed the pursuits of farming, &c.? What new connections, public or private, have you formed? A tour to the continent would be the best medicine for the shattered nerves of a soldier and politician. By this expression you will perceive that your letter to Deyverdun is received; it landed last post, after I had already written the two first pages of this composition. On the whole my friend was pleased and flattered; but instead of surrendering, or capitulating, he seems to be making preparations for an obstinate defence. He already talks of the right of possession,* of the duties of a good citizen, of a *writ ne exeat regnum*, and of a vote of the Two Hundred, that whosoever shall, directly or indirectly, &c. is an enemy to his country. Between you be the strife, while I sit with my scales in my hand, like Jupiter on Mount Ida. I begin to view with the same indifference the combat of Achilles Pitt, and Hector Fox; for such, as it should now seem, must be the comparison of the two warriors. * * * * * * *
At this distance I am much less angry with bills, taxes, and propositions, than I am pleased with Pitt for making a friend and a deserving man happy, for releasing Batt from the shackles of the law, and for enhancing the gift of a secure and honourable

* His portrait, painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds.

competency, by the handsome manner in which it was conferred. This I understand to be the case, from the unsuspicious evidence of Lord Northington and Chief Baron Skinner; and if I can find time, *(resolution,)* I will send him a hearty congratulation; if I fail, you may at least communicate my intentions. Of Ireland I know nothing, and while I am writing the Decline of a great Empire, I have not leisure to attend to the affairs of a remote and petty province. I see that your friend Foster has been hooted by the mob, and unanimously chosen Speaker of the House of Commons. How could Pitt expose himself to the disgrace of withdrawing his propositions after a public attempt? Have Ministers no way of computing beforehand the sense or nonsense of an Irish Parliament? I am quite in the dark; your pamphlet, or book, would probably have opened my eyes; but, whatever may have been the reason, I give you *my word of honour*, that I have never seen nor heard of it. Here we are much more engaged with continental politics. In general we hate the Emperor, as the enemy of peace, without daring to make war. The old lion of Prussia acts a much more glorious part, as the champion of public tranquillity, and the independence of the German States.

And now for the bitter and nauseous pill of pecuniary business, upon which I shall be as concise as possible in the two articles of my discourse, land and money. * * * * * * * It is impossible to hate more than I do this odious necessity

necessity of owing, borrowing, anticipating, and I look forwards with impatience to the happy period when the supplies will always be raised within the year, with a decent and useful surplus in the treasury. I now trust to the conclusion of my History, and it will hasten and secure the principal comforts of my life. You will believe I am not lazy; yet I fear the term is somewhat more distant than I thought. My long gout lost me three months in the spring; in every great work unforeseen dangers, and difficulties, and delays will arise; and I should be rather sorry than surprised if next autumn was postponed to the ensuing spring. If my Lady (a good creature) should write to Mrs. Porten, she may convey news of my life and health, without saying any thing of this *possible* delay. Adieu. I embrace, &c.

Lausanne, October 1st, 1785.

N° CCVI.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to the Right Honourable Lord* SHEFFIELD.

Lausanne, January 17th, 1786.

HEAR, all ye nations! An epistle from Sheffield-place, received the seventeenth of January, is answered the same day; and to say the truth, this method, which is the best, is at the same time the most easy and pleasant. Yet I do not allow that on the last past silence and delay you have any more reason to swear than myself. Our letters crossed each other, our claims are equal, and if

both had been stiffly maintained, our mutual silence must have continued till the day of judgment. The balance was doubtless in my favour, if you recollect the length, the fulness, the variety of pleasant and instructive matter of my last dispatch. Even at present, of myself, my occupations, my designs, I have little or nothing to add; and can only speak dryly and briefly to very dry and disagreeable business. * * * * *
But we shall both agree, that the true criminal is my Lady; and though I do suppose that a letter is on the road, which will make some amends, her obstinate, contumacious, dilatory silence, so many months or years since my valuable letter, is worthy a royal tigress. * * * * * *
Notwithstanding your gloomy politicians, I do love the funds: and were the next war to reduce them to half, the remainder would be a better and pleasanter property, than a similar value in your dirty acres.

N° CCVII.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to the Right Honourable Lord* SHEFFIELD.

Lausanne, May 10th, 1786.

BY the difference, I suppose, of the posts of France and Germany, Sir Stanier's letter, though first written, is still on the road, and your's, which I received yesterday morning, brought me the first account of poor Mrs. Porten's departure. There are few events that could afflict me more deeply, and

and I have been ever since in a state of mind more deserving of your pity than of your reproaches. I certainly am not ignorant that we have nothing better to wish for ourselves than the fate of that best-humoured woman, as you very justly style her; a good understanding and an excellent heart, with health, spirits, and a competency, to live in the midst of her friends till the age of fourscore, and then to shut her eyes without pain or remorse. Death can have deprived her only of some years of weakness, perhaps of misery; and for myself, it is surely less painful to lose her at present, than to find her on my visit to England next year sinking under the weight of age and infirmities, and perhaps forgetful of herself and of the persons once the dearest to her. All this is perfectly true: but all these reflections will not dispel a thousand sad and tender remembrances that rush upon my mind. To her care I am indebted in earliest infancy for the preservation of my life and health. I was a puny child, neglected by my mother, starved by my nurse, and of whose being very little care or expectation was entertained; without her maternal vigilance I should either have been in my grave, or imperfectly lived a crooked ricketty monster, a burden to myself and others. To her instructions I owe the first rudiments of knowledge, the first exercise of reason, and a taste for books, which is still the pleasure and glory of my life; and though she taught me neither language nor science, she was certainly the most useful preceptor I ever had. As I grew up, an intercourse of

thirty years endeared her to me, as the faithful friend and the agreeable companion. You have seen with what freedom and confidence we lived together, and have often admired her character and conversation, which could alike please the young and the old. All this is now lost, finally, irrecoverably lost! I will agree with my Lady, that the immortality of the soul is at some times a very comfortable doctrine. A thousand thanks to her for her constant kind attention to that poor woman who is no more. I wish I had as much to applaud, and as little to reproach, in my own behaviour towards Mrs. Porten since I left England; and when I reflect that my letters would have soothed and comforted her decline, I feel more deeply than I can express, the real neglect, and seeming indifference, of my silence. To delay a letter from the Wednesday to the Saturday, and then from the Saturday to the Wednesday, appears a very slight offence; yet in the repetition of such delay, weeks, months, and years will elapse, till the omission may become irretrievable, and the consequence mischievous or fatal. After a long lethargy, I had roused myself last week, and wrote to the three old Ladies, my letter for Mrs. Porten went away last post, Saturday night, and yours did not arrive till Monday morning. Sir Stanier will probably open it, and read the true picture of my sentiments for a friend who, when I wrote, was already extinct. There is something sad and awful in the thought, yet, on the whole, I am not sorry that even this tardy epistle preceded my know-

knowledge of her death: but it did not precede (you will observe) the information of her dangerous and declining state, which I conveyed in my last letter, and her anxious concern that she should never see or *hear* from me again. This idea, and the hard thoughts which you must entertain of me, press so much on my mind, that I must frankly acknowledge a strange inexcusable supineness, on which I desire you would make no comment, and which in some measure may account for my delays in corresponding with you. The unpleasant nature of business, and the apprehension of finding something disagreeable, tempted me to postpone from day to day, not only the answering, but even the opening, your penultimate epistle; and when I received your last, yesterday morning, the seal of the former was still unbroken. Oblige me so far as to make no reflections; my own may be of service to me hereafter. Thus far (except the last sentence) I have run on with a sort of melancholy pleasure, and find my heart much relieved by unfolding it to a friend. And the subject so strongly holds me, so much disqualifies me for other discourse, either serious or pleasant, that here I would willingly stop, and reserve all miscellaneous matter for a second volunteer epistle. But we both know how frail are promises, how dangerous are delays, and there are some pecuniary objects on which I think it necessary to give you an immediate, though now tardy, explanation. * * * * * * * * * * *

Adieu.

N° CCVIII.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to Sir* STANIER PORTEN, Kensington Palace.

MY DEAR SIR, Lausanne, May 12th, 1786.

THE melancholy event which you have communicated, in your last obliging letter of the twenty-fourth of April, might indeed be too naturally feared and expected. If we consult our reason, we can wish nothing better for ourselves than the lot of that dear and valuable friend whom we have now lost.* A warm heart, a strong and clear understanding, a most invaluable happiness of temper, which shewed her the agreeable or comfortable side of every object, and every situation; an easy competency, the reward of her own attention; private friendship, general esteem, a mature age, and a placid decline. But these rational motives of consolation are insufficient to check a thousand soft and sad remembrances that rush into my mind; the intimacy of a whole life; of mine, at least, from the earliest dawn of my infancy; the maternal and assiduous care of my health, and afterwards of my mind; the freedom and frequency of our conversations; the regret which I felt in our last separation, and the hope, however faint and precarious, of seeing her again. Time alone can reconcile us to this irreparable loss, and to his healing power I must recommend your grief, as well

* His aunt, Mrs. Catherine Porten.

as

as my own. I sincerely applaud her very proper and natural disposal of her effects, and am proud of the pre-eminence which she has allowed me in a list of dear and worthy relations.

I am too full of a single idea to expatiate, as I should otherwise do, on indifferent matters; yet not totally indifferent to my friends, since they relate to my present situation. My health is in general perfectly good, and the only drawbacks some occasional visits of the gout, which abate, however, in strength, and are grown, I think, less frequent and lasting. The life which I lead is temperate and tranquil, and the distemper itself is not common in the purity and dryness of the climate. After a long trial, I can now approve my own choice of retiring to Switzerland. I am, dear Sir, most affectionately yours.

N° CCIX.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to the Right Hon. Lord* SHEFFIELD.

Lausanne, July 22d, 1786.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * SINCE I have another page, and some leisure moments, we may as well employ it in friendly converse; the more so, as the great letter to which I alluded is wonderfully precarious and uncertain: the more so likewise, as our correspondence for some time past has been of an abrupt and disagreeable cast. Let us first talk of Sheffield's works: they are of two sorts: *Primo*, Two nymphs,

nymphs, whom I much desire to see, the sprightly Maria and the gentle Louisa. I perfectly represent them both in the eye of fancy; each of them accomplished according to her age and character, yet totally different in their external and internal forms. *Secundo*, Three pamphlets; pamphlets! I cry you mercy; three weighty treatises, almost as useful as an inquiry into the state of the primitive church. And here let me justify, if I have not before, my silence on a subject which we authors do not easily forgive. The first, whose first editions had seen the light before I left England, followed me here in a more complete condition; and that Treatise on the American Trade has been read, judged, approved, and reported. The second, on Ireland, I have seen by accident the copy you sent to Mr. Trevor, who passed last summer (eighty-five) here. The third, and in my present situation the most interesting, on the French Commerce,* I have not yet seen by any means whatsoever, and you who know what orders you have given to Elmsley or others, will best discern on whom should be laid the fault and the blame. But to return to your books, all that I have seen must do you honour, and might do the public service: you are above the trifling decorations of style; but your sense is strong, your views impartial, and your industry laudable. I find that your American Tract is just translated into German. Do you still

* Lord Sheffield did not *publish* his observations on the French Treaty and Commerce.

cor-

correspond with * * * *? If he could establish a beneficial intercourse between the two first nations in the world, I would excuse him some little political tergiversation. At some distance of time and place, those domestic squabbles lose much of their importance; and though I should not forgive him any breach of private friendship or confidence, I cannot much blame him if he chose rather to serve his family and his country, than to persevere in a hopeless, and, as I suspect, an unpopular opposition. You have never told me clearly and correctly how you support your inactive retreat from the House of Commons; whether you have resumed your long forgotten taste for rural pleasures, and whether you have never cast a look towards Coventry, or some other borough equally pure and respectable. In the short space that is left I will only repeat more distinctly, that in the present contemplation of my work, June or July of next year is the earliest term at which I can hope to see England. Do not be childish or passionate; trust me, I wish to appear in England; but it must be with my book in my hand: and a book takes more time in making than a pudding. Adieu. Will my Lady never write?

N° CCX.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to the Right Hon. Lord* SHEFFIELD.

Lausanne, January 20th, 1787.

AFTER some sallies of wrath, you seem at length to have subsided in sullen silence, and I must confess

fess not totally without reason. Yet if your mind be still open to truth, you will confess that I am not so black as I appear. 1. Your Lordship has shewn much less activity and eloquence than formerly, and your last letter was an answer to mine, which I had expected some time with impatience. Bad examples are dangerous to young people. 2. Formerly I have neglected answering your epistles on essential, though unpleasant, business; and the *res-publica* or *privata* may have suffered by my neglect. Supposing therefore we had no transactions, why should I write so often? To exchange sentimental compliments, or to relate the various and important transactions of the republic of Lausanne. As long as I do not inform you of my death, you have good grounds to believe me alive and well. You have a general, and will soon have a more particular idea of my system and arrangement here. One day glides away after another in tranquil uniformity. Every object must have sides and moments less luminous than others; but, upon the whole, the life and the place which I have chosen are most happily adapted to my character and circumstances; and I can now repeat, at the end of three years, what I soon and sincerely affirmed, that never, in a single instant, have I repented of my scheme of retirement to Lausanne; a retirement which was judged by my best and wisest friend a project little short of insanity. The place, the people, the climate, have answered or exceeded my warmest expectations. And though I truly rejoice in my approaching visit to England, Mr. Pitt,

Pitt, were he your friend and mine, would not find it an easy task to prevent my return. 3. And now let me add a third reason, which often diverted me from writing; namely, my impatience to see you this next summer. I am building a great book, which, besides the three stories already exposed to the public eye, will have three stories more before we reach the roof and battlements. You too have built or altered a great Gothic castle with baronial battlements. Did you finish it within the time you intended? As that time drew near, did you not find a thousand nameless and unexpected works that must be performed; each of them calling for a portion of time and labour? and had you not despised, nobly despised, the minute diligence of finishing, fitting up, and furnishing the apartments, you would have discovered a new train of indispensable business. Such, at least, has been my case. A long while ago, when I contemplated the distant prospect of my work, I gave you and myself some hopes of landing in England last autumn; but, alas! when autumn grew near, hills began to rise on hills, Alps on Alps, and I found my journey far more tedious and toilsome than I had imagined. When I look back on the length of the undertaking, and the variety of materials, I cannot accuse, or suffer myself to be accused of idleness; yet it appeared that unless I doubled my diligence, another year, and perhaps more, would elapse before I could embark with my complete manuscript. Under these circumstances I took, and am still executing, a bold and meritorious resolution.

lution. The mornings in winter, and in a country of early dinners, are very concise; to them, my usual period of study, I now frequently add the evenings, renounce cards and society, refuse the most agreeable evenings, or perhaps make my appearance at a late supper. By this extraordinary industry, which I never practised before, and to which I hope never to be again reduced, I see the last part of my History growing apace under my hands; all my materials are collected and arranged; I can exactly compute, by the square foot, or the square page, all that remains to be done; and after concluding text and notes, after a general review of my time and my ground, I now can decisively ascertain the final period of the Decline and Fall, and can boldly promise that I will dine with you at Sheffield-place in the month of August, or perhaps of July, in the present year; within less than a twelvemonth of the term which I had loosely and originally fixed; and perhaps it would not be easy to find a work of that size and importance in which the workman has so tolerably kept his word with himself and the public. But in this situation, oppressed with this particular object, and stealing every hour from my amusement, to the fatigue of the pen, and the eyes, you will conceive, or you might conceive, how little stomach I have for the epistolary style: and that instead of idle, though friendly, correspondence, I think it far more agreeable to employ my time in the effectual measures that may hasten and exhilarate our personal interview. About a month ago I had a voluntary, and

not

not unpleasing, epistle from Cadell; he informs me that he is going to print a new octavo edition, the former being exhausted, and that the public expect with impatience the conclusion of that excellent work, whose reputation increases every day, &c. I answered him by the return of the post, to inform him of the period and extent of my labours, and to express a reasonable hope that he would set the same value on the three last as he had done on the three former volumes. Should we conclude in this easy manner a transaction so honourable to the author and bookseller, my way is clear and open before me; in pecuniary matters I think I am assured for the rest of my life of never troubling my friends, or being troubled myself; a state to which I aspire, and which I indeed deserve, if not by my management, at least by my moderation.

In your last, you talk more of the French treaty than of yourself and your wife and family; a true English *quid nunc!* For my part, in this remote, inland, neutral country, you will suppose, that after a slight glance on the papers, I have neither had the means nor the inclination to think very deeply about it. As a citizen of the world, a character to which I am every day rising or sinking, I must rejoice in every agreement that diminishes the separation between neighbouring countries, which softens their prejudices, unites their interests and industry, and renders their future hostilities less frequent and less implacable. With regard to the present treaty, I hope both nations are gainers;

gainers; since otherwise it cannot be lasting; and such double mutual gain is surely possible in fair trade, though it could not easily happen in the mischievous amusements of war and gaming. * * * * * What a delightful hand have these great statesmen made of it since my departure! without power, and, as far as I can see, without hope. When we meet I shall advise you to digest all your political and commercial knowledge, (England, Ireland, France, America,) and, with some attention to style and order, to make the whole a classic book, which may preserve your name and benefit your country. I know not whether you have seen Sir Henry Clinton since his return: he passed a day with me, and seemed pleased with my reception and place. We talked over you and the American war. I embrace the *silent my Lady*, and the two honourable Misses, whom I sigh to behold and admire. Adieu. Ever yours.

Though I can part with land, you find I cannot part with books: the remainder of my library has so long embarrassed your room, that it may now await my presence and final judgment. Has my Lady read a novel intitled Caroline de Lichfield, of our home manufacture? I may say of ours, since Deyverdun and myself were the judges and patrons of the manuscript. The author, who is since married a second time, (Madame de Crousaz, now Montolieu,) is a charming woman. I was in some danger.

N°

N° CCXI.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to the Right Honourable Lord* SHEFFIELD.

Lausanne, June 2d, 1787.

I BEGIN to discover that if I wait till I could achieve a just and satisfactory epistle, equally pleasant and instructive, you would have a poor chance of hearing from me. I will therefore content myself with a simple answer to a question, which (I love to believe) you repeat with some impatience: "When may we expect you in England?" My great building is, as it were, completed, and some slight ornaments, the painting and glazing of the last finished rooms may be dispatched without inconvenience in the autumnal residence of Sheffield-Place. It is therefore my sincere and peremptory intention to depart from Lausanne about the twentieth of July, and to find myself (*me trouver*) in London on or before the glorious first of August. I know of nothing that can prevent it but a fit of the gout, the capricious tyrant, who obeys no laws either of time or place; and so unfortunately are we circumstanced, that such a fit, if it came late and lasted long, would effectually disable me from coming till next spring; since thereby I should lose the season, the monsoon, for the impression of three quarto volumes, which will require nine months, (a regular parturition,) and cannot advantageously appear after the beginning or middle of May. At the same time do not be apprehensive that I mean to play you a dog's trick.

From a thousand motives it is my wish to come over this year; the desire of seeing you, and the *silent sullen* my Lady; the family arrangements, discharge of servants, which I have already made; the strong wish of settling my three youngest children in a manner honourable to them and beneficial to their parents. Much miscellaneous matter rises to my pen, but I will not be tempted to turn the leaf. Expect me therefore at Sheffield-Place, with strong probability, about the fifteenth of August. Adieu. Yours.

N° CCXII.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to the Right Honourable Lord* SHEFFIELD.

Lausanne, July 21st, 1787.

THE twentieth of July is past, and I am still at Lausanne; but the march of heavy bodies, such as armies and historians, can seldom be foreseen or fixed to a precise day. Some particular reasons have engaged me to allow myself another week; and the day of my departure is now (*I believe*) determined for Sunday the twenty-ninth instant. You know the road and the distance. I am no rapid English traveller, and my servant is not accustomed to ride post. I was never fond of deeds of darkness, and if the weather be hot, we must repose in the middle of the day. Yet the roads are in general good: between sun and sun the interval is long; and, barring the accidents of winds and waves, I think it possible to reach London in ten

or

or twelve days; *viz.* on or before the ninth of August. With your active spirit, you will scarce understand how I can look on this easy journey with some degree of reluctance and apprehension; but after a tranquil sedentary life of four years, (having lain but a single night out of my own bed,) I see mountains and monsters in the way; and so happy do I feel myself *at home,* that nothing but the strongest calls of friendship and interest could drag me from hence.

N° CCXIII.

The Same to the Same.

Adelphi Hotel, August 8th, 1787.

INTELLIGENCE EXTRAORDINARY. This day (August the seventh) the celebrated E. G. arrived with a numerous retinue (one servant). We hear that he has brought over from Lausanne the remainder of his History for immediate publication. The post had left town before my arrival. I am pleased, but indeed astonished, to find myself in London, after a journey of six hundred miles, and hardly yet conceive how I had resolution to undertake it. I find myself not a little fatigued, and have devoted this hot day to privacy and repose, without having seen any body except Cadell and Elmsley, and my neighbour Batt, whose civility amounts to kindness and real friendship. But you may depend on it, that instead of sauntering in town, or giving way to every temptation, I will dispatch my necessary work, and hasten with impatience to the

groves of Sheffield-Place; a project somewhat more rational than the hasty turbulent visit which your vigour had imagined. If you come up to quicken my diligence we shall meet the sooner; but I see no appearance of my leaving town before the end of next week. I embrace, &c. Adieu.

N° CCXIV.

M. Gibbon *à Madame de* Severy.

Sheffield-Place, ce 1 Septembre, 1787.

Notre ami Deyverdun vous aura déjà communiqué, Madame, les premières nouvelles de mon voyage, et de mon arrivée. En quittant Lausanne j'éprouvois les sentimens d'un homme qui s'arrache à sa patrie. Depuis quatre ans j'y goutois les douceurs d'une vie tranquille et sédentaire: le bruit, le mouvement, les fatigues du voyage m'effrayoient d'avance; j'étois content et heureux dans ma petite enceinte, et en franchissant les premières montagnes je voyois avec une sorte de surprise et d'épouvante le monde qui s'agrandissoit devant moi. Ces craintes puériles étoient fortifiées par des regrets plus dignes d'un homme raisonnable. Je perdois de vue cette position unique sur la terre, ce lac, ces montagnes, ces riants côteaux; ce tableau charmant qui paroît toujours nouveau aux yeux mêmes accoutumés dès leur enfance à le voir. Je laissois ma bibliothèque, la terrasse, mon berceau, une maison riante et tous ces petits objets de commodité journalière que l'habitude nous rend si nécessaires, et dont l'absence nous fait à tous momens sentir la privation. Sur tous

tous les pays de l'Europe, j'avois choisi pour ma retraite, le Pays de Vaud, et jamais je ne me suis repenti un seul instant de ce choix.

La tranquillité du gouvernement, qui vaut mieux peut-être que notre liberté orageuse, un peuple aimable, une société douce et facile, la politesse réunie avec la simplicité des mœurs, voilà les objets que j'ai cherchés à Lausanne, que j'y ai trouvés, et que j'aurois difficilement trouvés ailleurs. Je comptois avec raison sur un ami de trente ans qui ne me laisse rien à désirer, qu'une santé mieux affermie, et parmi une foule de connoissances agréables, je me flatte d'avoir acquis, et je ne crains pas de perdre, l'amitié d'une famille entière dont chaque individu (je parle en simple historien) possède le caractère, le genre de mérite, et les talens qui conviennent à son age, et à sa position: voilà mes richesses. Je me rappelle souvent avec reconnoissance, et avec plaisir, le bonheur que j'ai goûté, et l'accueil que j'ai reçu à Lausanne, et je ne pourrois me consoler de notre séparation, si je ne conservois pas l'espérance, disons mieux le dessein ferme et inébranlable, de revoir au printems prochain ma patrie d'adoption.

Mon voyage s'est passé sans événemens. Enfermé seul dans une boëte roulante, je jouïssois doucement d'un tableau mouvant qui se varioit à chaque instant, et au milieu de mes ideés et de mes livres, les journées s'écouloient sans ennui. Un seul trait intéressant que j'ai recueilli en traversant la Bourgogne pourra grossir le volume des causes célèbres de ces méprises fatales que les tribunaux de France nous ont si souvent fournies. En chan-

geant de chevaux je prêtois l'oreille à l'entretien du maître de poste et d'un abbé qui raisonnoient sur une affaire laquelle occupoit dans ce moment-là tous les esprits: une justice présidiale avoit condamné deux accusés, l'un à la potence, l'autre aux galères: ils en appellèrent au parlement de Dijon; et ce tribunal suprême afin de ne pas copier trop servilement l'arrêt d'une cour inférieure, s'avisa de laisser toujours subsister les deux jugemens mais de faire changer de rôle aux deux acteurs: le pendu mourut comme vous le sentez bien, le forçat aussi: il s'est trouvé depuis, que tous les deux étoient innocens. Des amis de l'humanité se sont pourvus devant le conseil, qui vient de renvoyer l'affaire au même parlement de Dijon, et cette assemblée délibère actuellement s'il convient à sa gloire de réhabiliter la mémoire de ces deux infortunés qu'elle a assassinés du glaive de la justice.

J'ai traversé la mer par un calme assez ennuyeux, et à Londres, dans cette saison, je n'ai trouvé qu'une vaste solitude. Après avoir expédié les affaires les plus pressantes qui m'appelloient dans cette capitale, je me suis rendu au Château de mon ami Lord Sheffield, séjour du repos, et de l'amitié. Depuis trois ou quatre semaines j'y mène une vie des plus tranquilles: mon goût et mes forces ne s'accordent guères avec les exercices champêtres. Je souffre quelques visites du voisinage, sans les rendre trop exactement, et je ne me suis permis qu'une seule course aux eaux de Tunbridge à six lieues d'ici: l'endroit, très agréable par lui même, étoit rempli de fort bonne compagnie: Madame Trevor,

Trevor et Lady Clarges venoient de le quitter. Chemin faisant j'y ai renouvellé beaucoup de connoissances, mais l'objet de cette course étoit mon ancien ami Lord North, avec qui j'ai passé la journée entière: je l'ai trouvé aveugle mais gai, et assez consolé de son malheur au milieu de sa famille. Le public, quoique partagé sur le mérite de ce ministre, se réunit pour aimer, et pour plaindre l'homme honnête et intéressant. Je pourrois vous parler, Madame, de nos affaires politiques et de la résolution unanime du ministère et de la nation de soutenir le Stathouder par les négociations ou par les armes: mais j'aime mieux vous entretenir d'un jeune homme qui nous intéresse bien plus que toutes les puissances de l'Europe. J'espère que vous conservez toujours, Monsieur de Severy et vous, l'intention favorable de m'envoyer notre fils (si vous voulez bien me permettre de lui donner ce nom.)

Plus j'y pense, (et j'y ai beaucoup pensé,) et plus je suis convaincu que ce voyage sera utile pour lui et sans danger, qu'il sera charmé d'avoir appris la langue et d'avoir vu le pays, qu'il se developpera en tout sens, qu'il formera des liaisons, et qu'il retournera à Lausanne plus propre aux *grandes aventures*, ou plus content de vivre tranquille au sein de son pays. Je me repens déjà de ne l'avoir pas emmené avec moi, et lorsque je songe au tems qu'il lui faudra pour acquérir une nouvelle langue, il me semble qu'il vaudroit mieux le faire partir sans délai, et lui accorder trois ou quatre mois de retraite à la campagne avant son début dans la capitale.

En raisonnant avec Lord Sheffield sur le choix d'un endroit convenable, il s'en est présenté un tel que nous pourrions le désirer, à deux lieues seulement de son château : je pourrai voir très souvent notre élève, il y sera reçu avec plaisir par Lord Sheffield : je lui promets la chasse au renard, au lièvre et au fusil ; s'il peut se passer de domestique en route il lui sera beaucoup plus avantageux de prendre un Anglois sur les lieux. Le grand chemin de Pontarlier à Calais est assez frayé, et les occasions en poste ou avec un voiturier doivent se présenter très souvent, mais le pas d'un voiturier seroit bien lent pour notre impatience. A son arrivée à Londres Wilhelm s'adressera à *Elmsley libraire, opposite to Southampton-street in the Strand,* qui dirigera ses premières démarches, et le fera partir (si je ne suis pas en ville) pour le château de Sheffield, où tout est déjà prevenu en sa faveur. Mais je suis presque tenté de vous proposer une autre route qui n'a d'autre inconvénient qu'une plus longue traversée de mer, ce seroit de suivre par les voitures publiques le grand chemin de Genève, Lyon, Paris, (sans s'y arrêter,) et Dieppe, de passer dans le paquebot de Dieppe à Brighthelmstone, où il s'adresseroit à Monsieur S——, marchand très connu, qui le fera conduire tout de suite à Sheffield distant de six lieues seulement de ce port. Quelque parti que vous preniez, j'ose vous supplier de vouloir bien me le communiquer sur le champ : il me semble que nous n'avons point de tems à perdre ; je ferai une petite course à Londres le mois prochain, mais je pourrai l'avancer ou la retarder de quelques jours

suivant

suivant vos arrangemens. Rappellez moi au souvenir du *petit troupeau* de Lausanne: j'attends avec impatience des nouvelles de Deyverdun. J'embrasse Monsieur de Severy et Wilhelm, sans oser prendre cette liberté avec Angletine. Adieu, Madame, le papier me manque pour les formules, mais je les crois assez superflues.

N° CCXV.

M. GIBBON *à M. de* SEVERY.

Sheffield-Place, ce 4 Novembre, 1787.

JE ne saurois, Monsieur, laisser partir les dépêches de notre fils sans vous dire avec combien de plaisir je l'ai embrassé et quelle joye j'ai ressentie à voir réaliser des projets que nous avions formés dans mon petit pavillon à Lausanne. Il est arrivé en parfaite santé, très content ce me semble des premiers pas qu'il a faits dans cette grande entreprise, et je me persuade de plus en plus qu'elle lui réussira à tous égards. Son début dans le petit cercle de Sheffield-Place a été très heureux. Il plait déjà à tout le monde, depuis Milord, jusqu'au petit chien de Milady; et si les premières politesses sont pour mon compte, les suivantes à l'infini seront pour lui: nous allons bientôt l'établir dans son village. Milord Sheffield le garderoit volontiers au château, mais s'il restoit avec nous il n'apprendroit jamais l'anglois, et il faut savoir sacrifier l'agréable à l'utile. Je lui annonce quelques semaines d'ennui et qu'il n'est pas possible de lui sauver: nous

tâcherons

tâcherons de les adoucir par les petites ressources de la musique et de la chasse, mais il ne faut pas que le clavecin ni le chien parlent françois—il m'a montré la lettre que vous lui avez donnée pour votre banquier, lettre très bonne assurément, mais très inutile: permettez-moi de me charger uniquement de ce petit détail, et à mon retour à Lausanne les deux pères compteront ensemble. Il sera bon cependant, qu'il vous indique de tems en tems l'argent qu'il me demande, afin que vous puissiez rallentir son allure si elle se trouve un peu trop vive: je lui vois les dispositions les plus sages, et les plus modestes, mais dans la navigation périlleuse des grandes villes il y a bien des écueils. Jusqu'à présent j'ai mené la vie la plus tranquille, mais dans une quinzaine de jours, à la rentrée du parlement, j'irai passer quelques jours à Londres, et ensuite à Bath; je reviendrai ici avant les fêtes, et nous ne serons solidement établis en ville que vers le milieu du mois de Janvier. Soyez persuadé que non seulement dans les bois de Sheffield, mais au milieu de la dissipation de Londres je penserai toujours à Lausanne, et à mon retour. Pour vous, après avoir couru le bal et la comédie à R. . . . . vous retournerez à Lausanne au mois de Décembre, très fiers d'avoir passé l'automne à la campagne.

Adieu, Monsieur, je n'ajoute rien pour Madame et Mademoiselle de Severy: elles connoissent mes sentimens, et toute votre maison n'a qu'une ame et un esprit.

N°

N° CCXVI.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to the Right Honourable Lord* SHEFFIELD.

Monday Afternoon, 1787.

I PRECIPITATE! I inconvenience! Alas! alas! I am a poor miserable cripple, confined to my chair. Last Wednesday evening I felt some flying symptoms of the gout: for two succeeding days I struggled bravely, and went in a chair to dine with Batt and Lord Loughborough: but on Saturday I yielded to my conqueror. I have now passed three wearisome days without amusement, and three miserable nights without sleep. Yet my acquaintance are charitable; and as virtue should never be made too difficult, I feel that a man has more friends in Pall-mall than in Bentinck-street. This fit is remarkably painful; the enemy is possessed of the left foot and knee, and how far he may carry the war God only knows. Of futurity it is impossible to speak; but it will be fortunate if I am able to leave town by the end, not of this, but of the ensuing week. What may be the future progress, whether slow or rapid, fluctuating or steady, time alone will determine; and to that master of human knowledge I must leave our Bath journey. Pity me, magnanimous Baron; pity me, tender females; pity me, Swiss exile;* and believe me, it is far better to be learning English at Uckfield. I write with difficulty, as the least motion or constraint in

* M. Wilhelm de Severy.

my

my attitude is repeated by all the nerves and sinews in my knee. But you shall find each day a note or bulletin of my health. To-morrow I must give pain to Mrs. Gibbon. Adieu. Ever yours.

N° CCXVII.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to the Right Honourable Lady* SHEFFIELD.

December 18th, 1787.

ALAS! alas! alas! How vain and fallacious are all the designs of man! This is now the eighteenth of December, precisely one month since my departure from Sheffield-Place; and it was firmly my wish, my hope, my resolution, that after dispatching some needful business in London, and accomplishing a pious duty at Bath, I should by this day be restored to the tranquil leisure, and friendly society, of Sheffield-Place. A cruel tyrant has disconcerted all my plans; my business in town has been neglected, my attendance at Bath is just begun, and my return is yet distant. I was not a little edified to hear of some expressions of regret and discontent on my departure; and though I am not able to produce as good evidence, you will perhaps believe that in the solitude of a London lodging I often railed at the gout for maliciously delaying his attack till I was removed from a place where my suffering would have been alleviated by every kind and comfortable attention. I grew at last so desperately impatient, as to resolve on immediate flight, without waiting till I had totally expelled the

the foe, and recovered my strength. I performed the journey with tolerable ease, but the motion has agitated the remains of the humour. I am very lame, and a second fit may possibly be the punishment of my rashness.

As yet I have seen nothing of Bath except Mrs. Gibbon, and weakness, as well as propriety, will confine me very closely to her. Lord Sheffield, with Mrs. Holroyd and Maria, dined with us yesterday. We begin to throw out hints of the shortness of our stay, and indispensable business; and, unless I should be confined by the gout, it is resolved in our cabinet to leave Bath on Thursday the twenty-sixth, and passing through Lord Loughborough's and town, to settle at Sheffield-Place, most assuredly, before the end of the year. For my own part I can say with truth, that did not the press loudly demand my presence, I could, without a sigh, allow the Duchess to reign in Downing-street the greatest part of the winter, and should be happy in the society of two persons (no common blessing) whom I love, and by whom I am beloved.

Adieu, dear Madam, and believe me, with the affection of a friend and a brother, ever yours.

N° CCXVIII.

M. GIBBON *à Mad. de* SEVERY.

Sheffield-Place, ce 17 Janvier, 1788.

SANS me piquer d'être de tous les correspondants le plus exact, j'aurois répondu plutôt à la lettre aimable,

aimable, et vraiment amicale, que vous, Madame et Monsieur de Severy, me fites l'honneur de m'écrire, si je n'avois pas été retardé par des embarras pénibles et fâcheux : lorsqu'elle me parvint, j'avois déjà quitté Sheffield-Place pour faire un voyage à Londres et à Bath : à Londres pour des affaires, et à Bath pour donner quelques jours à ma belle-mère, une dame agée que j'aime, et que je respecte. A peine avois-je passé quatre jours dans la capitale lorsque ma vieille ennemie la goutte, que je croyois avoir noyée en Suisse au fond d'une jatte de lait, m'a su retrouver. L'atteinte a été longue et douloureuse ; elle m'a accompagné à Bath, elle m'a ramené ici, et ce n'est que depuis deux jours que j'ai jetté mes béquilles pour m'appuyer sur un bâton. Mon voyage, auquel j'avois destiné quatre semaines, s'est tristement prolongé à près de deux mois ; aulieu de toutes les petites douceurs qu'on rassemble dans sa maison autour de soi j'ai doublement souffert, dans les hôtels garnis, dans des auberges, sur les grands chemins, et plus d'une fois il m'a fallu monter en chaise de poste dans ces momens où j'avois le plus besoin de repos. Tranquille ici au milieu de mes amis jusqu'à notre établissement à Londres la semaine prochaine, je profite de mon loisir pour m'entretenir avec vous de l'objet sur tout qui nous intéresse le plus.—Votre amitié se plait à exagérer non pas mes sentimens pour notre jeune ami, mais les services que jusqu'à présent j'ai pu lui rendre. Mes sentimens sont déjà payés d'un retour tel que je puis le désirer, par les procédés, la confiance, et l'attachement de

mon

mon élève, dont le caractère vrai, honnête, et intéressant, se developpe tous les jours plus clairement à mes yeux. Pour ce qui est de mes soins, il ne me doit encore qu'un peu de tristesse, et beaucoup d'ennui. Après avoir donné quelques jours au plaisir de nous revoir en Angleterre, il a fallu le mener à l'ecole, et il a senti bien vivement les premiers momens de notre séparation: sa santé en a même été altérée: mais au plus fort de son abattement, lorsque, pour dernière consolation, je lui ai proposé de retourner à Lausanne, il m'a répondu du ton le plus fier, *Plutôt mourir.*—Il est resté, il n'est point mort et sa santé s'est raffermie: je vous dirai avec la plus exacte vérité qu'il démentira ses amis, et ses envieux, qui ont soutenu qu'il n'apprendroit jamais l'anglois: déjà il entend presque tout ce qui se dit: il a vaincu les difficultés de la prononciation, il lit très bien, et toutes les fois qu'il en a le courage, il fait des efforts très heureux pour s'exprimer dans notre langue. Notre départ prochain ne lui laissera que trop de loisir, et lorsqu'il viendra au commencement du mois de Mars nous retrouver à Londres, je suis persuadé que nous serons encore plus étonnés de ses progrès: il sème à cette heure, c'est alors qu'il moissonnera, et les trois mois qu'il pourra passer avec moi et mes amis, lui laisseront bien des souvenirs agréables et utiles.

Permettez à présent que je descende pour un moment de votre salon à la cuisine. Je vous remercie mille fois des soins que vous avez bien voulu vous donner, pour me trouver une gouvernante, et

je

je sens tout le prix de votre obligeante intention de la prendre chez vous dès le mois d'Avril: pour peu qu'elle ait de dispositions, elle ne peut que se perfectionner à une si bonne école; vous aurez sans doute la bonté de communiquer cet arrangement à Monsieur Deyverdun. J'apprends avec une véritable satisfaction qu'il se porte mieux, et qu'il passe bien des soirées dans une maison, où je me retrouve souvent par la foi, et l'espérance. Vous voudrez bien lui annoncer une lettre de ma part, peu après mon arrivée à Londres: mais je ne lui fais point d'excuses, puisque nous sommes également coupables.

Adieu, Madame, le papier me manque: mes sentimens sont inépuisables.

N° CCXIX.

Dr. William Robertson *to Mr.* Gibbon.

My dear Sir, College of Edinburgh, Feb. 27th, 1788.

Though you have now been some time in London, yet as I heard of your welfare by different channels, and as I know from experience how much a man has to do who is printing three quartos, even after he thinks they are altogether ready for the press, I have hitherto forborne to interrupt you by any letter or inquiry of mine. But there is such a general impatience to see your new publication among people of letters here; and, as your friend, I am so frequently interrogated about the length it has advanced, and the time when it will appear,

appear, that I begin to be ashamed of knowing nothing more about it than other people. I must request of you then to furnish me with such information as may both preserve my credit, and gratify my own curiosity. My expectations from this part of your work are, indeed, very high. Your materials begin to improve, and are certainly much more copious than during a great part of the period you have gone through. You have three or four events as great, and splendid, and singular, as the heart of an historian could wish to delineate. The contemporary writers will furnish you with all the necessary facts. To adorn them as elegant writers, or to account for them as philosophers, never entered into their heads. This they have left to you.

Since you went to the continent I have not done so much as I wished. My health, until lately, has been more shattered; and as I advance in life, (I am now sixty-six,) though my faculties, I imagine, are still entire, yet I find my mind less active and ardent. I have, however, finished a very careful revise of all my works, and have given them the last polish they will receive from my hand. I have made some additions to each of them, and in the History of Scotland pretty considerable ones. I have desired Mr. Strahan to send to you a copy of them uniformly bound, and hope you will accept of them, as a memorial of my esteem and affection. You will see that I have got in Mr. Whitaker an adversary so bigotted and zealous, that though I have denied no article of faith, and am at least as orthodox as himself, yet he rails against me with

all the asperity of theological hatred. I shall adhere to my fixed maxim of making no reply. May I hope that when you see Lord Loughborough you will remember me to him with kindness and respect. Our friend Mr. Smith, whom we were in great danger of losing, is now almost perfectly re-established. I have the honour to be, with great truth, your most faithful humble Servant,

WILLIAM ROBERTSON.

N° CCXX.

Lord NORTH *to* EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq.*

DEAR SIR, Grosvenor-street, May 1st, 1788.

UPON the receipt of your books and the perusal of your preface,* my heart was too full to give you an immediate answer: so kind and honourable a testimony of your friendship and esteem would have afforded me the greatest pleasure in the moment of my highest health and political prospe-

* Alluding to the following beautiful and just encomium in the Preface to the last three volumes of Mr. Gibbon's History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire: "Were I ambitious of any other patron than the public, I would inscribe this work to a Statesman who, in a long, a stormy, and at length an unfortunate administration, had many political opponents, almost without a personal enemy: who has retained in his fall from power many faithful and disinterested friends, and who, under the pressure of severe infirmity, enjoys the lively vigour of his mind, and the felicity of his incomparable temper. Lord North will permit me to express the feelings of friendship in the language of truth, but even truth and friendship should be silent if he still dispensed the favours of the Crown." S.

rity;

rity; judge then what I must feel upon receiving it in my retirement, while labouring under a calamity which would be severe, were it not for the goodness of my friends. I have it, thank God, in my power to return your kindness in the manner which will be most agreeable to you, by assuring you sincerely that nothing could have given me more real comfort and satisfaction than the notice that you have taken of me.

I am, dear Sir,
Most gratefully yours,
NORTH.

N° CCXXI.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to the Right Honourable Lord* SHEFFIELD.

Downing-street, June 21st, 1788.

INSTEAD of the Historian you receive a short letter, in your eyes an indispensable tribute. This day, at length, after long delay and frequent expostulation, I have received the writings, which I am now in the act of signing, sealing and delivering, according to the lawyer's directions. * * * * * * * * I long to be at Sheffield-Place. You see my departure is not postponed a moment by idleness or pleasure, but the precise day still hangs on contingencies, and we must all be patient, if our wishes should be thwarted. I say our wishes, for I sincerely desire to be with you. I have had many dinners, some splendid and memorable, with Hastings last Thursday, with the

Prince of Wales next Tuesday at Craufurd's. But the town empties, Texier is silent, and in an evening, I *desiderate* the resources of a family or a club. Caplin has finished the Herculean labour, and seven majestic boxes will abdicate on Monday your hall. Severy has likewise dispatched his affairs, and secured his companion Clarke, who is arrived in town; but his schemes are abridged by the inexorable rigour of Lord Howe, who has assured our great and fair intercessors, that by the King's order the dock-yards are shut against all strangers. We therefore give up Portsmouth, and content ourselves with two short trips; one to Stowe and Oxford, the other to Chatham; and if we can catch a launch and review, *encore vit on.* He (Severy, not Lord Howe) salutes with me the family. Adieu. Yours.

N° CCXXII.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to the Right Honourable Lord* SHEFFIELD.

Downing-street, Saturday.

ACCORDING to your imperious law I write a line, to postpone my arrival till Friday, or perhaps Saturday, but I hope Friday, and I promise you that not a moment shall be wasted. And now let me add a cool word as to my final departure, which is irrevocably fixed between the tenth and fifteenth of July. After a full and free enjoyment of each other's society, let us submit, without a struggle, to reason and fate. It would be idle to pretend business

ness at Lausanne; but a complete year will elapse before my return. Severy and myself are now expected with some impatience. I am thankful for your hospitable entertainment; but I wish you to remember Homer's admirable precept:

"Welcome the coming, *speed* the parting guest."

Spare me, therefore, spare yourself, the trouble of a fruitless contest, in which, according to a great author, I foresee a certain loss of time, and a probable loss of temper. I believe we shall have both Craufurd and Hugonin at Sheffield-place. Adieu.

N° CCXXIII.

The Same to the Same.

Downing-street, Saturday, June, 1788.

I HAVE but a moment between my return home and my dressing, and heartily tired I am; for I am now involved in the horrors of shopping, packing, &c. yet I must write four lines, to prevent a growl, which might salute the arrival of an empty-handed post on Sunday. I hope the whole caravan, Christians and Pagans, arrived in good health at the castle; that the turrets begin to rise to the third heaven; that each has found a proper occupation; and that Tuft* enjoys the freedom and felicity of the lawn. Yesterday the august scene was closed for this year. Sheridan surpassed himself; and though I am far from considering him as a perfect

* Lady Sheffield's lap-dog.

orator, there were many beautiful passages in his speech, on justice, filial love, &c.; one of the closest chains of argument I ever heard, to prove that Hastings was responsible for the acts of Middleton; and a compliment, much admired, to a certain Historian of your acquaintance. Sheridan, in the close of his speech, sunk into Burke's arms; —a good actor; but I called this morning, he is perfectly well. Adieu.

N° CCXXIV.

M. Gibbon *à M. de* Severy.

Sheffield-place, ce 30 Juin, 1788.

Lorsque la réputation est une fois perdue on n'a plus rien à ménager. Nous connoissons des femmes qui ont sçu tirer parti d'un principe aussi commode, et il me sert dans ce moment vis à vis de Mr. W***. Je devois lui donner à dîner le 1r de Juin. Je lui ai manqué de parole, il ne compte plus sur mon exactitude pour le 1r Juillet, et il n'en pensera pas plus mal en le renvoyant comme je fais à présent au 1r Août. Le jour de mon départ du château de Sheffield est enfin fixé au 15 Juillet, et la mer dans cette saison est si traitable que je serai moi même étonné si je ne me trouve pas à Lausanne le 25 ou 26 du même mois. N'attribuez cependant pas, Monsieur, ce retard, qui s'est prolongé de semaine en semaine, uniquement à la légèreté de mon caractère. Le départ des Sheffield pour la province a été retardé par le procès de Hastings, et je n'ai pu leur refuser mes derniers instans;

instans; quinze jours ou trois semaines à la campagne; un arrangement assez avantageux au sujet d'une petite terre détachée que j'ai vendue m'a occupé vers la fin de mon séjour; et vous ne me ferez pas un crime d'avoir accordé quelques jours de plus aux dernières courses de notre enfant qui me rejoint bientôt ici. A propos de cet enfant, je saisis le moment de son absence pour vous dire du fond de mon cœur combien j'en suis content. Si j'ai pu lui être de quelque utilité j'en suis bien recompensé par l'attachement qu'il me témoigne, et par les plaisirs de père qu'il me fait éprouver: jusqu'à ce jour sa conduite ne m'a pas donné un instant de regret, ou d'inquiétude: nous parlerons de lui à notre aise sur ma terrasse, ou auprès de votre feu. Adieu, Monsieur, Madame, et Mademoiselle: car j'écris en même tems à tous les trois: je ne puis me résoudre à mêler un objet aussi intéressant avec mes détails de maison: cependant je prie Madame de Severy de donner à ma gouvernante les ordres nécessaires pour la renaissance du ménage: voilà un billet pour Monsieur Deyverdun.

P. S. Milady Sheffield dit qu'elle ne sera heureuse qu'en faisant la connoissance de Madame de Severy. Il est vrai que nous sommes peintres, et que nous attrapons assez bien la ressemblance.

N° CCXXV.

Dr. WILLIAM ROBERTSON *to Mr.* GIBBON.

DEAR SIR, College of Edinburgh, July 30th, 1788.

LONG before this I should have acknowledged the receipt of your most acceptable present; but for several weeks I have been afflicted with a violent fit of deafness, and that unsocial malady is always accompanied with such a degree of languor, as renders even the writing of a letter an effort. During my solitude the perusal of your book has been my chief amusement and consolation. I have gone through it once with great attention, and am now advanced to the last volume in my second reading. I ventured to predict the superior excellence of the volumes lately published, and I have not been a false prophet. Indeed, when I consider the extent of your undertaking, and the immense labour of historical and philosophic research requisite towards executing every part of it, I am astonished that all this should have been accomplished by one man. I know no example, in any age or nation, of such a vast body of valuable and elegant information communicated by any individual. I feel, however, some degree of mortification mingled with my astonishment. Before you began your historic career, I used to pride myself in being at least the most industrious historian of the age; but now, alas! I can pretend no longer even to that praise, and must say, as Pliny did of his uncle, *Si comparer illi,*

illi, sum desidiosissimus. Your style appears to me improved in these new volumes; by the habit of writing, you write with greater ease. I am sorry to find that our ideas on the effects of the Crusades do not altogether coincide. I considered that point with great care, and cannot help thinking still that my opinion was well founded. I shall consult the authorities to which I refer; for when my sentiments differ from yours, I have some reason to distrust them, and I may possibly trouble you with a letter on the subject. I am much flattered with the manner in which you have so often mentioned my name. *Lætus sum laudari a te laudato viro.* I feel much satisfaction in having been distinguished by the two historians of my own times, whose favourable opinion I was most ambitious of obtaining.

I hope this letter may find you still in England. When you return to Lausanne, permit me to recommend to your good offices my youngest son, who is now at Yverdun on account of his health, and lives with M. Herman, a clergyman there. You will find the young man (if you can rely on the partial testimony of a father) sensible, modest, and well-bred, and though no great scholar, he has seen much; having returned from India, where he served last war, by Bassora, Bagdat, Moussul, and Aleppo. He is now a Captain in the twenty-third regiment. If you have any friend at Yverdun, be so good as to recommend him. It will do him credit to have your countenance. I have desired him to pay his respects to you at Lausanne.

Farewell,

Farewell, my dear Sir. I ever am yours most faithfully,

WILLIAM ROBERTSON.

N° CCXXVI.

Major RENNELL *to* EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq.*

DEAR SIR, London, August 21st, 1788.

IF I had the ability to express how much pleasure and information I have derived from *only* a hasty perusal of your late work, I would endeavour to express it. Much of the pleasure, perhaps, arose from the consciousness that it affords such rich materials for the geography of the eastern countries; and that I may be enabled to keep alive the opinion which you have been pleased to express concerning my former labours. But this is too selfish. I am no less conscious of the obligations I have to your works for enlarging my ideas on the great subject of the history of mankind, for storing my mind with historic facts, and for enabling me to arrange them.

As I informed you before, my next task is the Geography of Persia, together with the rest of the countries situated between the east end of the Mediterranean and the Indus, and between the parallels of the north end of the Caspian, and the Arabian *Sea*. The scale one inch to a degree. It will be contained in one sheet of grand eagle. The construction of the parallels and meridians (many days work!) is completed, but the investigation of latitudes, and particularly the longitudes of

of the fundamental points, will prevent me from making any progress in the construction for some time. I am possessed of a curious Arabic map of the tract in question. It was engraved at Constantinople, A. H. 1142, and the names (according to Mr. Wilkins) are very correctly engraved. It contains more of *Transoxiana* than any map I ever saw. We have been promised a map of the Euphrates and Tigris, from (I think) M. Beauchamp. I am certain that D'Anville has mistaken the relative courses of those rivers; Ives and Ranwolf tell me as much; and D'Anville's Euphrates is also faulty in the part between Zeugma and Babylon, and is placed too far from the Mediterranean; how to correct it is the point. All the *natural* geography of the tract in question must be effected by means of modern documents, for the ancient are too vague, generally speaking. I hope you continue to enjoy your health.

I am, with great truth,
Dear Sir,
Your obliged and faithful humble Servant,
T. RENNELL.

N° CCXXVII.

M. GIBBON *à S. E. M.* l'AVOYER DE SINNER.

MONSIEUR,

DÈS ma plus tendre jeunesse j'ai connu la sagesse et l'équité du gouvernement Bernois, et dans ma retraite à Lausanne je partage depuis cinq ans le

le bonheur commun des sujets de la république. Mais je viens d'éprouver dans une contravention involontaire aux loix, la bienveillance particulière du souverain. L'objet sans doute est peu important par lui-même, mais je sens très vivement les procédés flatteurs et distingués de leurs Excellences à mon égard, en me restituant le vin de Madère que j'avois fait entrer sans patente, et en me dispensant généreusement de la confiscation et de l'amende. Je prends la liberté, Monsieur, de m'adresser à votre Excellence pour faire parvenir l'expression de ma reconnoissance au conseil suprême qu'elle préside. Qu'il daigne agréer l'hommage d'un homme libre qui n'a jamais su flatter ni les peuples ni les princes.

J'ai l'honneur d'être, avec respect,
Monsieur, de V. E. &c.

N° CCXXVIII.

S. E. M. l'Avoyer De Sinner *à M.* Gibbon.

Monsieur, Berne, ce 28 7bre, 1788.

Nous devons être sensibles aux sentimens qu'un homme de votre réputation et de vos lumières voue à notre gouvernement. Je ne manquerai pas de mettre sous les yeux de LL. EE. la lettre qui nous prouve ces sentimens.

C'est en effet à l'estime générale que vos savans ouvrages vous ont acquise, que nous n'avons pas hésité de vous donner la petite preuve de notre considération, dont vous voulez bien, Monsieur, m'adresser des remercîmens si obligeans.

Je

Je souhaite que l'ultérieur séjour que vous voudrez encore faire dans ce canton, nous fournisse des occasions plus essentielles de vous convaincre de notre estime. Je joins à ces assurances celles de la considération distinguée avec laquelle j'ai l'honneur d'être.

Monsieur,

Votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur,

L'AVOYER DE SINNER.

N° CCXXIX.

Dr. ADAM SMITH *to Mr.* GIBBON.

MY DEAR FRIEND, Edinburgh, Dec. 10th, 1788.

I HAVE ten thousand apologies to make, for not having long ago returned you my best thanks for the very agreeable present you made me of the three last volumes of your History. I cannot express to you the pleasure it gives me to find, that by the universal assent of every man of taste and learning, whom I either know or correspond with, it sets you at the very head of the whole literary tribe at present existing in Europe. I ever am, my dear friend,

Most affectionately yours,

ADAM SMITH.

N° CCXXX.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to Lady* PORTEN, Kensington-Palace.

DEAR MADAM, Lausanne, June 27th, 1789.

I RECEIVED with more concern than surprize, your kind notification of my poor uncle's departure.

ture. My own knowledge of his many valuable qualities teaches me to sympathize in your loss; but his long infirmities and gradual decay must have prepared you for the melancholy event, and your own reason will suggest the best and strongest motives of consolation: among these is your regard for the amiable children whom he has left behind. Your labours for their future happiness will be assisted by all your friends, who are attached to his memory; and for my own part, I beg leave to assure you, that on every occasion I shall consider them as my near and dear relations. When I had last the pleasure of seeing Charlotte at Kensington, I was delighted with her innocent cheerfulness, with her assiduous care of her poor father, and with an appearance of sense and discretion far beyond her years. How happy should I think myself, if I had a daughter of her age and disposition, who in a short time would be qualified to govern my family, and to be my companion and comfort in the decline of life!

You will, I am sure, be pleased to hear that my situation at Lausanne continues, almost in every respect, as agreeable as I could wish. The only circumstance which embitters my happiness, is the declining health of my friend Mons. Deyverdun. I cannot long flatter myself with the hope of possessing him. I am, dear Madam, &c.

N°

N° CCXXXI.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to Mrs.* GIBBON, Belvidere, Bath.

DEAR MADAM, Lausanne, May 18th, 1791.

As much as I am accustomed to my own sins, I am shocked, really shocked, when I think of my long and most inexcusable silence; nor do I dare to compute how many months I have suffered to elapse without sending a single line (Oh shame! shame!) to the best and dearest of my friends, who indeed has been very seldom out of my thoughts. I have sometimes imagined that if the opportunities of writing occurred less frequently, they would be seized with more diligence; but the unfortunate departure of the post twice every week encourages procrastination, and each short successive delay is indulged without scruple, till the whole has swelled to a tremendous account. I will try, alas! to reform; and, although I am afraid that writing grows painful to you, I have the confidence to solicit a *speedy line*, to say that you love and forgive me. After a long experience of the unfeeling doubts and delays of the law, you will probably soon hear from Lord Sheffield that the Beriton transaction is at last concluded, and I hope that you will be satisfied with the full and firm security of your annuity. That you may long continue to enjoy it is the first and most sincere wish of my heart.

In the placid course of our lives, at Lausanne and

and Bath, we have few events to relate, and fewer changes to describe; but I indulge myself in the pleasing belief that we are both as well and as happy as the common order of nature will allow us to expect. I should be satisfied, had I received from time to time some indirect, but agreeable, information of your health. For myself, I have no complaint, except the gout; and though the visits of my old enemy are somewhat longer, and more enfeebling, they are confined to my feet and knees; the pain is moderate, and my imprisonment to my chamber, or my chair, is much alleviated by the daily kindness of my friends. I wish it were in my power to give you an adequate idea of the conveniency of my house, and the beauty of my garden; both of which I have improved at a considerable expense since the death of poor Deyverdun. But the loss of a friend is indeed irreparable. Were I ten years younger, I might possibly think of a female companion; but the choice is difficult, the success doubtful, the engagement perpetual, and at fifty-four a man should never think of altering the whole system of his life and habits. The disposal of Beriton, and the death of my aunt Hester, who has left me her estate in Sussex, makes me very easy in my worldly affairs: my income is equal to my expense, and my expense is adequate to my wishes. You may possibly have heard of literary projects which are ascribed to me by the public without my knowledge: but it is much more probable that I have closed the account; and though I shall never lay aside the pleasing occupations

cupations of study, you may be assured that I have no serious settled thoughts of a new work. Next year I shall meditate, and I trust shall execute, a visit to England, in which the Belvidere is one of my powerful loadstones. I often reflect with a painful emotion on the imperious circumstances which have thrown us at such a distance from each other.

In the moving picture of the world, you cannot be indifferent to the strange revolution which has humbled all that was high, and exalted all that was low, in France. The irregular and lively spirit of the nation has disgraced their liberty, and instead of building a free constitution, they have only exchanged despotism for anarchy. This town and country are crowded with noble exiles; and we sometimes count in an assembly a dozen Princesses and Duchesses. Burke, if I remember right, is no favourite of yours; but there is surely much eloquence and much sense in his book. The prosperity of England forms a proud contrast with the disorders of France; but I hope we shall avoid the folly of a Russian war. Pitt, in this instance, seems too like his father. Mr. Helrard, a sensible man, and his pupil have left us. They found, as your friends will always find, the weight of your recommendation with me. I am, dearest Madam, ever most affectionately yours.

N° CCXXXII.

Dr. WILLIAM ROBERTSON *to Mr.* GIBBON.

DEAR SIR, Lennel-House, Aug. 25th, 1791.

SOME time before the publication of my Historical Disquisition concerning India I desired our friend Mr. Cadell to send a copy of it to you in my name. I hope you received it long ago, and will allow it to remain in your library, as a memorial of my respect and friendship. No man had formed a more decided resolution of retreating early from public view, and of spending the eve of life in the tranquillity of professional and domestic occupations; but, directly in the face of that purpose, I step forth with a new work, when just on the brink of threescore and ten. The preface of the book gives a fair and simple account how this happened. Hitherto I have no cause to repent of a step which I took with hesitation and anxiety. My book has met with a reception beyond what the *spe lentus, pavidusque futuri,* dared to expect. I find, however, like other parents, that I have a partial fondness for this child of my old age; and cannot set my heart quite at ease, until I know your opinion of it. I need not say with what perfect confidence I rest upon your judgment, and how happy it will make me to find that this production meets with your approbation. Nothing will add so much to that pleasure, as your communicating to me any remarks that occurred to you in perusing it. While I was engaged in composing

ing the Disquisition it often occurred to me, that I was more upon your ground than in any of my former works; and I often wished that I had been so near to you as to profit by your advice and information. Next to that will be the benefit that I may derive from your friendly strictures. Be so kind then as to mention to me any error or omission you have observed; every criticism of yours will be instructive.

Permit me to request another favour. You allowed me to hope, that as soon as you fixed upon a new subject you would let me know, and give me the satisfaction of indulging the hopes of living until you finished it. I trust that you are not idle still. I may now tell you with authority, that you are yet far from that period of life when you should lay down your pen. I can say from experience, that the busiest season of life is the most happy; and I have no doubt that you will concur with me in this sentiment. Let me know then, my dear Sir, how you are, what you are doing, and what progress you make. As for my part, I enjoy good health; and, except some fits of deafness, am little troubled with the infirmities of old age. I write this at my son-in-law's, Mr. Brydone, who, if he had not a wife and family, loves Switzerland so well, and has so many friends in Lausanne, that I believe he would gladly join you there. Believe me to be, with great respect, your most faithful obedient servant,

WILLIAM ROBERTSON.

N° CCXXXIII.

M. de Saussure *à M.* Gibbon.

Monsieur, Genève, ce 31 Mars, 1792.

J'entendis hier avec bien de l'intérêt la lecture que M. de Germani fit à notre société de la lettre que vous lui avez adressée. Mais j'y vis avec peine que vous paroissiez croire que j'avois cherché à établir que le *sentiment* de la reconnoissance étoit inconnu aux anciens Grecs. Je parlai du *mot*, du *remercîment*, qui en est l'expression, mais j'étois bien éloigné de douter du sentiment. Je le dis expressément; j'ajoutai que ce sentiment se manifestant même chez les animaux, il étoit impossible de supposer que l'homme en eût jamais été destitué; j'employai enfin, pour prouver l'existence du sentiment et du devoir de la reconnoissance, l'argument que vous employez vous même, Monsieur; je dis que quelqu'un qui demandoit un service à un autre commenceroit toujours par lui rappeller les services qu'il lui avoit lui-même rendus.

Je citai Thétis, qui, lorsqu'elle va demander un service d'abord à Jupiter, puis à Vulcain, commence par rappeller à l'un qu'elle l'a délié lorsque les dieux l'avoient garotté, et à l'autre qu'elle l'a recueilli lorsque Junon l'avoit précipité du haut des cieux. J'avois donc pris toutes les précautions possibles pour qu'on ne crût pas que je niois l'existence de ce sentiment chez les Grecs.

Sans doute, Monsieur, vous futes distrait pendant

dant cette partie de mon rapport, et lorsqu'on a comme vous la tête remplie de grandes et belles idées, il est permis de les suivre et de laisser courir celles des autres. Mais comme l'idée que vous m'avez attribuée est tout à la fois infiniment absurde et immorale, il m'est impossible de vous laisser croire que je l'ai eue.

Quant au *mot*, je ne crois pas qu'Hésiode ni Homère ayent jamais employé χαρις et ses dérivés autrement que comme les substantifs *de gracieux* et *d'agréable*. Les vœux d'Ulysse pour les Phéaciens et pour Nausicaé sont heureusement choisis pour défendre cette thèse; ils ne contiennent cependant point ce qui fait l'essence du remercîment, savoir l'idée de *l'obligation* proprement dite, et du désir de *rendre la pareille*. D'ailleurs cet exemple est presque unique; dans les dix neuf vingtièmes des services rendus on les met en poche et tout est dit. Enfin ce qui m'avoit paru absolument décisif dans cette question c'est que les sacrifices innombrables dont Homère donne la description sont tous d'*invocation*, sans qu'il y en ait un seul d'*actions de graces*; que le mot de χαριστηρια, qui exprime les sacrifices, ne se trouve ni dans Hésiode ni dans Homère, et que Xénophon est le premier auteur qui l'a employé; et qu'encore une fois la chose même ne se trouve point; que, par exemple, Achille, après sa grande victoire, Ulysse après la sienne sur les galans de sa femme, n'en rendent pas graces à Minerve qui n'a pas cessé de combattre à côté d'eux et de leur rendre ostensiblement les plus signalés services.

Je n'insisterai pas davantage sur la partie littéraire de cette question, et si vous persistez à croire que les anciens Grecs *remercioient* et *exprimoient* la reconnoissance comme l'ont fait ensuite les Grecs modernes, et les Latins et nous, je n'aurai point honte de m'être trompé vis à vis de vous; mais ce donc je rougirois éternellement, ce seroit d'avoir pu croire que le *sentiment* de la reconnoissance est une invention moderne, et presqu'une affaire de mode; c'est cela qui seroit d'un tigre ou d'un Jacobin, pour me servir, Monsieur, de cet ingénieux rapprochement que vous employez dans votre lettre.

J'ai saisi avec empressement cette occasion de vous prouver, Monsieur, combien je mets de prix à votre estime, combien et moi et ma famille nous avons été charmés de lier avec vous une connoissance plus particulière, et combien nous désirerions tous d'être plus à portée de la cultiver.

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec la considération la plus distinguée,

Monsieur,

Votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur,

DE SAUSSURE.

N° CCXXXIV.

M. le Professeur HEYNE *à M.* GIBBON.

MONSIEUR, Gottingen, ce 4 Août, 1792.

CE n'est pas une prérogative à laquelle on puisse être insensible, d'avoir l'honneur d'être connu d'un savant du premier ordre, et d'être informé des sentimens favorables de sa part. Ainsi permettez, Monsieur,

Monsieur, que j'ose cultiver cette bonne disposition qu'on me dit que vous avez marqué sur mon sujet, et que je vous fasse l'hommage comme à un de ce petit nombre de nos contemporains qui ayent fixé mon admiration. Monsieur le Professeur Volkel, qui a été un de mes disciples, pourra attester la vérité et sincerité de mes sentimens. En même tems c'est à sa prière, que j'ose vous intéresser pour son sort; il n'est pas à sa place où il est à présent, et il pourroit être plus utile dans une autre situation. En cas donc que quelque occasion se présentera, que l'on chercheroit un gouverneur ou compagnon de voyage pour un jeune seigneur, il pourroit être proposé et recommandé avec toute apparence d'un bon succès.

Vous êtes trop bon juge de ce qu'on doit à un jeune homme, qui a mérité par ses progrès dans les études et par sa bonne conduite, qu'on s'intéresse à sa fortune, pour être offensé de la liberté que je prends. Je m'y ai laissé entrainer d'autant plus, parcequ'elle me fournissoit l'occasion si désirée pour vous faire connoître les sentimens de la plus parfaite considération avec laquelle je suis,

Monsieur,

Votre très humble et très obéissant Serviteur,

HEYNE.

N° CCXXXV.

M. Necker *à M.* Gibbon.

Ce dimanche matin.

Les Magistrats de Genève ont souscrit aux modifications proposées par Monsieur de Montesquiou; elles ne paroissent pas changer le fonds. On a expédié un courier extraordinaire pour porter à Paris cette nouvelle convention, et si l'on ne suggère pas de nouvelles difficultés, on espère que la ratification reviendra dans huit jours. Un assez grand nombre de gardes nationales entrent journellement dans Genève, et l'on ne sçait comment les refuser. On dit que Monsieur de Watteville, le commandant des troupes Suisses, se plaint de leurs relations avec ses soldats. En général la situation de Genève est bien changée.

Nous n'avons pris aucun parti pour notre retour à Genève. Nous attendons, ou la nouvelle de la ratification, ou une plus grande certitude qu'elle n'éprouvera aucune difficulté.

C'est comme nouvelliste que j'ai pris la liberté d'écrire à Monsieur Gibbon. Je lui rendrai son correspondant ordinaire, qui lui même ne trouveroit pas bon que l'on prît sa place. Mon seul mérite auprès de Monsieur Gibbon, c'est de le dispenser de répondre, mais je le prie instamment d'accepter avec intérêt et bonté, l'hommage de mon inviolable attachement.

N°

N° CCXXXVI.

Madame NECKER *à M.* GIBBON.

Copet, 13 Octobre, 1791.

JE vous prie, Monsieur, d'observer que les époques sont sacrées pour un historien; les vendanges s'approchent, vous sçavez l'engagement que vous avez pris, et d'ailleurs nous voudrions nous conformer un peu au costume de nos chers compatriotes, et nous enivrer au moins des agrémens de votre conversation. J'ai prié Monsieur Levade de vous accompagner. Je voudrois que vous déterminassiez Monsieur le Chevalier de Boufflers à se réunir avec vous, et Madame de Biron, si j'osois m'en flatter, ainsi que toutes les personnes qui pourroient vous plaire, et leur être agréables. Vous jugez du prix que je mettrois à une société si rare et si chérie; mais enfin, seul ou environné de tant d'éclat, vous serez toujours en grand nombre, puisque vous me rappellez constamment, lorsque vous parlez, ces esprits connus des Hébreux, qui n'entrent jamais qu'en légion dans le corps d'un homme; grace pour la comparaison, elle m'auroit paru plus juste, si les anges alloient ainsi par troupe, et je m'en serois servie plus volontiers. Monsieur Necker, Monsieur, joint ses instances aux miennes. Agréez l'assurance de tous nos sentimens.

N°

N° CCXXXVII.

Madame Necker *à M.* Gibbon.

A Genève, ce 30 Mars.

Je l'ai vû et je ne le crois pas, disoit Fontenelle d'un avare devenu libéral un moment; ne pourrois-je pas m'exprimer de même en recevant cette jolie, cette touchante lettre? Mais elle ne m'a pas disposée à la plaisanterie; c'est une preuve d'absence, et la douce habitude que j'avois formée ne peut se rompre sans tristesse. Vous avez fait, Monsieur, à toute notre société la même impression qu'à nous, mais pourquoi dirois-je la même? tout est reçu, selon l'axiome, à la manière de celui qui reçoit: et les ames les plus sensibles seront toujours celles qui vous admireront le plus. Je défie donc, même les deux belles veuves, de vous chérir comme nous; l'on vous juge en dehors; nous vous avons jugé dans le fond de notre cœur et nous vous y gardons.

Nous avons reçu en effet des nouvelles touchantes de l'infortunée victime dont les regards nous cherchent au moment du sacrifice; mais nous aurions voulu pouvoir vous en entretenir, car les yeux d'un ami sont le vrai télescope de la pensée; ils nous aident à traverser les plus grands espaces.

Je vous rends graces de m'avoir rassurée sur la santé de Monsieur de Severy; toute cette charmante famille m'intéresse, sous différents rapports; le mérite augmente bien de prix dans notre siècle; c'est une eau salutaire au milieu d'un aride désert.

Si les nouvelles sont vraies, l'Assemblée fait à présent

présent du ministère, le repas de l'évangile; mais il faut se taire, car s'irriter de ce qu'on fait, c'est souffrir, et s'en moquer, c'est ressembler aux barbares qui dansent et chantent autour des victimes.

La lettre de Berne a eu ici un plein succès; je vous rends grace de nous l'avoir envoyée. Les Allemans sont à présent beaucoup plus François que nous, et par leurs sentimens et même par leur langage. Je finis, Monsieur, en vous rappellant trois promesses; la lecture des Opinions Religieuses, car si elle ne change pas les vôtres, vous vivrez du moins encore plus intimément avec nous; vous jugerez du génie, de l'éloquence, et des sentimens de Monsieur Necker; et vous jugerez aussi de l'impression que j'en recevois. Je connois trop la supériorité et l'universalité de votre esprit, pour vous croire étranger aux plus grandes questions que les hommes se soient jamais proposées; ce n'est pas vous qui traiterez légèrement les profondeurs de nos destinées; ce n'est pas vous qui traiterez légèrement les affections les plus douces, les plus propres à consoler deux ames étroitement unies, qui ne peuvent plus retenir le tems prêt à s'échapper pour elles, et qui le suivent, et se suivent jusques dans les abîmes de l'éternité, et vous donnerez quelques larmes au passage qui exprime ce sentiment avec des couleurs inimitables. Je vous rappelle un autre projet qui me tient fort à cœur, et que je ne veux pas même désigner. Enfin votre troisième promesse est pour nous un bonheur présent; nous vous attendrons à Copet, et les charmes de votre société nous feront oublier encore une

une fois les peines de la vie. Nous nous réunissons, Monsieur Necker et moi, pour vous offrir l'hommage d'une tendre amitié, et il me semble qu'en me doublant ainsi, je répare auprès de vous tout ce que le tems m'a fait perdre.

N° CCXXXVIII.

Madame NECKER *à M.* GIBBON.

A Copet, ce Samedi matin.

J'ALLOIS vous écrire, Monsieur, quand j'ai reçu par M. Favre une marque de souvenir que je désirois vivement, et que mon impatience ne me permettoit plus d'attendre: malgré votre silence volontaire, malgré le silence involontaire que j'ai gardé avec vous, vouz n'avez jamais cessé un instant d'être l'objet de mon admiration, et de cette tendre et pure affection sur laquelle le tems ne peut avoir d'empire. Vos ouvrages ont fait mes délassemens les plus doux; je ne vous ai pas peint l'impression, que j'en avois reçue; car dans les deux ans du ministère orageux de M. Necker, je n'ai pas eu une heure de calme, ou de liberté: d'ailleurs l'on n'aime pas toujours entretenir un muet, sûre de l'importuner, ne fut-ce que par les remords. A présent, Monsieur, vous nous ôtez la crainte d'être indiscrets, et nous vous demandons avec instances, M. Necker et moi, de nous faire l'honneur de passer quelques jours à Copet. Adieu, Monsieur, vous me répondrez à Copet, et vous ferez un bien grand plaisir à d'anciens et fidèles amis, qui malgré

gré tous les discours sont plus que jamais dignes de votre intérêt, et de votre estime.

N° CCXXXIX.

The Same to the Same.

A Rolle, le 3 Avril.

Je réponds à votre silence, Monsieur; c'est toujours du moins une manière de me rapprocher de vous. J'en cherchois une aujourd'hui, car mon cœur se serre un peu en quittant un lieu plus voisin de celui que vous habitez, et où nous avons reçu des marques ineffaçables de votre amitié, de cette amitié dirigée par l'esprit le plus délicat, et par un instinct de bonté qui donneroit même du charme à l'indifférence. Voulez-vous bien, Monsieur, témoigner à Madame de Severy toute notre reconnoissance? J'avois le désir de lui écrire; j'ai craint de me rendre importune. Mademoiselle Geffroy m'assure que M. Monad est content de l'état où nous laissons la maison. Ce M. Monad me paroît fort honnête homme, et fort utile à ceux dont il a la confiance. Je présume que je ne tarderai pas à profiter de votre aimable invitation. Nous irons passer quelques jours dans votre palais des fées, ou plutot de génies, par une exception inouie pour moi; et que j'offre à celui qui fait aussi une exception dans notre cœur à tant d'autres égards; mais les nouvelles nous empêchent de céder encore à notre impatience par l'incertitude où elles nous jettent; les *Croisés* semblent avoir l'avantage; et le résultat de cette combinaison, ou de toute autre,

autre, fait aussi de notre fortune un problême insoluble pour le présent; cependant avant de voir des maisons, il faudroit que nos plans furent arrêtés. Vous jugez, Monsieur, par ma comparaison, que j'écris à présent de Jérusalem; vos paroles sont pour moi ces fleuves de lait et de miel de la terre promise; et je crois entendre leur doux murmure; cependant je regrette encore le plaisir que j'avois à vous entretenir pendant le jour, de mes pensées de la veille. Je vivois ainsi deux fois avec vous, dans le temps passé et dans le temps présent; et ces temps s'embellissoient l'un par l'autre; puis-je me flatter de retrouver ce bonheur dans nos allées de Copet? Prévenez-nous cependant, quand vous aurez l'intention de nous voir. Nous tâcherons de réunir quelques personnes qui veulent venir à Copet, et nous vous devrons leurs plaisirs et les nôtres. Mille tendres amitiés.

N° CCXL.

Madame Necker *à M.* Gibbon.

Je voyois arriver, Monsieur, avec un sentiment délicieux, le jour que je devois passer avec vous; le spectacle d'une habitation qui vous rend heureux auroit certainement ajouté à mon bonheur, ou diminué mes peines, pour employer un langage convenable aux circonstances. Je sens que j'aurois réuni à vous pour toujours, dans ma pensée, l'image de votre jardin, de votre bibliothèque, de tous ces sages qui vous environnent, et qui seroient restés dans la poussière des siècles, si votre bel ouvrage

ne

ne les avoit fait revivre. C'est donc absolument contre mon vœu, que j'ai différé une visite dont je me faisois une véritable fête. Vous m'avez toujours été cher ; mais l'amitié que vous montrez à M. Necker ajoute encore à celle que vous m'inspiriez à tant de titres ; et je vous aime à présent d'une double affection. Cependant je suis très en colère contre M. Necker, il a cédé à quelques raisons dont il vous rendra compte. Il n'appartient pas à tout le monde d'avoir, comme M. Gibbon, les avantages du génie, sans en avoir les inconvéniens. Les projets de M. Necker sont toujours environnés d'un cortège de troupes légères, qui ne cessent de se battre sur la route ; et l'on ne sçait jamais quel sera le résultat du combat : cette fois il a fallu consentir à un délai, et M. Necker, qui s'en affligeoit lui-même, a voulu vous écrire le premier ; mais il ne vous a point dit assez à mon gré, avec quel attendrissement, avec quelle reconnoissance nous avons reçu vos soins incomparables dans cette terrible époque de notre vie. Je ne tarderai pas, j'espère, à vaincre les obstacles qui contrarient un projet cher à mon cœur. Dans ce moment le danger éminent de M. Tronchin ne nous auroit pas permis de nous éloigner. M. Cramer doit être transporté à Genève. Mille et mille tendres hommages, Monsieur.

N°

N° CCXLI.

Madame NECKER *à M.* GIBBON.

Rolle, ce Jeudi.

MONSIEUR de Châteauneuf, Monsieur, a envoyé une addresse aux citoyens de Genève, dans laquelle, avec beaucoup de protestations pour la sureté des propriétés et des personnes, il assure qu'on se restreindra seulement à la punition des magistrats, qui ont osé solliciter le secours des Suisses. L'indignation a été à son comble, comme vous devez bien le penser; et mon cœur en est encore agité. Les magistrats, par une conduite aussi noble que celle du résident étoit basse et odieuse, ont rassemblé en armes trois mille Genevois, et leur ont lu cette addresse et une courageuse réponse. Ils ont demandé que ceux qui n'approuvoient pas la conduite des magistrats, eussent à se retirer; trois seulement sont sortis des rangs. M. le Sindic Michely a parlé comme Démosthène; et un citoyen nommé M. Chambrier, a répondu au nom du peuple avec tant de vertu et de sensibilité, que cette scène touchante peut être comparée aux plus belles de l'histoire. L'on ne nous mande pas d'ailleurs que les troupes soient augmentées. Dieu seul sçait à présent quel sera le résultat de toutes ces démarches extraordinaires. Nous attendons incessamment Monsieur Gibbon, et nous l'aimons, en attendant, de tout notre cœur, et pour jamais.

C. N.

N° CCXLII.

Madame NECKER *à M.* GIBBON.

A Copet, ce 15 Juin, 1792.

NE craignez rien, Monsieur; ce n'est pas un reproche que je viens vous faire: je sçais depuis Alcibiade, que les hommes distingués doivent toujours avoir quelques légères bisarreries: M. de Severy m'écrit ingénieusement que vous me tenez compte en amitié du silence que vous gardez avec moi; car vos affections ne sont pas comme votre génie, une corne d'abondance, qui s'accroit en se répandant. Penseriez-vous, Monsieur, que ce préambule tend à vous demander une lettre? M. Pictet m'apprend que M. de Severy recevra chez lui pendant quinze jours le Prince de Hesse, et ses deux gouverneurs. Nous avions déterminé M. et Madame Pictet à admettre ces étrangers dans leur intérieur, si l'on le désiroit; et rien ne paroissoit plus convenable pour le jeune prince que le spectacle de cette vie pure et simple, dont l'esprit et le sentiment font la seule élégance; et d'ailleurs nous croyons voir dans cet arrangement, des avantages réciproques. Cependant une introduction de confiance demande l'exemption entière de certains défauts; par exemple, si vous apperceviez de légers Germanismes, comme des libations libérales à Bacchus, je vous demanderois d'avoir la bonté de me l'insinuer sans craindre aucunes tracasseries. Il seroit aisé de trouver des prétextes pour revenir à l'ancien plan de simple locataire.

Nous pensons souvent, Monsieur, aux jours pleins de charmes que nous avons passés avec vous à Genève. J'ai éprouvé pendant cette époque un sentiment nouveau pour moi, et peut-être pour beaucoup de gens. Je réunissois dans un même lieu, et par une faveur bien rare de la Providence, une des douces et pures affections de ma jeunesse, avec celle qui fait mon sort sur la terre, et qui le rend si digne d'envie. Cette singularité, jointe aux agrémens d'une conversation sans modèle, composoit pour moi une sorte d'enchantement; et la connection du passé et du présent rendoit mes jours semblables à un songe sorti par la porte d'ivoire pour consoler les mortels. Ne voudriez-vous pas nous le faire continuer encore? Copet est dans toute sa beauté; mais je ne sçais, si je dois trop insister, car nous y menons une vie assez solitaire; les circonstances retiennent les Genevois dans leurs foyers, et leurs campagnes sont désertes; M. de Germani même a jugé à-propos de se remarier; et il a bien fallu céder une grande part de ses soins. Gardez-vous, Monsieur, de former un de ces liens tardifs: le mariage qui rend heureux dans l'age mûr, c'est celui qui fut contracté dans la jeunesse. Alors seulement la réunion est parfaite, les goûts se communiquent, les sentimens se répandent, les idées deviennent communes, les facultés intellectuelles se modèlent mutuellement. Toute la vie est double, et toute la vie est une prolongation de la jeunesse; car les impressions de l'ame commandent aux yeux, et la beauté qui n'est

plus

plus conserve encore son empire ; mais pour vous, Monsieur, dans toute la vigueur de la pensée, lorsque toute l'existence est décidée, l'on ne pourroit sans un miracle trouver une femme digne de vous ; et une association d'un genre imparfait rappelle toujours la statue d'Horace, qui joint à une belle tête le corps d'un stupide poisson. Vous êtes marié avec la gloire ; et vos amis qui vous chérissent, ne sont pas jaloux de ce lien, dont l'éclat même rejaillit sur eux. J'ai pensé cent fois à la confidence que vous m'avez faite ; j'en attends l'exécution avec un intérêt inexprimable ; votre genre d'esprit en fera un genre nouveau ; vous déroberez toutes les richesses de votre siècle ; et vous avez trouvé le véritable aimant qui retient dans son atmosphère tout ce qui s'en approche, et qui est digne d'y être attiré. Adieu, Monsieur ; personne au monde n'a mieux senti que vous le prix de cette association unique de l'esprit le plus brillant et le plus varié au plus doux et au plus égal de tous les caractères ; et l'on peut bien dire de vous ce que Cicéron disoit des lettres, également délicieuses dans la retraite et dans le grand monde, à Paris et à Copet. Recevez, Monsieur, l'assurance de tous les sentimens que vous nous avez inspirés. Je vous prie, Monsieur, de remercier M. de Severy de son obligeante lettre, et de faire agréer nos hommages à toute sa famille.

N° CCXLIII.

Madame NECKER *à M.* GIBBON.

A Copet, ce 5 Juillet, 1792.

JE n'aurois pas répondu sitôt, Monsieur, à votre charmante lettre, et j'aurois fait ce sacrifice de mon goût à votre douce paresse, si je n'avois eu à vous entretenir du nouvel ouvrage que M. Necker vous envoye. Son ame, infatigable en pensées comme en sentimens, est continuellement tourmentée par les malheurs de la France. Il a cru en trouver la cause et il a regardé comme un devoir de la lui révéler, et de lui montrer en même temps le modèle qu'elle auroit dû suivre. Quand vous n'auriez pas eu, Monsieur, des droits à jamais chéris sur tous les mouvemens de notre ame, M. Necker auroit dû également vous faire hommage de son travail: comment penser à la gloire et au bonheur de l'Angleterre sans que votre idée se présente à nous? comment remarquer les lumières répandues dans le travail de M. Necker sans se rappeller des conversations intéressantes, qui ont charmé mes douleurs l'hiver dernier, en me faisant jouir à la fois de tous mes goûts, et de tous mes sentimens? Le sujet de ce livre me paroit entièrement neuf, quoiqu'il ait été approché mille fois par nos orateurs, par ces navigateurs qui rament sans cesse et qui n'abordent jamais, parcequ'ils n'ont aucune boussole. Je ne veux pas anticiper sur votre jugement; l'amour propre n'a plus la hardiesse de se montrer aujourd'hui; les circonstances sont trop graves

graves pour ne pas étouffer toutes les petites passions des hommes ; il *pleut du sang*, comme dit la Fontaine, et les colombes ne doivent plus penser qu'à chercher à faire la paix entre les vautours, dussent-elles être victimes de leur bonté, comme dans cette fable. Seulement nous prenons de vous le présage, comme les Romains le tiroient du vol d'un aigle pour augurer favorablement de quelque grande entreprise.

M. Necker lit actuellement votre histoire avec délices ; il se délasse en se promenant dans cet Elisée ; il me répétoit hier ce que vous disiez du gouvernement établie par Auguste : une monarchie déguisée en république, et nous faisons, ajoutoit-il, une république déguisée en monarchie. Voilà, pensai-je, ma chatte changée en femme. M. Necker admire sans cesse la beauté de vos récits, mais cependant, il se saisit avec transport de la première idée analogue aux siennes.

Venez à Copet, Monsieur, si vous voulez qu'on bêche, et qu'on joue au wisk, car vous savez donner aux goûts innocens l'éclat du génie, comme aux travaux du génie la douceur qui les rapproche de l'innocence. Venez à Copet, pourvu que notre bonheur ne coute rien au vôtre ; mais si l'habitude nous est contraire, elle peut aussi nous être favorable, car le rapport des ames et des esprits ressemble bien à l'habitude, et c'est du moins un de ses effets les plus doux ; et une liaison, qui a commencé presque avec la pensée, est préférable à celle qu'on forme avec ses meubles et ses appartemens. Mais vous avez de meilleures excuses ; je

reçois avec reconnoissance celle des eaux de Pyrmont. Quel prix mon cœur n'attache-t-il point à votre santé, à l'intérêt que votre amitié répand sur notre retraite? En arrivant ici, en n'y retrouvant que les tombeaux de ceux que j'ai tant aimé, vous avez été pour moi comme un arbre solitaire, dont l'ombre couvre encore le désert qui me sépare des premières années de ma vie.

Je ne voudrois pas non plus vous ravir aux agrémens d'une société à laquelle la France de Louis quatorze auroit porté envie!

Engagez ces dames à lire le Tableau de l'Etat Moral où nous a reduit la Constitution Françoise; et si la modestie des femmes pour leur mari n'étoit pas un hommage à l'intimité du nœud conjugal, je dirois que dans ce chapitre, l'auteur met son esprit au niveau du génie, qui a conçu l'ensemble de l'ouvrage.

Vous m'aviez promis de lire *Les Opinions Religieuses;* et quelles que soyent vos opinions métaphysiques, je suis sûre que vous aurez été frappé du chapitre sur le bonheur, le mot si touchant qui finit votre lettre me le persuade; je veux y joindre ces vers de Zaïre.

Généreux, bienfaisant, juste, plein de vertus,
S'il étoit né Chrétien, que seroit-il de plus?

N° CCXLIV.

Madame NECKER *à M.* GIBBON.

A Copet, le 10 Août, 1792.

JE ne puis, Monsieur, laisser sans remercîmens, non seulement une lettre incomparable, mais beaucoup

coup plus qu'une lettre pour moi, car c'est un véritable bienfait de l'amitié. Le plaisir qu'elle a causé à M. Necker ne s'effacera point de mon souvenir. Votre voix peut ranimer toutes les espérances: et quand vos écrits, votre réputation, ne nous auroient pas appris depuis long tems quel juge vous êtes, la manière dont vous énoncez votre suffrage feroit également votre titre et le nôtre; et le goût exquis qui démêle le mérite d'un ouvrage, et qui le met à sa place, peut bien être comparé à la sagacité d'un juge civil, qui liroit au fond des cœurs pour prononcer *guilty*, ou *not guilty*, mortel ou immortel. Aussi M. Necker après avoir entendu cette douce lettre, me dit avec sa bonne foi ordinaire, A présent me voilà sûr de mon succès; je n'ai plus besoin d'aucun autre éloge. Il sentoit que son vaisseau alloit voguer à pleines voiles, comme celui d'Enée, quand il fut poussé par cette nymphe que Virgile nomme

——— fandi doctissima Cymodocea
Dixerat, et dextrâ discedens impulit altam
(Haud ignara modi) puppim: fugit illa per undas
Ocior et jaculo.

J'aurois voulu oser faire imprimer cette lettre; l'opinion de celui qui a démêlé à dix huit cens ans de distance les causes de la décadence de l'empire Romain auroit été la sanction du livre de M. Necker. C'est sur tout à vous, Monsieur, qu'il faut reprocher l'enthousiasme de M. Necker pour votre nation; c'est sur l'échantillon qu'il a jugé de l'ensemble, et non seulement vous, mais aussi vos réponses à toutes ses questions ont fait son erreur;

ces questions ont dû vous prouver que M. Necker ne cherchoit point à vous cacher son travail; mais l'on peut bien s'aider des lumières de son ami, et lui épargner par respect pour son génie le spectacle dont parle Boileau, *Enfant au premier acte, et barbon au dernier.* Il faut, comme vous l'observez avec beaucoup de grace et de finesse, que les pensées ingénieuses rendues clairement, puissent obtenir place au milieu des simples vérités; et M. Necker a fait, je l'avoue, le contraire des gens d'esprit, dont parle M. de Buffon; il a réuni toutes ces feuilles d'or pour en faire des lingots, ces lingots sont, dites-vous, *d'airain de Corinthe;* il faut donc toujours une incendie pour en produire de pareils. Hélas! il n'est que trop vrai; l'ame de M. Necker est embrasée par la douleur des événemens, et j'ai besoin de toutes les ressources de l'amitié la plus tendre pour faire diversion aux tourmens qu'il endure. Votre conversation me donnera des moyens en ce genre, auxquels il est impossible de résister; cependant votre bonheur m'est trop cher pour que je voulusse vous faire perdre aucun des instans de la société dont vous jouissez. Revenez à nous quand vous serez rendu à vous-même; c'est le moment qui doit toujours appartenir *à votre première et à votre dernière amie,* je ne saurois découvrir encore lequel de ces deux titres est le plus doux et le plus cher à mon cœur.

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N° CCXLV.

Madame NECKER *à M.* GIBBON.

A Copet, ce 21 Septembre, 1792.

JAMAIS, Monsieur, les marques de votre intérêt ne nous furent ni plus chères ni plus nécessaires. Les lettres qu'on reçoit de Paris font horreur, même avant de les ouvrir. Les mots les plus indifférens de nos amis absens paroissent des augures funestes. M. de Lenart écrivoit dernièrement à Mr. Necker, *quel que soit mon sort, je vivrai, ou je mourrai votre ami:* ces paroles si simples nous firent tressaillir, et le plus cruel des événemens n'a pas tardé à les suivre. M. de Montmorin a péri malgré les efforts de Bazire lui-même, car dans cet enfer il faut avoir recours à la protection des démons. Les barbares ont tué M. de Clermont Tonnerre, exemplaire vivant du génie et des talens des François avant leur effrayante métamorphose. Ils ont assassiné le Duc de Rochefoucault, cet homme rare, victime de ses vertus même dans ses erreurs, qui guidé par une seule lumière, ne put balancer un grand caractère par un grand génie. Il n'avoit vu dans un système exagéré que le sacrifice de ses avantages personnels, et il s'étoit crû obligé de l'embrasser; aussi avoit-il conservé presque seul l'amour et le respect des deux partis. Tous ces hommes distingués étoient nos amis, ou nos connoissances; ils contribuoient tous à la douceur de notre vie, et nous ne pouvons plus jouir même d'un souvenir si cher, sans traverser dans notre imagination le fleuve de sang qui nous en sépare.

Au

Au milieu de ces malheurs, l'arrivée de l'ambassadrice nous a soulagé d'un poids terrible; le sentiment de ses dangers, nous fait oublier la déraison qui les avoit fait naître; mais malgré sa grossesse et ses allarmes précédentes, le repos auquel nous la contraignons, n'a pas pour elle tout l'attrait que vous imaginez. Elle ressemble à ces papillons éphémères, si bien décrits par votre poëte Gray, qui ne comptent jamais leur vie que par le lever et le coucher du soleil.

Je suis douloureusement affectée de la maladie de M. de Sévéry; je désire la conservation de cet excellent homme, pour le bonheur d'une femme digne de tous les genres de bonheur, pour sa famille, pour tous ceux qui le connoissent, et pour vous, Monsieur, dont les peines pénètrent jusques au fond de mon cœur. Je n'espère pas de vous voir ici dans ce moment; mais souvenez-vous, que nous vous avons réservé deux appartemens sous votre nom, l'un à Copet, l'autre à Genève; souvenez-vous que votre société répand mille charmes sur la nôtre, et qu'elle ne change d'ailleurs en rien notre genre de vie; c'est un bien précieux sans aucune soustraction.

N° CCXLVI.

Madame NECKER *à M.* GIBBON.

A Rolle, ce 8 Octobre, 1792.

Nous sommes à peu près, Monsieur, dans la position où vous nous avez laissés; pleins de reconnoisance pour vos bontés, et d'inquiétude pour nos deux

deux patries. Monsieur de Montesquiou est toujours à Carouge, mais avec les trois Commissaires. Ce général, quoiqu'on ait pu vous dire, est un homme accessible à tous les sentimens doux et à tous les penchans aimables; mais ce Dubois de Crancé lui fera la loi, et je ne vois plus en Monsieur de Montesquiou qu'une ombre avec Cerbère à ses côtés. L'on dit que Spire est pris par Monsieur de Custine; l'on dit aussi que la réponse de Monsieur de Montesquiou aux Genevois est une injonction positive d'éloigner les troupes Suisses, et une menace de se consulter avec le général la Fevrières. Pour moi, si la Providence nous conduit à Zurich, je ne redouterai ni l'Allemagne ni les frimats, pourvu que je jouisse en repos, auprés d'un bon feu, de l'attachement de Monsieur Necker, et du charme inexprimable de votre société.

Employez, Monsieur, toute votre éloquence à rendre graces à vos excellens amis, qui nous ont accordé un si bon asile, et donnez-moi, je vous conjure, des nouvelles de Monsieur de Sévéry.

Il paroît que la Convention Nationale se mêle malheureusement de nos affaires, et qu'elle a passé un décret pour ordonner à Monsieur de Montesquiou de s'emparer de toutes les villes et de toutes les contrées qui pourroient servir à la conservation de la Savoye.

N°

N° CCXLVII.

Madame NECKER *à M.* GIBBON.

A Rolle, ce 11 Novembre, 1792.

Nous sommes encore à Rolle, Monsieur; les affaires de Genève traînent en longueur; il semble qu'on crée les obstacles, car toute la discussion se borne en demandes de la Convention Nationale, et en consentement de notre part; cependant les couriers se succèdent, et l'on ne sçait quand la ratification arrivera. Mais la négociation avec les Bernois paroît prendre une tournure très favorable, et nous sommes presque déterminés à retourner à Copet, en conservant encore cependant la jouissance de la maison de Madame de Sévéry, si elle veut bien le permettre; car je voudrois avoir la possibilité de revenir ici à la moindre inquiétude; en attendant c'est Cabanis qui nous force à nous rapprocher. Dans ces vacillations je n'ose vous proposer indiscrétement un nouveau voyage; j'attendrai que nous ayons un lieu pour nous reposer. C'est donc de vous que nous tiendrons la branche d'olivier, ou c'est avec vous que nous fuirons les lauriers de Mars. Je sens vivement le prix des soins que vous avez daigné nous rendre, et c'est à regret que j'ai laissé dernièrement à Monsieur Necker celui de vous apprendre les événemens; nouveau Diogène, il fuit ordinairement tous les rapports directs, et il me laisse le soin de les soutenir. Vous êtes la seule exception que je lui ai vu faire, et je n'en suis pas surprise; aux charmes, à la douceur féconde de votre conversation, il vous a pris

a pris pour un rayon de soleil qu'il n'a pas voulu que je lui interceptasse. Adieu, Monsieur, nous nous trouvons heureux d'habiter le même pays que vous. Je m'acquitterai avec Madame de Sévéry à la première occasion; puis-je vous demander des nouvelles de votre excellent ami?

N° CCXLVIII.

The Same to the Same.

Rolle, 29 Novembre, 1792.

Monsieur Necker est si reconnoissant de la charmante lettre de Monsieur Gibbon et si effrayé en prenant la plume par le souvenir du passé, qu'elle tombe de ses mains; elles sont en effet plus habiles à manier la foudre que des armes légères; il veut donc que je dise pour lui à Monsieur Gibbon combien il a été ravi de la plus ingénieuse des allusions, car je me suis hâtée de traduire les vers dans la crainte qu'il ne lut *trompette blessée* comme le soldat du déserteur. Cette citation d'Ovide me feroit trembler si j'étois superstitieuse; le sort de Sémélé seroit d'un mauvaise augure, mais heureusement le génie de Monsieur Gibbon, qui embrasse si bien le passé, n'est pas encore initié dans les mystères de l'avenir: cet avenir et la postérité sont pour lui ce qu'est à un grand roi les contrées éloignées d'un vaste empire; il y domine en maître, mais il ne les connoît pas.

Le succès de Monsieur Necker n'est pas encore complet, puisqu'il lui faudroit avec votre suffrage, le changement du cœur des François; mais il est impossible

impossible cependant de ne pas concevoir quelque espérance: la quantité des contrefaçons remplies de fautes, met l'*auteur* au supplice; car Messieurs, quoiqu'on fasse, ce caractère d'auteur est indélébile, et l'emblême du lit de roses vous convient mieux qu'à l'amour même.

Nous sommes plus tranquilles, ou peut-être nous sommes fatigués d'avoir peur; il paroît cependant que le Lion dédaigne d'écraser la Souris. Nous attendrons des nouvelles plus positives avant de retourner à Genève. Vous me rendriez bien heureuse si vous vous contentiez d'une chambre à la Couronne, et vous pourriez donner un rendezvous à Monsieur d'Erlach, qui doit venir dîner avec nous. L'Ambassadrice vous a écrit, mais Monsieur Necker a craint qu'elle ne vous eut pas assez parlé de lui; il a raison peut-être; à l'age de ma fille l'on court pour soi dans la carrière de la vie; au mien, l'on se plait comme les guides dont parle Homère à s'asseoir sur le char du héros, à courir les mêmes dangers, sans avoir part à sa gloire. Adieu, Monsieur, chacun vous aime ici, et chacun vous regrette et vous souhaite.

Supposé que nous restassions encore quelque tems à Rolle, Monsieur de Sévéry nous permettroit-il de mettre nos chevaux dans son écurie? Ils ont été à l'auberge jusques à présent.

Nous prions tous Monsieur Gibbon de nous donner des nouvelles de Monsieur de Sévéry.

N°

N° CCXLIX.

Madame NECKER *à M.* GIBBON.

A Rolle, ce 2 Janvier, 1793.

LES défauts les plus enracinés souffrent quelques exceptions ; je vous conjure, Monsieur, d'en faire une en notre faveur par deux lignes seulement. Je pense continuellement, et avec une douloureuse inquiétude, ou que vous avez la goutte, ou que vous êtes plongé dans la tristesse par la continuite d'un spectacle qui tourmente votre excellent cœur. Si le temps ne vous effrayoit pas, je vous proposerois de mettre un peu d'intervalle à ces soins de l'amitié en venant partager d'autres peines sur lesquelles le charme de votre conversation versera un beaume incomparable. Votre chambre n'est plus occupée ; après avoir essayé inutilement toutes les ressources de l'esprit et de la raison, pour détourner ma fille d'un projet insensé, nous crûmes qu'un petit séjour à Genève pourroit la rendre plus docile par l'influence de l'opinion. Elle a profité de cette liberté, et s'est mise en route plutôt qu'elle ne nous l'avoit fait craindre ; et c'est sous de si facheux auspices qu'elle a commencé l'année, et qu'elle nous la fait commencer. Je n'ajoute rien de plus ; il ne m'appartient pas d'être juge de cette conduite ; j'aurois besoin d'un intermédiaire et même d'un interprète entre le siècle et moi : car je n'entends plus sa langue, et malgré tout le dédain avec lequel on rejette les opinions qui ont guidé et embelli ma vie, je m'apperçois souvent qu'elles

qu'elles répandent encore quelques fleurs, même sur mes cheveux blancs.

Le procès du roi nous laisse toujours dans une triste suspension ; M. Necker n'ose se livrer à l'espérance. Louis Seize n'est pas pour lui ce qu'il est pour les autres hommes, et toutes les idées qu'il a conçues pendant vingt ans l'attachent à ce centre, peut être comme la vigne à un arbre stérile. Mais il ne fait pas cette dernière observation. Venez, Monsieur, et croyez que vous êtes plus aimé ici que dans aucun pays du monde.

N° CCL.

Madame NECKER *à M.* GIBBON.

A Copet, ce 12 Juillet, 1793.

Vous m'annonciez de Douvres, Monsieur, une lettre par le courier prochain ; je l'attends encore et chaque jour avec plus d'angoisse. Je me consume en conjectures inquiétantes. Il faut être juste ; vous ne pouvez penser à nous aussi souvent, que nous vous rapprochons de notre cœur. A Londres tout vous ramène aux idées de ce monde, tandis que tout nous en éloigne ici ; près de vous les souvenirs que vous me rappelliez m'étoient doux, et les idées présentes que vous faisiez naître s'y réunissoient sans peine ; l'enchaînement d'un grand nombre d'années sembloit faire toucher tous les tems l'un à l'autre, avec une rapidité électrique ; vous étiez à la fois pour moi à vingt ans, et à cinquante : loin de vous, les différens lieux que j'ai habités ne sont plus que les pierres itinéraires de

de ma vie: ils m'avertissent de tous les milles que j'ai déjà parcourus. M. Necker, plus raisonnable, s'est fait taupe, ne pouvant plus être lynx. Il s'occupe d'agriculture, il étend ou il resserre son compas, et mesure successivement l'espace qui nous sépare du ciel, et l'arpent de terre de son parc. Voilà du moins comment il conduit son esprit; on l'amuse comme un enfant, ou comme un ange, parcequ'il tient de tous les deux; mais rien ne le distrait cependant des sentimens douloureux qu'on renouvelle sans cesse dans son ame tendre: il faut avoir aimé pour sentir tous les déchiremens que cause l'ingratitude. Nous sommes occupés à présent à réclamer nos deux millions confiés depuis quinze ans à la France par les motifs les plus délicats, et engagés pendant un tems pour lui fournir des subsistances. L'on nous en a refusé l'intérêt quoiqu'en assignats. Ah, c'est bien aussi en France, qu'on entend les *hiboux chanter des hymnes à la nuit, et à la mort; et qu'on voit les arraignées couvrir les monumens des beaux arts;* aussi M. Necker en sa qualité de Colombe doit être banni de tous les cœurs françois: il doit céder la place aux Vautours. Vous voyez que l'affaire de M. d'Apples ne vous auroit pas convenu dans cette circonstance; mais nous n'avions rien chez lui, et j'aurois désiré que vous m'eussiez dit précisément votre perte. Quant à la maison, la cause que nous plaidons nous oblige à suspendre tous nos arrangemens: notre vie est comme flottante au gré de tous les vents: mais ils ne me feront jamais perdre de vue l'étoile polaire de la place

St. François, qui nous indique le port, et tous les biens dont il est embelli. Vous souviendrez-vous à Londres du projet que vous aviez formé à Genève? C'étoit un centre auquel tous les événemens du siècle pouvoient aboutir, comme dans Lucien toutes les prières aboutirent à l'oreille de Jupiter; jamais on n'eut plus que vous le talent de peindre vivement sans exagérer. Le fond de votre sujet auroit aussi un avantage unique: vous traceriez le Tableau de la Nature Humaine comme Montagne, mais dans un point de vue et avec un modèle différent; ainsi vous en ferez appercevoir toute l'harmonie, quand il en faisoit entendre toutes les discordances; et vous puiseriez dans cette corne d'abondance que vous avez déjà fait reparoître, et qu'on n'ose plus reléguer dans les fables; enfin vous vous garantiriez de ses mains mal habiles, plus funestes que la faux du tems, qui retranche quelquefois, mais ne défigure jamais.

J'espère, Monsieur, que vous aurez trouvé Milord Sheffield dans une situation d'ame plus calme, et votre amitié par les sentimens les plus doux achevera l'ouvrage de ses réflexions. Combien de fois nous avons senti cette influence, M. Necker et moi! et qu'il est délicieux pour mon cœur de doubler ainsi mon attachement pour vous par celui que vous inspirez à M. Necker! Adieu, Monsieur, j'espère que cette lettre y croisera la vôtre: il est essentiel pour nos arrangemens d'apprendre bientôt de vous. Si vous passez l'hiver en Angleterre, dites, je vous prie, à votre hôte excellent

lent et distingué, toute la part que nous avons prise à sa douleur.

Puis-je vous demander sans indiscrétion de vous informer s'il existe une traduction du Pouvoir Exécutif; et, en ce cas, auriez-vous la bonté de me la faire parvenir?

La mère des Gracques est ici avec ses jolis enfans, et son mari, pour lequel j'ai beaucoup d'affection: cette moderne Cornélie ajouteroit volontiers, pour plaire à M. Gibbon, quelque chose de plus à sa parure que le mérite de ses deux fils.

N° CCLI.

Madame NECKER *à M.* GIBBON.

A Lausanne, ce 9 Décembre, 1793.

JE ne puis vous exprimer, Monsieur, quel a été mon saisissement aux nouvelles si imprévues que nous avons reçues de vous; en vain M. de Sévéry les a-t-il environnées de toutes les moralités, qui pouvoient donner le change à nos tristes pensées; votre courage, votre gaieté, votre aménité; toutes ces qualités si aimables dans d'autres temps pèsent sur mon cœur avec les autres motifs que j'ai de vous chérir. Le crépuscule de notre vie est bien couvert de nuages, puisque l'amitié même, la douce amitié, auprès de laquelle nous trouvions un asile, nous présente actuellement un centre de douleur, qui retentit dans toutes les parties de mon être. Je ne vous dirai rien de plus, Monsieur; ma foiblesse s'accorde mal avec votre héroïsme, et c'est seulement en vous parlant de vous, que nous pou-

vons cesser de nous entendre. Nous sommes à Lausanne; nous vous y regrettons au lever de l'aurore, et sur tout au coucher du soleil: car c'est alors que nous étions habitués à vous voir rentrer dans notre ruche solitaire, chargé du miel que vous aviez recueilli au dehors, mais plus riche encore de celui qui couloit de vos lèvres. Cependant je m'applaudis d'être ici à portée d'avoir de vos nouvelles; j'ai vu votre dernier bulletin, et j'espère que vous continuerez avec la même exactitude, car vous savez combien vos amis souffrent, et vous n'avez rien de cette nature de tigre, qui nous est devenue si familière.

Nous avons renoncé à Genève; cette petite ville marche en tout sur les traces de la France, et les pigmées n'inspirent que le mépris, quand ils imitent les gestes épouvantables des géans briarées. Cette coupable parodie perd, pour jamais peut-être, une ville autrefois si florissante; l'on y égalise les fortunes par des collectes perpetuelles, comme on le fait en France par des confiscations; d'ailleurs, l'on ne dira plus, je ne décide point entre Genève et Rome, mais entre Hobbes et Spinosa; l'auteur des Opinions Religieuses avoit trop prévu cette funeste révolution plus terrible que toutes les autres, en ce qu'elle donne le même mauvais esprit aux deux partis opposés. Vous le voyez, Monsieur: je viens de faire un effort pour me détourner du sujet qui dans ce moment me captive toute entière; mais cette espèce de dissimulation coute à ma plume, et je l'abandonne de nouveau aux tendres vœux, que nous

nous faisons en votre faveur, et au sentiment qui attache pour jamais mon ame à la vôtre.

N° CCLII.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to Mrs.* GIBBON, Bath.

MY DEAREST MADAM, Lausanne, Aug. 1st, 1792.

THE extraordinary state of public affairs in France opposes an insuperable bar to my passage; and every prudent stranger will avoid that inhospitable land, in which a people of slaves is suddenly become a nation of tyrants and cannibals. The German road is indeed safe, but, independent of a great addition of fatigue and expense, the armies of Austria and Prussia now cover that frontier; and though the generals are polite, and the troops well disciplined, I am not desirous of passing through the clouds of hussars and pandours that attend their motions. These public reasons are fortified by some private motives, and to this delay I resign myself, with a sigh for the present, and a hope for the future.

What a strange wild world do we live in! You will allow me to be a tolerable historian, yet, on a fair review of ancient and modern times, I can find none that bear any affinity with the present. My knowledge of your discerning mind, and my recollection of your political principles, assure me, that you are no more a *democrat* than myself. Had the French improved their glorious opportunity to erect a free constitutional monarchy on the ruins of arbitrary power and the Bastile, I should ap-

plaud their generous effort; but this total subversion of all rank, order, and government could be productive only of a popular monster, which, after devouring every thing else, must finally devour itself. I was once apprehensive that this monster would propagate some imps in our happy island, but they seem to have been crushed in their cradle; and I acknowledge with pleasure and pride the good sense of the English nation, who seem truly conscious of the blessings which they enjoy: and I am happy to find that the most respectable part of Opposition has cordially joined in the support of "things as they are." Even this country has been somewhat tainted with the democratical infection; the vigilance of government has been exerted, the malecontents have been awed, the misguided have been undeceived, the fever in the blood has gradually subsided, and I flatter myself that we have secured the tranquil enjoyment of obscure felicity, which we had been almost tempted to despise.

You have heard, most probably, from Mrs. Holroyd,* of the long-expected though transient satisfaction which I received from the visit of Lord Sheffield's family. He appeared highly satisfied with my arrangements here, my house, garden, and situation, at once in town and country, which are indeed singular in their kind, and which have often made me regret the impossibility of shewing them to my dearest friend of the Belvidere. Lord Sheffield is still, and will ever continue, the same

* Of Bath.

active

active being; always employed for himself, his friends, and the public, and always persuading himself that he wishes for leisure and repose. He has now a new care on his hands, the management and disposal of his eldest daughter, who is indeed a most extraordinary young woman. There are various roads to happiness; but when I compare his situation with mine, I do not, upon the whole, repent that I have given the preference to a life of celibacy and retirement. Although I have been long a spectator of the great world, my unambitious temper has been content with the occupations and rewards of study; and although my library be still my favourite room, I am now no longer stimulated by the prosecution of any literary work. Adieu, dear Madam; may every blessing that nature can allow be attendant on your latter season. Your age and my habits will not permit a very close correspondence; but I wish to hear, and I *presume* to ask, a speedy *direct* account of your own situation. May it be such as I shall hear with pleasure! Once more adieu; I live in hopes of embracing you next summer at the Belvidere, but you may be assured that I bring over nothing for the press.

N° CCLIII.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to the Right Hon. Lady* ELIZABETH FOSTER, at Florence.

Lausanne, November 8th, 1792.

I REMEMBER it has been observed of Augustus and Cromwell, that they should never have been

born, or never have died; and I am sometimes tempted to apply the same remark to certain beings of a softer nature, who, after a short residence on the banks of the Leman Lake, are now flown far away over the Alps and the Appenines, and have abandoned their votaries to the insipidity of common life. The remark, however, would be unreasonable, and the sentiment ungrateful. The pleasures of the summer, the lighter and the graver moments of the society of *petit Ouchy*,* are indeed past, perhaps never to return; but the remembrance of that delightful period is itself a pleasure, and I enjoy, I cherish the flattering persuasion that it is remembered with some satisfaction in the gallery of Florence, as well as in *the library* of Lausanne. Long before we were reduced to seek a refuge from the savages of Gaul, I had secretly indulged the thought, or at least the wish, of asking leave to attend *mes bonnes amies* over Mount Cenis, of basking once more in an Italian sun, and of paying once more my devotions to the Apollo of the Vatican. But my aged and gouty limbs would have failed me in the bold attempt of scaling St. Bernard, and I wanted patience to undertake the circumitineration of the Tirol. Your return to the Pays de Vaud next summer I hold to be extremely doubtful; but my anxiety on that head is somewhat diminished by the sure and cer-

* A beautiful villa near the lake, about a mile from Lausanne, where the Duchess of Devonshire and Lady Elizabeth Foster resided.

tain

tain hope of our all meeting in England the ensuing winter. I flatter myself that the Porter of Devonshire-house will not be inexorable; yet I am afraid of losing you amidst the smoke and tumult of fashionable London, in which the night is devoted to pleasure and the morning to sleep. My ambition may perhaps aspire to pass some hours in the palladian Chiswick, or even some days at Chatsworth; but these princely mansions will not recal the freedom, the ease, the *primitive* solitude of dear little Ouchy. Indeed! indeed! your fair friend was made for something better than a Duchess.

Although you most magnanimously abandoned us in the crisis of our fate, yet as you seem to interest yourself in the hopes and fears of this little country, it is my duty to inform you, that we still hang in a state of suspense; inclining, however, to the side of hope, rather than of despair. The garrison, and even the bourgeoisie, of Geneva shewed a vigorous resolution of defending the city; and our frontiers have been gradually covered with fifteen thousand intrepid Swiss. But the threats of a bombardment, the weight of expense, and above all, the victorious ascendant of the French republic, have abated much of the first heroic ardour. Monsieur de Montesquiou displayed a pacific, and even yielding, temper; and a treaty was signed, dismissing the Swiss garrison from Geneva, and removing the French troops to the distance of ten leagues. But this last condition, which is indeed objectionable, displeased the Convention,

vention, who refused to ratify the agreement. New conferences were held, new messengers have been dispatched; but unless they are determined to find or to make a subject of quarrel, it is probable that we shall purchase peace by submission. As Geneva has a very dangerous democratical party within her walls, and as the national guards are already allowed to enter the city, and to tamper with the inhabitants and the garrison, I will not ensure that poor little republic from one week to another. For ourselves, the approaches of danger must be more gradual. I think we are now safe for this winter, and I no longer run to the window to see whether the French are coming. But with so many enemies without, and so many within, the government of Berne, and the tranquillity of this happy country, will be suspended by a very slender twig; and I begin to fear that Satan will drive me out of the possession of Paradise. My only comfort will be, that I shall have been expelled by the power, and not seduced by the arts, of the blackest dæmon in hell, the dæmon of democracy. Where indeed will this tremendous inundation, this conspiracy of numbers against rank and property, be finally stopped? Europe seems to be universally tainted, and wherever the French can light a match, they may blow up a mine. Our only hope is now in their devouring one another; they are furious and hungry monsters, and war is almost declared between the Convention and the city of Paris, between the moderate republicans and the absolute levellers. A majority

jority of the Convention wishes to spare the royal victims, but they must yield to the rage of the people and the thirst of popularity, and a few hours may produce a trial, a sentence, and a guillotine. Mr. Necker is publishing a pamphlet in defence of the august sufferers; but his feeble and tardy efforts will rather do credit to himself, than service to his clients. You kindly ask after the situation of poor Severy. Alas! it is now hopeless; all his complaints are increased, all his resources are exhausted; where nature cannot work, the effect of art is vain, and his best friends begin to wish him a quiet release. His wife, I had almost said his widow, is truly an object of compassion. The dragoon is returned for a few days; and if his domestic sorrows gave him leave, he would almost regret the want of an occasion to deserve his feather and cockade. Your note has been communicated to Madame de Montolieu; but as she is engaged with a dying aunt, I have not yet seen her. Madame Dagaisseau has hastily left us; the last decrees seemed to give the *emigrés* only the option of starving abroad or hanging at home; yet she has ventured into France, on some faint glimpse of clemency for the women and children. Madame de Bouillon does not appear to move. Madame de Staël, whom I saw last week at Rolle, is still uncertain where she shall drop her burthen; but she must soon resolve, for the young lady or gentleman is at the door;

—— Demanding life, impatient for the skies.

By

By this time you have joined the Ladies Spencer and Duncannon, whom I beg leave to salute with the proper shades of respect and tenderness. You may, if you please *be, belle comme un ange;* but I do not like your comparison of the archangel. Those of Milton, with whom I am better acquainted at present than with Guido, are all masculine manly figures, with a great sword by their side, and six wings folding round them. The heathen goddesses would please me as little. Your friend is less severe than Minerva, more decent than Venus, less cold than Diana, and not quite so great a vixen as the ox-eyed Juno. To express that infallible mixture of grace, sweetness, and dignity, a new race of beings must be invented, and I am a mere prose narrator of matter of fact. Bess is much nearer the level of a mortal, but a mortal for whom the wisest man, historic or medical, would throw away two or three worlds, if he had them in his possession. From the aforesaid Bess I have received three marks of kind remembrance, from the foot of St. Bernard, with an exquisite monument of art and friendship, from Turin, and finally from Milan, with a most valuable insertion from the Duchess. At birds in the air it is difficult to take aim, and I fear or hope that I shall sustain some reproaches on your not finding this long epistle at Florence. I will mark it N° 1; and why should I despair of my future since I can say with truth, that since your departure I have not spent so agreeable a morning? To each of the dear

dear little Caro's pray deliver nine kisses for me, which shall be repaid on demand. My best compliments to Mr. Pelham, if he is with you.

N° CCLIV.

Sir JOHN MACPHERSON, *Bart. to* EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq.*

DEAR SIR, Munich, Dec. 4th, 1792.

I TOLD my friend Levade that I would give you some idea of my tour through Spain. It was interesting in a high degree. I landed at Malaga, where I found excellent grapes on the 20th of June: *Ille terrarum angulus ridet:* hills at a distance covered with snow; rich and unequal grounds, and the neighbourhood of the sea, without its offences, give the country every advantage: indeed it may be called a favoured land. You know that the Court of Spain are now employing antiquaries to examine the scenes of Roman and Carthaginian events in that neighbourhood, and with some classic care. From Malaga I went by sea to Gibraltar, where I passed some very agreeable days with Governor Boyd. He is in perfect possession of his faculties, as of the fortress, at ninety-six; and means to take his final repose in a tomb which he has secured in one of the Greek bastions, and which he visits and has kept clean with Chinese caution. The excavations and batteries formed within the solid rock of Gibraltar are so very grand that they vie with the caves of Staffa

Staffa and my native island.*. I saw the Duke of Crillon afterwards at Madrid. Nature has not formed a stronger contrast than that of the rock of Hercules and its besieger. I went by land from Gibraltar to Cadiz, having been favoured with a particular passport for the purpose. Doctor Johnson and his friend Boswell could not have had a rougher path in the Hebrides, nor worse accommodations. But if the ground is rough, the sky is surely kinder in Spain; from the day of my arrival there to that of my departure I had but two showers of rain, one at San-il-Defonso, and the other at Madrid.

Cadiz is full of excellent houses, foreign merchants, and every species of wealth. The Governor of Cadiz told me that the last year's revenue of the custom-house was about four millions of hard dollars. You have got Townsend's Travels through Spain: they are very correct as far as I have followed him; and if you can get through his gypsum, ploughs, and poor-houses, you will not be displeased in their perusal. I had formed the highest opinion of Mr. Townsend's mineralogist-knowledge, till I met the celebrated Mr. Foster at Madrid. He was disposing of his famous collection to the King of Spain; and when I told him that I did not understand Mr. Townsend's details about the mineral composition of the hills and roads of Spain, he added that he should have been surprised if I had.

* The Isle of Sky.

Xeres,

Xeres, Seville, Cordova, &c. &c. in the road from Cadiz to Madrid:—all very ancient and interesting cities, and full of their ancient Roman and Moorish inhabitants. When one enters on the scene of Cervantes' romance, it is impossible not to be pleased. Both he and Le Sage have followed the exact geography of the country; and I confess I was almost as glad to see the present *Del Toboso* and *Segovia* as some parts of ancient Rome. Madrid is a very respectable city. All our ministers complain of the sharpness of its air. The late King of Spain used to say that its climate was

Nueve meses de *inverno,* y tres de *inferno.*

The Spanish language is so like the Italian, that I could, with very little aid, understand it as it is written by their classic authors. The progress in literature and the fine arts is very active at present in Spain. The court have permitted an extract of Adam Smith's Wealth of Nations to be published, though the original is condemned by the Inquisition. The reasons of the Inquisition are curious: "The lowness of its style and the looseness of the morals which it inculcates." The sentence of the Inquisition is always pasted up upon the church doors. I sought for your name without success; but you exist in Spain in many secret and select retreats.

I have the pleasure to tell you that Spain is regulating all her ancient documents of American and Arabic knowledge. A copy of a letter which Andrew Stuart, at the instigation of the Trustees of the

the British Museum, wrote to the Pope on the subject of the papers in the Vatican, was sent to me at Madrid. I gave it to our Minister and the Archbishop of Toledo, and we shall in time have a catalogue of the Spanish papers. I can also inform you that the Arabian Code is no fiction, as can be now perfectly established. The malice of a rival monk has, with that of some good Christian zealots at Rome, attacked the authenticity of the work. Sir William Hamilton and I have had proofs of its being a genuine work. The details are too long for a letter.

The Court is not splendid. The King has a great deal of the look and character of his brother of Naples. The etiquette of his palace forbids him to associate with almost any one familiarly. The Queen, you know, is all powerful; with strong traits of character, and governed by one passion, she has found the secret of governing all around her;—her husband through religion and love, and the rest through fear, hope, and the Inquisition.

The Conde de Aranda you have I suppose seen. He was very hospitable and civil to me; the King too was gracious. It would have made you smile to have seen your giant * surrounded by the little grandees of Spain. They are indeed a little race; but the great body of the nation have won my attachment and esteem. They are a decent, sincere, and dignified people. Except the bankers and lawyers in Madrid, and the commercial people in

* Mr. Gibbon used to call the writer the *Gentle Giant*.

the

the sea-ports, the people have not yet a taint of revolution-ideas. With the Countess de Aranda you would be in love. She is very like your nut-brown Sylva. There is a singular privilege in the house of her father; it is that he has a right to create a grandee of Spain of the first order. He generally makes his son.

Poor Florida Blanca is in prison on the frontiers of France, and nearly in the same strict custody with that which our friend Gil Blas suffered at Segovia. He had great views, was an active minister, and has done much good to his country. He had managed the last famous meeting of the Cortes, which secured to the Queen certain powers, and he then fell the victim of his own management.

The person who has won most of my esteem and regard in Spain is the Cardinal Archbishop of Toledo. He was Archbishop of Mexico; wrote a history of Cortez's expedition, which the Inquisition thought too free. He gave me a copy of it, being, he said, the only one remaining. He made me visit Toledo, and was really friendly to me. Speaking of religion, he said there was but *one*, and the word explained itself, *religo;* it kept society together. His revenues are about 100,000*l.* a-year, and he has opened his purse, as far as it can go, to the unfortunate French clergy.

From Madrid I took my route to Valencia, where I passed some pleasant and instructive hours with the Count O'Reilly. I found him remarkably well informed, with great activity of mind, and a

 good

good deal of the genius of your friend Burke, tempered by long experience in affairs. The day I left Valencia for Barcelona, I visited the ancient Saguntum. Nature could not have formed a nobler place for defence, nor a more noble conquest for Hannibal to start from his transalpine journey. From Barcelona, resembling one of our best trading ports, I embarked for Genoa.

N° CCLV.

M. Necker *à M.* Gibbon.

Rolle, Mars 19, 1793.

Nous comptons, Monsieur, quitter Rolle vers la fin du mois. La santé de Madame Necker la rend impatiente de changer d'air, et nous irons plus ou moins long tems nous établir à Copet. Nous avons toujours en perspective d'aller passer quelques jours avec vous, et nous prendrons le moment où nos idées sur l'avenir seront plus arrêtées. Peut-être aurions-nous le plaisir de vous recevoir auparavant; il y auroit bien de la grace à vous à en user ainsi. On a toujours plus besoin d'un ami tel que vous. Il nous en coûte véritablement de renvoyer à un autre moment le plaisir que nous nous proposions, mais nous l'aurons sans cesse en perspective, et je laisserai alors à Madame Necker la satisfaction de vous l'annoncer. Je lui ai promis, foi de votre raison, de votre indulgence, et de votre amitié, que vous approuveriez ce petit dérangement; et que vous ne serez pas moins disposé à nous recevoir avec bonté dans un autre moment.

L'addresse

L'addresse de ma fille est à Juniper Hall, *viâ London*. Je vous ai addressé, il y a trois jours, une lettre de cette dame, qui ne sçait encore ce qu'elle fera. Son mari est à Paris, mais sans caractère diplomatique: il nous laisse ignorer s'il a dessein de venir ici, et il n'a écrit qu'une lettre fort courte à Madame Necker.

N° CCLVI.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to the Right Honourable Lady* ELIZABETH FOSTER, *at* Florence.

Lausanne, April 4th, 1793.

HAD I not given previous notice of my own unworthiness, the plea of being an old incorrigible offender would serve only to aggravate my guilt; it is still sufficiently black, and I can patiently hear every reproach, except the cruel and unjust imputation of having forgotten my fair friends of the Arno and the Tyber. They would indeed have been less present to my thoughts, had I maintained a regular *weekly* correspondence; since, by the effect of my negligence, not a *day* has elapsed without a serious, though fruitless, resolution of writing by the very next post. What may have somewhat contributed, besides original sin, to this vile procrastination, is the course of events that has filled this abominable winter. As long as the poor King's fate was in suspense, one waited from post to post, between hope and fear, and when the blow was struck, even Shakespeare's language was inadequate to express our grief and indignation. I have never approved the execution of Charles the First;

yet Charles had invaded, in many respects, the ancient constitution of England, and the question had been judged in the field of Naseby before it was tried in Westminster-hall. But Louis had given and suffered every thing. The cruelty of the French was aggravated by ingratitude, and a life of innocence was crowned by the death of a saint, or, what is far better, of a virtuous prince, who deserves our pity and esteem. He might have lived and reigned, had he possessed as much active courage as he was endowed with patient fortitude. When I read the accounts from home, of the universal grief and indignation which that fatal event excited, I indeed gloried in the character of an Englishman. Our national fame is now pure and splendid; we have nobly stood forth in the common cause of mankind; and although our armaments are somewhat slow, I still persuade myself that we shall give the last deadly wound to the Gallic hydra. The King of Prussia is likewise slow, and your poor friend, the Duke of Brunswick, is now not censured but forgotten. We turn our eyes to the Prince of Cobourg and his Austrians, and it must be confessed, that the deliverance of Holland and Brabant from such a dragon as Dumourier is a very tolerable employment for the month of March. These blossoms of the spring will be followed, it may be fairly hoped, by the fruits of summer; and in the meanwhile the troubles of Paris, and the revolt of the provinces, may promote, by the increase of anarchy, the restoration of order. I see that restoration

through

through a dark cloud; but if France be lost, the rest of Europe, I believe and trust, will be saved. But amidst the hurricane, I dare not fix my eyes on the *Temple*. So much for politics, which now engross the waking and sleeping thoughts of every feeling and thinking animal. In this country we are tranquil, and I believe safe, at least for this summer; though peace has been purchased at some expense of national honour, of the old reputation of Swiss courage, we have crouched before the tiger, and stroked him till he has sheathed his claws, and ceased for a moment to roar. My journey to England this year must depend on the events of the campaign; as I am fully resolved rather to remain quiet another autumn and winter in my sweet habitation, than to encounter the dangers of the sea and land. I envy the pleasures which you and your companions have enjoyed at Florence and Rome; nor can I decide which have tasted the most perfect delight, those to whom such beauties were new, or those to whom they were familiar. A fine eye, correct judgment, and elegant sensibility, are requisite to qualify the studious traveller; and these gifts have been liberally dispensed among the Ouchy caravan. But when you have been gratified, though not satiated, with the Hesperian prospect, to what fortunate clime will you direct your footsteps? Have we any hopes of meeting (for my journey, at all events, would be late) in the shades, or rather in the sunshine, of Ouchy? Should Mount Cenis be still imperious, you have trampled on St. Bernard

in a more rigorous season; and whatsoever may be the state of the world, the Pays de Vaud will afford you a secure asylum, or a pleasant station. I rejoice to hear of Lady Besborough's improvement. Will that new title make any difference in the plan? Is the Duchess very impatient to revisit England? Except some trifling considerations of children, &c. all countries may be indifferent to her; as she is sure of being loved and admired in all. I am anxious and impatient to learn the result of your counsels; but I feel myself unworthy of a regular correspondence, and am not desirous of heaping fresh coals of fire on my head.

I am happy to find that you forgive and pity my friend Necker, against whom you all entertained some Versailles prejudices. As his heart has been always pure, he cannot feel remorse; but as his conduct has been unsuccessful, he is penetrated with grief and regret. Madame de Staël has written to me from England; she likes the country, but means to fly over again in May.

N° CCLVII.

Mr. Gibbon *to Lord* Loughborough.

My Lord, * Rolle, February 23d, 1793.

I do not merely congratulate your Lordship's promotion to an office† which your abilities have long deserved. My satisfaction does not arise

* A town between Lausanne and Geneva, where M. Necker then resided.

† Lord Loughborough had lately been appointed Lord High Chancellor. S.

from

from an assurance of the wisdom and vigour which administration will derive from the support of so respectable an ally. But as a friend to government in general, I most sincerely rejoice that you are now armed in the common cause against the most dangerous fanatics that have ever invaded the peace of Europe; against the new barbarians, who labour to confound the order and happiness of society; and who, in the opinion of thinking men, are not less the enemies of subjects than of kings. The hopes of the wise and good are now fixed on the success of England; and I am persuaded that my personal attachment to your Lordship will be amply gratified by the important share which your counsels will assume in that success. I could wish that some of your former associates possessed sufficient strength of mind to extricate themselves from the toils of prejudice and party. But I grieve that a man, whom it is impossible for me not to love and admire, should refuse to obey the voice of his country; and I begin to fear that the powerful genius of Mr. Fox, instead of being useful, will be adverse to the public service. At this momentous crisis we should enlist our whole force of virtue, ability, and spirit; and without any view to his private advantage, I could wish that our friend Lord * * * * * * might be properly stationed in some part of the line.

Mr. Necker, in whose house I am now residing on a visit of some days, wishes me to express the sentiments of esteem and consideration which he entertains for your Lordship's character. As a

friend to the interest of mankind, he is warmly attached to the welfare of Great Britain, which he has long revered as the first, and perhaps as the last asylum of genuine liberty. His late eloquent work, *Du Pouvoir Executif*, which your Lordship has assuredly read, is a valuable testimony of his esteem for our constitution; and the testimony of a sagacious and impartial stranger may have taught some of our countrymen to value the political blessings which they have been tempted to despise.

I cherish a lively hope of being in England, and of paying my respects to your Lordship before the end of the summer; but the events of the year are so uncertain, and the sea and land are encompassed with so many difficulties and dangers that I am doubtful whether it will be practicable for me to execute my purpose.

I am, my Lord, most respectfully, and your Lordship will permit me to add most affectionately, your most faithful humble servant.

N° CCLVIII.

Dr. VINCENT *to Mr.* GIBBON.

SIR, Dean's-yard, July 20th, 1793.

I AM happy that any accidental circumstance should have introduced me to a correspondence with Mr. Gibbon, and I trust you will excuse me a delay of one moment, which I wish to employ in expressing my respect for your works. With all the prejudices that men of my profession have, and ought to have, against particular parts, I confess with the highest satisfaction the pleasure and instruction

struction I have received from every thing that is critical and historical; out of the numerous body of authors you have made use of, I have always followed your narration with such as I could procure: your fidelity, accuracy, and the happy use you have made of them, has taught me an attention I was not master of before, out of many instances I mention Ammianus as the first.

And now, Sir, permit me to inform you that from Dr. Nichol's book, which is in my possession, you were entered at Westminster School, in the second form, in January, 1748, the precise day is not noticed, but probably from the 10th to the 16th, it was the same year I was entered myself in the September following. The time of your quitting the school cannot appear from this book, but by calculating the *removes*, I should think you might fix it accurately yourself. Your age is noticed, as is that of all the others in Dr. N.'s book, which makes you 9 years old in 1748.

If there is any other inquiry that I can promote, I shall be happy to receive your commands.

I remain with great respect,
Your most faithful and obedient servant,
W. VINCENT.

N° CCLIX.

Dr. VINCENT *to Mr.* GIBBON.

Dean's-yard, July 22d, 1798.

DR. Vincent is able to assure Mr. Gibbon, from his own entrance in the same year, that the year of

of Dr. Nichol is certainly 1748, and he thinks he can bring to Mr. Gibbon's remembrance, facts that will fully satisfy his own mind. Boyle, afterwards Earl of Orrery, was one of the principal actors in Ignoramus, represented in December, 1747, and would of course continue *Captain* till Whitsuntide 1748. Fury succeeded him. These are such remarkable epochs in the chronology of boys, that few forget them. Dr. Vincent is sure of his own memory likewise, when he asserts that he remembers Mr. Gibbon in the 2d form, and at Mrs. Porten's house in 1748, as he lived next door with Hutton the nonjuror.

If Mr. Gibbon should still have any doubts Dr. V. will not think any thing a trouble, which may contribute to remove them.

N° CCLX.

Mr. PINKERTON *to Mr.* GIBBON.

SIR, London, 23d July, 1793.

I HOPE you will pardon this intrusion, after our appointment at Mr. Nicol's, which I was very sorry the extreme heat of the day constrained you to defer, as it would have given me the greatest of pleasures to have been known to you. Indeed I have expressed upon many occasions, that I regarded you as the first of living authors; and perhaps the only one in the world who has united genius, erudition, philosophy, eloquence, all in the most consummate degree. After this you may judge how severe the disappointment was to me; and as I hear

hear that you will not be in town for some time, I hope you will forgive my impatience in writing to you.

It gave me extreme satisfaction to learn the proposed scheme of publishing our ancient historians, under the auspices of the greatest of modern historians, and whose name alone would ensure success to the work, and occasion the revival of an important study, too much and too long neglected in this otherwise scientific country. Your favourable mention of me as reviser flattered me much, for *magnum laudari a laudatis.* I should not only exert all my industry in collating MSS. revising the press, &c. but should execute my labours *con amore*, as on the favourite object of long pursuit; but all this would be nothing without your name, which is a tower of strength; and as Mr. Nicol expressed his hope that you would consent to give your advice, as to the authors employed, and other important points, so he and I warmly join (and I hear the literary voice of present and future nations accord with ours) in the request that you will allow your name to appear as superintending the work, or as the Latin, I believe, would express it, *curante*, &c. It is also hoped that you will spare a few hours to clothe the Prospectus, upon which much depends, with your powerful eloquence, which, like a coat of mail, unites the greatest splendour with the greatest strength.

If you consent to this, as Mr. Nicol wishes that no time may be lost, I shall begin to prepare materials for the Prospectus, and send them to you when

when your convenience suits. This will be the more easy as, in the year 1788, I published in the Gentleman's Magazine twelve "Letters to the people of Great Britain, on the cultivation of their national history," pointing out the deficiencies in this line of study. Among others I mentioned that in the Saxon Chronicle not less than fifty pages may be found in MSS. in the Museum, which are wanting in Gibson's edition, a book consisting of only 244 pages.

But I must repeat that all our hopes of success depend on your name alone. I humbly request that you will let me know your sentiments on the occasion, at your convenience; and have the honour to be with infinite respect,

Sir, your most obedient
and faithful servant,
JOHN PINKERTON.

N° CCLXI.

Mr. GIBBON *to Mr.* PINKERTON.

DEAR SIR, Sheffield Place, 25th July, 1793.

ON the principal subject of your letter I shall explain myself with the frankness becoming your character and my own. Above twelve years ago, in a note to the third volume of my history, I expressed the surprise and shame, which I had long entertained, that, after the example and success of the other countries of Europe, England alone, with such superior materials, should not have yet formed a collection of her original historians. I still

still persevere in the same sentiments, that the work would be acceptable to the public, and honourable to all the persons at whose expense, or by whose labour, it should be executed. I might doubt whether any single editor, however learned or laborious, could perform a task of such magnitude and variety with sufficient dispatch to satisfy the impatience of the world: yet I am not much a friend to republics of any kind; nor, in the choice of a sole or chief artist, do I know of any one so well qualified as yourself, by your previous studies, your love of historic truth, your Herculean industry, and the vigorous energies of your mind and character.

Thinking as I do, and called upon in so pressing and particular a manner, by yourself and Mr. Nicol, it is incumbent on me to explain for how much I can undertake. I will embrace every opportunity, both public and private, of declaring my approbation of the work, and my esteem for the editor. I shall be always ready to assist at your secret committee; to offer my advice with regard to the choice and arrangement of your materials; and to join with you in forming a general outline of the plan. If you proceed in drawing up a prospectus, I shall consider it with my best attention; nor shall I be averse to the crowning your solid edifice with something of an ornamental frieze. When the subscription is proposed, I shall underwrite my name for, at least, six copies: and I trust that a large contribution from a moderate fortune will be received as a sincere and unequivocal mark of approbation. But you seem to wish for

for somewhat more, the public use of my name as Curator, or superintendent, of the work; and on this delicate and ambiguous point you must allow me to pause. My name (qualecunque sit) I could not lend with fairness to the public, or credit to myself, without engaging much farther than I am either able or willing to do. Our old English historians have never been the professed object of my studies; my literary occupations, or rather amusements, lead me into a very distant path, and my speedy return to the Continent (next spring at the latest) will preclude all opportunities of regular inspection, or frequent correspondence.

I am, dear Sir, with the most sincere regard,
Your faithful humble servant,
E. GIBBON.

IT was Mr. Pinkerton's Inquiry into the History of Scotland, a book always mentioned by Mr. Gibbon with applause, which induced him to apply to its author to undertake the publication of this great national design, first formed by our eminent historian. Some of the objections in this letter were overcome: it was agreed that Mr. Cadell, if he chose, should be nominated publisher, &c. The final arrangement was, that Mr. Pinkerton's name should appear in the title-page as sole editor; but that Mr. Gibbon should write a general preface to the work, and a particular preface to each volume, containing a review of the history, and historians of each epoch; for which purpose, on his return to Lausanne, he was to peruse all the ancient English historians in a chronological course, a labour which he mentioned with pleasure, as the last and most favourite occupation of his life. So vain are human hopes! Mr. Gibbon also agreed to write the Prospectus, and to allow it to appear with his name; but he died on the day appointed for its publication, and with him all views of success in a design of such magnitude, which it was doubtful if even his name and co-operation could have carried into effect.

N°

N° CCLXII.

EDWARD GIBBON, *Esq. to Lord* AUCKLAND.

St. James's-street, No. 76, Nov. 27th, 1793.

MY DEAR LORD,

I SHOULD reproach myself with neglecting one of the best comforts of life, the enjoyment of instructive and agreeable society, did I not seek to visit Beckenham in my way to Sheffield-place. I must therefore ask whether it will suit with your other arrangements to receive me at dinner either Tuesday, Wednesday, or Thursday next week, to keep me the next day, and to dismiss me the following morning after breakfast. I shall expect your commands, and in the mean while request that you would present my compliments to Lady Auckland, whom I revere as a second Eve, the mother of nations,* though I am persuaded that she would not, like Eve, have eaten the apple.

My dear Lord,

Most sincerely yours,

E. GIBBON.

N° CCLXIII.

Monsieur NECKER *à Monsieur* GIBBON.

Lausanne, Novembre, 1793.

† QUELLE courage, Monsieur, quelle sérénité à côté de tant d'esprit, et d'imagination! C'est donc

* The allusion is to the births of her children in England, America, Ireland, France, Spain, and Holland.

† This letter was written immediately after Mr. Necker had received the account of Mr. Gibbon's having undergone the operation of tapping.

à vos

à vos amis seuls à éprouver vos maux, et à s'en inquiéter. Ah! ils rempliront trop bien cette fonction. Notre intérêt, nos vœux, vous environnent, et de notre terrasse nous voyons, nous regardons votre maison, et nous irons en ouvrir les portes et les fenêtres dès qu'on nous apprendra que vous revenez l'habiter. Vous avez rendu cet asile trop célèbre pour l'oublier, et le vif sentiment avec lequel nous entendons parler de vous, nous est un garant de votre retour.

Nous sommes à Lausanne depuis quelques jours, et nous avons depuis reçu plusieurs visites de la cité. La rue du Bourg, ainsi que de raison, attend qu'on la previenne; mais moi, revenu des grandeurs de la terre, après avoir fait une visite de devoir au Seigneur Bailly, et au Seigneur Bourguemestre, et une de goût, et de reconnoissance à Madame de Sévéry, je me tiendrai clos dans mon manoir. Adieu, Monsieur, agréez, je vous prie, les assurances de mon inviolable attachement.

N° CCLXIV.

Rev. Dr. COOKE, *Dean of Ely, and Provost of King's College, Cambridge, to Lord* SHEFFIELD.

King's College, April 11th, 1796.

AND so even nobles, it seems, can condescend to make their visits, after the mode of the good parsons in the West, with their wives behind them. I take leave to kiss both hands with all due respect and veneration, as proof of that perfect harmony and union, of which every friend must be happy

to

to have the assurance, which must ever result from equal good sense, good humour, and virtue, and be rather more close, more tender and delicate, than the most intimate connexion between author and editor. In making my acknowledgments, my most dear Lord, for your late very kind notice of me, you will suffer me to remark something of error: it was not to be supposed, that any thing should appear under your sanction which I should not eagerly possess myself of the first moment I could obtain it. Amidst all my interruptions, I have advanced considerably into the Extraits du Journal, and I admire him even more in them than in his History: such variety of reading, such justness of reflexions, such neatness and precision of expression, are not to be found in any of the Anas with which I am acquainted; nor am I aware of any publication that does equal honour to both the parties concerned in it. I have no doubt of your just title to the merit of the observation, that

> Poets lose half the praise they would have got,
> Did we but know what they discreetly blot.

It is indeed matter of sincere pleasure to me, as well on your Lordship's account as your friend's, that so little appears that can give offence. The great desideratum is, and a most wonderful one, that a professed historian, whose province it is to be guided by evidence, should not submit to the glaring evidences of our religion,—evidences, even at this day, of our senses,—and if examined, irresistible: the misfortune is, that they are not examined

and considered:—but this world cheats us of our immortal hopes. I beg pardon; I will not, and I trust I need not, preach. Your Lordship will kindly forgive my zeal, and be assured of my anxious wishes of every happiness to yourself and all who are dear to you both now and for ever. My heart has been so full, as to have forgotten, I find, to express how highly honoured and gratified we shall be by the present you have so obligingly intimated.

I am ever, my dear Lord,
Under the strongest impression of all your favours,
Your most sincere, obliged, and faithful and affectionate Servant,
WM. COOKE.

N CCLXV.

Rev. Dr. COOKE, *Dean of Ely, and Provost of King's College, Cambridge, to Lord* SHEFFIELD.

MY DEAR GOOD LORD, April 26th, 1796.

THE precious volumes have safely reached us, and shall be deposited pari jugo, or cheek by jole, with the six of which we have long been possessed, and to which they make so very valuable an Appendix. I am at a loss indeed to say, whether the great historian of empires and of the changes and chances of the world in general, may be of more use and consequence than the faithful narrator, as he appears in your Lordship's representation, of the humbler incidents of private life, of the occa-

occasional reflexions that arise upon them, and the happiness of a sincere, long-continued, and uninterrupted friendship. The last I am sure come much more closely home to our personal businesses and bosoms, and must have a greater influence on our own immediate conduct; nor can I hesitate to affirm, in an allusion which Mr. Gibbon himself, if he could have known the posthumous care and attention to his fame and character, would have applied,

> Fortunati ambo!
> Nulla dies unquam memori vos eximet ævo—

You will go down together to late posterity with as much just distinction as any of the memorable duets of antiquity. While I congratulate your Lordship on the close of your meritorious labour for one friend, let me intreat your intercession with Lady Sheffield for my not having particularly expressed the high sense I have of the honour of her Ladyship's late notice with which she so obligingly favoured me: nor will it be a slight gratification, if Miss Holroyd may retain any memory of a former admirer, or Miss Louisa, of the happiness she communicated by a few transient interviews at Bath. May every blessing attend your Lordship, and all who are dear to you! so prayeth most heartily

Your ever most truly obliged and most
Faithful humble Servant,
WILLIAM COOKE.

N° CCLXVI.

The Rev. NORTON NICHOLLS *to Lord* SHEFFIELD.

Blundeston, June 2d, 1796.

I HAVE delayed so long to write to you, my dear Lord, not certainly from indifference to you or to the posthumous fame of Gibbon which owes so much to your friendly and judicious exertions—The work more than answers my expectation; such a faithful, interesting, and agreeable portrait of a human mind endowed with the most extraordinary powers, enriched with all the treasures of learning, embellished with all the graces that good taste and polished society can bestow; impelled by an insatiable desire of knowledge to an activity in the pursuit of it, the eagerness and constancy of which has seldom been equalled; such a portrait has scarcely ever been given to the world, and never with such a curious and happy detail. As for his moral character, you have exhibited it in a new point of view *even to me;* till that admirable letter preceding his last departure from Switzerland I had no idea of the warmth and energy of his friendship; but the incomparable letters which you have published teem with proofs, most honourable to the heart and sentiments of their author. The account of his studies is as useful as it is singular, and may serve to point out to others the path to literature which so few pursue. Nothing *ran through* his mind; every subject worthy of attention was sifted, examined, and dissected. The ideas of others produced a new train in him which he generally

generally carried far beyond the original. The style of his letters is *perfect*,—equally easy, elegant, accurate, pleasant, and even playful. The outlines of the History of the World (which I had not seen) is masterly. It was impossible for him to be superficial.

I cannot help congratulating you on having produced a work as honourable to you, as to your friend; and I am convinced that its popularity will be equal to its merit.

Adieu, my dear Lord, believe me to be ever most faithfully yours,

N. NICHOLLS.

N° CCLXVII.

Extract of a Letter from GREGORY LEWIS WAY, *Esq. to Lord* SHEFFIELD.

Spencer Farm, August 28th, 1796.

I HAVE finished the first volume of the Gibboniana. With parts of it I was delighted and interested extremely. Of his satire on Oxford I can hardly be deemed an *impartial* reader. His opinions on public affairs and public men, I swallowed with avidity and approbation. But his French letters of courtship to Deyverdun are delicious indeed: and in the minute incidents connected with his *Work*, I stand invisible behind him; I steal along his grove of Acacias, and my mind participates in his exultation and in his gloom. Shall I add, that in his honest and manly retirement from public life, and in his estimate of the comparative charms of

of politics and philosophy, he has also a powerful echo in my bosom? I trust that, like him, I should have been able, in spite of "mes amis, qui ne veulent pas me permettre d'être heureux suivant mon goût, et mes lumières," to have persisted in a like line of conduct; since I have his authority for flattering myself that I "possess a disposition somewhat similar to his own." The names of *Chelsum* and *Randolph* I have not forgotten, though I suspect myself of never having read their books.

N° CCLXVIII.

Samuel Rose, *Esq. to Lord* Sheffield.

My Dear Lord, Denham Lodge, Sept. 7th, 1796.

I have been in Oxfordshire, and am now in Norfolk, visiting my valuable but unhappy friend Cowper, who, though certainly better than he has been, still continues a victim to melancholy and despair. It is a dreadful sight!---such talents so laid waste by so merciless a disorder claim our pity now, as much as, in a different state, they before excited our admiration. But it is not the object of this letter to communicate to your Lordship those painful sensations which must necessarily be felt by every benevolent mind at hearing of the continued misery this gentleman suffers. It is rather the object of this letter to give you pleasure, who are ever so active in creating and promoting the enjoyment of others.

I lately heard from my friend Mr. Mackenzie of Edinburgh, who has distinguished himself in the literary

literary world by his Man of Feeling, and other ingenious publications. He speaks in the following just and appropriate terms of your Lordship's last work, which I transcribe with great satisfaction, as they express my sentiments upon the subject, and as they come with weight from so distinguished a character as Mr. Mackenzie:

"With Mr. Gibbon's volumes, particularly the first, I was much entertained and gratified. To see so much of the life and manners of a celebrated man, is always gratifying; in this case it was peculiarly so, from the increased esteem which it excited for that man, by exhibiting him in so amiable a view as a relation and a friend. Lord Sheffield and his family formed a very interesting group in the picture. Among authors and public men it is not very common, and it is very pleasing, to find such continued and warm affection and attachment; and the man of taste, as well as of virtue, is deeply indebted to the editor, who can thus unfold to him such sources of moral as well as literary pleasure."

This is one, among many honourable testimonies, you have received of the value and importance of your very entertaining publication; a publication which will increase in the good opinion of the public, in proportion as they become better acquainted with its contents.

Your Lordship's obliged and affectionate,

SAMUEL ROSE.

END OF VOL. II.

LONDON: *Printed by C. Roworth, Bell-yard, Temple-bar.*

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Gibbon, Edward
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MEMOIRS OF HIS LIFE AND WRITINGS,

COMPOSED BY HIMSELF:

ILLUSTRATED FROM HIS LETTERS,

WITH OCCASIONAL NOTES AND NARRATIVE,

BY THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

JOHN, LORD SHEFFIELD.

A NEW EDITION, WITH CONSIDERABLE ADDITIONS,
IN FIVE VOLUMES.

VOL. III.
HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR JOHN MURRAY, 50, ALBEMARLE STREET,
By C. Roworth, Bell-yard, Temple-bar.

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TO THE

FIRST EDITION.

THE following Pieces have already been noticed in the Introduction to the First Volume. Many of them were juvenile performances; and under the persuasion that they will be candidly received as such, they are now delivered to the Press. They certainly are entitled to greater indulgence than could be claimed for Compositions more finished and elaborate, and written at the time of mature age.

The minute account of Mr. Gibbon's studies each day, extracted from the Journal of his actions and opinions, and his observations on the several Works he had perused, evince a singular and unremitting industry.

In that view they may afford an useful lesson and example to such young readers as shall not already be convinced of the necessity of assiduous application in the acquisition of every kind of learning.

My

My first intention was, to have given only a short specimen of the observations made by Mr. Gibbon, in the course of his reading; but I found them so interesting, that I could not desist, so soon as I intended, from making Extracts; and, upon the whole, I thought that the part to be published would be more curious, if given exactly as it stands in the Journal.

I hope I shall not be thought to have published too much: in truth, there still remain in my possession many Papers which I think equally worth attention.

Mr. Gibbon's manuscript Observations were much detailed, from the year 1754 to 1764; and he afterwards continued to write remarks and hints on all subjects, in various common-place books, on detached papers, and even on cards, till a short time before his death, although not so copiously, nor so regularly and methodically, after his return from Italy, in the year 1765. His common-place books are voluminous. One of the largest has for title, "Common-place Book; in which I propose to write what I find most remarkable in my Historical Readings; begun at Lausanne the 19th of March 1755." In this he introduces a great variety of Observations on almost every subject, particularly on History.

In another Book, dated the 19th of January, 1756,

1756, he says, " J'ai pris la résolution de lire de suite tous les Classiques Latins, les partageant suivant les matières qu'ils ont traité. 1. Les Historiens. 2. Les Poëtes. 3. Les Orateurs; dans laquelle classe je renfermerai tous les autres auteurs qui ont écrit en prose, sans être ni Philosophes ni Historiens. 4. Les Philosophes." He begins with Observations on Sallust; then proceeds to the Commentaries of Cæsar, Cornelius Nepos, Livy, always mentioning the edition which he used.

There are other Books, containing various Dissertations on ancient and modern Weights, Measures, Monies, Coins, Finance, Number of the People, Chronology, ancient Geography, and on several States of the ancient and modern World.—" Mémoire sur la Monarchie des Mèdes, pour servir de Supplément aux Dissertations de Messieurs Freret et de Bougainville."—" Du Gouvernement Féodal, surtout en France."—" Remarks on, and an Abridgment of, Blackstone's Commentaries."—" Remarques Critiques sur le Nombre des Habitans dans la Cité des Sybarites."—" Remarques Critiques sur le nouveau Système de la Chronologie de Newton."—" Remarques sur quelques Prodiges."—" Remarques Critiques sur les Dignités Sacerdotales de Jules César."—" Remarques sur quelques Passages de Virgile."—" Sur un Passage de Plaute."

Plaute."—" Examen de la Mort du Poëte Catulle."—" Réflexions sur l'Etude des Belles Lettres, (*i. e.*) des Anciens, et de l'Antiquité Grecque et Latine."—" Remarques sur les Mémoires de l'Académie des Belles Lettres."—A very considerable Work on Ancient Italy, intitled, " Nomina Gentesque Antiquæ Italiæ," with many curious Dissertations on several Parts of that interesting Country.—" Observations on the Churches, Palaces, Pictures, Artists, Antiquities, &c. of Italy."—" Index Expurgatorius."—" Chronological Tables."—Many loose sheets of Geography,* the Greek and Arabian Cosmography, the Navigation of the Portuguese, &c.—" Digression on the Character of Brutus."—" Introduction à l'Histoire Générale de la République des Suisses."—Detached sheets on the subject of the Antiquities of Brunswick, and many fragments on separate papers.

His well-known and acknowledged learning may have made this display of the proofs of his industry unnecessary; but it may be acceptable to many to have a short sketch of the very various subjects on which he had occupied himself.

* 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.

CON-

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Historical and Critical.

OUTLINES OF THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD.

THE NINTH CENTURY. 300—900.

THE more civilized part of the globe was divided between the Christians and the Mahometans; the former under two emperors, the latter under two caliphs. 1. The newly-erected empire of the Franks extended over France, Germany, and Italy, and even the Christian princes of Britain and the mountains of Spain respected the power and dignity of Charlemagne. 2. The empire of the Greeks, or as they vainly styled it, of the Romans, had preserved only Macedonia, Thrace, and Asia Minor. 3. The caliphs of the house of Ommiyah reigned in Spain. 4. Africa, Egypt, Syria, Arabia, and Persia, were subject to the Abassides. Whatever lay beyond the limits of these four empires was still pagan, and, excepting China, still barbarous.

The overgrown monarchy of the Abassides soon declined. The powerful viceroys of great and distant provinces gradually usurped the prerogatives,

though they still respected the dignity of the caliph.
776—809. The reigns of Al Rashid, Al Mamûn, and Al Motas-
813—833.
833—841. sem were, however, wise and prosperous: but their feeble successors, immersed in the luxury of the seraglio, resigned the guard of their throne and person to a body of Turkish mercenaries, who, as their interest or passions might dictate, deposed, massacred, and created the lieutenants of the pro-
866—869. phet. At length they began to experience the dire
870.
892. effects of the enthusiasm to which they owed their grandeur. A sect of desperate fanatics, called Karmathians, disturbed Irack and Arabia. The assassins of Syria, so much dreaded during the crusades, were the last remains of them.

The ruin of the French empire was more precipitate and attended with greater calamities. It is chiefly to be ascribed to the fierce spirit of the Franks, unable to support either an arbitrary or a
814—840. legal government; to the incapacity of Lewis the
841. Débonnaire, and to the ambition of his four sons, who, in one battle, destroyed a hundred thousand of their subjects. The dignity of the throne and blood of Charlemagne was eclipsed, as every prince divided his dominions among his children; and the
875. spirit of union was irrecoverably lost. Charles the Bald disgraced the imperial purple by acknowledging that he held it from the favour of his subject the bishop of Rome. Another Charles, as unworthy as the former, was deposed by his subjects, and the vacant empire usurped by the kings of France, of Burgundy, of Arles, of Germany, and of Italy, all strangers to the family of Charlemagne.

The

The dukes and the counts who had served their ambition, converted their governments into hereditary possessions, which they shared among their barons, and these again among their followers; the superior still reserving the faith, homage, and military service of his vassal. The people, both of the cities and country, was reduced to a state of slavery. The clergy sometimes imitated, and sometimes moderated the tyranny of the military order.

In the mean while the Normans from the North, the Hungarians from the East, and the Arabs, or Saracens from the South, assaulted this defenceless empire on every side. Rome and Paris were besieged, and these invaders often met each other in the centre of the ruined provinces. The Normans especially, animated by the Saxons, great numbers of whom had retired into Scandinavia to escape the bloody baptism of Charlemagne, inflicted a dreadful revenge on the persons and property of the Christian priests. 849 885.

The union of the Saxon heptarchy was effected by Egbert, king of the West Saxons, who had been trained to arms and policy in the school of Charlemagne; for it was scarcely yet cemented, when England experienced the same calamities as the Continent from the Danes or Normans. They were with much difficulty expelled, or subdued, by the victories of Alfred. Amidst the deepest gloom of barbarism, the virtue of Antoninus, the learning and valour of Cæsar, and the legislative genius of Lycurgus, shone forth united in that patriot king. Several of his institutions have survived the Nor-

man conquest, and contributed to form the English constitution.

The Arabs, whether subject to the house of Abbas or to that of Ommiyah, formed but one people. The Christians of the western and eastern empires had scarcely any common resemblance, except of religious superstition. The Franks had almost forgotten to read or write, in the most literal sense of these words. The Greeks preserved their ancient authors without attempting to imitate them. But the Arabs were poets and philosophers; bewildered themselves very ingeniously in the maze of metaphysics, and improved the more useful sciences of physic, astronomy, and the mathematics. The arts, which minister to the convenience and luxury of life, were known only in the East, and at Constantinople.

From these arts the Arabs derived their splendour, and the Greeks their existence. A people without valour or discipline, and a throne perpetually stained with blood and occupied by weak princes, could not long have withstood the numerous enemies which on every side surrounded them. Constantinople alone, attracting by its situation and industry the commerce of Europe and Asia, supplied the absolute monarch with an inexhaustible source of wealth and power.

900—1000. THE TENTH CENTURY.

898—987. Out of respect to Charlemagne's memory, Charles the Simple and his descendants to the third generation, were permitted to hold the crown of France:

France: but it was a crown without either power or splendour. Italy, with the imperial dignity; Germany, with the neighbouring provinces of Lorraine, Alsace, Franche Comté, Dauphiné, and Provence, were separated from the French monarchy. The last Carlovingian princes, reduced to the city of Laon, beheld the misery of their country, and the wars among their great vassals. Of these the most powerful were the dukes of France, of Normandy, of Burgundy, and of Acquitain; the counts of Flanders, of Champagne, and of Thoulouse. Rollo, the first duke of Normandy, acquired that fertile province by conquest and by treaty: his barbarian followers readily adopted the French manners, religion, and language. Hugh Capet, duke of France, and count of Paris and Orleans, wrested from the last of the Carlovingians the sceptre, which still remains in the hands of his posterity: but his new regal title scarcely gave him any authority over his *peers*, and his ample fiefs composed a very inconsiderable kingdom. 912. 987—996. 987.

The Germans, freed from the French yoke, elected for their king Conrad duke of Franconia, and after him a line of Saxon princes. Henry the Fowler chastised the Hungarians, civilized his rude subjects, and was the first founder of cities in the interior parts of Germany. His son, Otho the Great, passed the Alps, gave laws to Italy and to the popes, and for ever fixed the imperial dignity in the German nation. He imposed a tribute on the vanquished Danes and Bohemians, and since that time the King of Bohemia has acknowledged 918—936.

himself the first vassal of the German empire, which was treated with contempt by the Greeks, reluctantly submitted to by the Italians, but re-
973—983. spected by the rest of Europe. The second and
983—1002. third Otho, son and grandson to the first, supported, though with less vigour and capacity, the claims which he transmitted to them.

Spain flourished under the happy government of the Ommiades more than in any former or later period. Their capital, Cordova, is said to have contained two hundred thousand houses, and the adjacent country twelve thousand villages. The active genius of the Arabs was at once employed in war, science, agriculture, manufactures, and commerce. The annual revenue of the caliph
912—961. Abdoubrahman III. exceeded six millions sterling,
976—1006. and probably surpassed that of all the Christian kings united. Under the reign of his grandson, the viziers became masters of the palace, and the governors of their provinces.

The Christian princes of Gothic or Gascon extraction, who had maintained their independence in the Pyrenean and Asturean mountains, and of whom the King of Leon was the most considerable, prepared to take advantage of the intestine divisions of the Mahometans.

A new empire arose in Africa. Obeidollah, who styled himself the descendant and avenger of Ali, reduced under his obedience the whole country from the Atlantic ocean to the frontiers of Egypt, together with the island of Sicily; and founded
969. the dynasty of the Fatimite caliph. Moez Ledinilla,

nilla, the fourth in descent and succession from him, conquered Egypt and Syria, and built Grand Cairo on the banks of the Nile, which soon became one of the first cities of the world. But in proportion as the Fatimite caliphs extended their conquests towards the East, their western dominions of Africa escaped from their yoke. In the mean while the Arabs of Mauritania, who still retained their pastoral life, spread the terror of their arms and the law of Mahomet among the negro nations in the interior parts of Africa.

The empire of the Abassides was dismembered 936.
by twenty dynasties, Arabs, Turks, and Persians. The caliph of Bagdad, a prisoner in his palace, enjoyed the vain honour of being named first in the public prayers, and of granting the investiture of his provinces to every fortunate usurper. The Greeks seized the favourable opportunity, recovered Antioch, and once more extended their power as far as the banks of the Euphrates.

As England formed a separate world, which maintained very little intercourse with other nations, it may be reserved for the last place. Ed- 900—924.
ward the elder and Athelstan inherited the military 924—940.
virtues of Alfred. The great grandson of that 959—975.
prince, Edgar, is celebrated by the monks for his profuse devotion to their order; and by rational men, for the attention he gave to the natural strength of his kingdom, a maritime power. The Danes, who since the time of Alfred had respected the coasts of England, renewed their attacks as

soon as they discovered the weakness of young Ethelred, the son of Edgar.

973—1016. While the Musulmans, notwithstanding their intestine troubles, preserved the light of science, Europe sunk still deeper into ignorance, barbarism, and superstition. The Benedictine abbeys, though they nursed the last of these monsters, opposed some faint resistance against the two former. They transcribed ancient books, improved their lands, and opened an asylum for the slaves of feudal tyranny, which had every where erected fortified castles on the ruins of cities and villages. The inhabitants of the rocks of Genoa, and of the marshes of Venice, began to seek, first a subsistence, and soon afterwards wealth and power, in the useful employments of trade and navigation.

THE ELEVENTH CENTURY.

1000-1100. The general history of this age may be comprehended under four great events. 1. The empire of the Turks in Asia. 2. The disputes between the emperors and the popes. 3. The conquest of England and Naples by the Normans; and 4. The crusades against the Mahometans.

1. Mahmud of Gasna was the first prince, who, under the empire of the caliphs, assumed the title of Sultan. He reigned over the eastern parts of Persia, and invaded the rich and peaceful nations of Hindostan, several of which bowed to his yoke, and to that of the Alcoran. As he had occasion for great armies, he invited into his service the tribe

tribe of Seljuk, one of the bravest and most numerous among the Turks. They served the father, but rebelled against the son. The several dynasties of Persia fell successively before the sword of Togrul Beg, their first sovereign. The feeble caliph of Bagdad was obliged to grant him the investiture of his conquests, and to receive a Turk for his protector and his son-in-law. Alp Arslan, the successor of Togrul, took the Emperor Romanus Diogenes prisoner in a great battle, and treated him with a generous courtesy that would have done honour to the most civilized nations. Asia Minor, a part of the Greek empire, and Syria and Palestine, then subject to the caliphs of Egypt, were subdued by the victorious Turks. The empire of Malek Shah extended from India to the Hellespont: his court was the seat of learning, justice, and magnificence. The Turks, who had adopted the religion and manners of the Arabs, studied to conceal from the nations of Asia that they had changed their masters.

1031. 1038–1063. 1055. 1063–1072. 1080. 1072–1092.

2. The Emperor Otho III. was succeeded by his cousin Henry II. surnamed the Saint, because he chose to be the last of his family. The Franconian princes, Conrad the Salic, Henry III. and Henry IV. succeeded to the house of Saxony. These emperors possessed as much power as was compatible with the feudal system. Their great vassals were more accustomed to order and obedience than those of France. They enjoyed a large domain and revenue in Germany. Italy, once the mistress, and since the slave of the nations, was treated

1002–1024. 1024–1043. 1043–1056. 1056–1106.

treated as a conquered country. The right of granting the investiture of benefices; and even of the see of Rome, became in their hands an inexhaustible source either of power or of profit. Gre-
1073-1085. gory VII. a monk of a daring and obstinate spirit, embraced the pretence of abolishing simony, and the opportunity of delivering himself and his successors from an odious yoke. The emperor was excommunicated and deposed, and these spiritual arms were seconded, either from interested or pious motives, by the Normans, by the Countess Matilda, by the princes of Germany, and even by the sons of Henry. Though he defended himself with vigour, and was victorious in sixty-six battles, the church still maintained the war with new resources, and inflexible resolution; and the Roman Pontiff exalted his mitre above all the crowns in Europe.

3. In this century, England was twice subdued by foreign invaders. Sweyn the Dane ravaged
1016-1036. the country; but his son Canute, who had embraced Christianity, was acknowledged king by the nation, and shewed himself as mild in peace as he had been terrible in war. The dominion of the
1042-1066. Danes expired with the sons of Canute, and Edward the Confessor ascended without opposition the vacant throne. The more than doubtful testament of this weak prince, the last of the Saxon line, was however the best pretence with which William the bastard, Duke of Normandy, could
1066. October 14. colour his invasion of England. In the decisive battle of Hastings, the valour of the English was unable

unable to withstand the flower of Europe's chivalry, led on by an experienced general, and supported by the thunder of a papal excommunication. William secured his conquest, at first by the most gentle, afterwards by the most violent measures. He attempted to abolish the laws and language of the Anglo-Saxons, and divided their country among the companions of his victory. Fourteen hundred manors, which he reserved for the crown, formed an ample and independent revenue. Sixty thousand knights were bound by duty and interest to support the throne of their benefactor. The government was military; and a military government always verges towards despotism. The only compensation which England received for so many calamities, was a system of manners somewhat more polished, and a more extensive influence on the Continent. The power of William the Conqueror and of his son, William Rufus, eclipsed their sovereigns the kings of France. Robert, Henry I. and Philip I. the successors of Hugh Capet in lineal descent, wanted both talents and opportunity to wrest the prerogatives and provinces of their crown from the great vassals on whose usurpations time had almost bestowed a legal sanction.

1066–1087. 1087–1100. 996—1031. 1031–1060. 1060–1108.

The Normans were at that time renowned in arms beyond all the European nations. A few private gentlemen of Normandy, who visited the southern parts of Italy as pilgrims, and served there as mercenaries, soon formed themselves into a little army of conquerors, and erected a formidable

1016. 1057–1085.

ble power on the ruins of the Greeks, the Arabs, and the Lombards. Robert Guiscard, the greatest of their chiefs, who passed the Alps with only six horsemen and thirty foot, attained the honour of protecting Gregory VII. and of seeing both the emperors of the West and of the East successively fly before him. His vast projects against the latter of these empires were interrupted only by an untimely death. The devotion, or the policy of the Normans, engaged them to put their conquests under the protection of St. Peter; and, since that time, the kingdom of Naples has been a fief of the church of Rome.

1038. 4. As soon as the caliphate of Spain was destroyed, the Christians emerged from obscurity, and in their turn attacked the Moors or Arabs, now divided into twenty petty sovereignties. While each Mahometan prince defended himself separately, all were vanquished, but the victory was long doubtful and bloody. Every district
1085. cost a battle: every city a siege. The siege of Toledo lasted a year, and the reputation of the Spanish general, celebrated in history and romance under the name of the Cid, attracted the bravest knights of Italy and France to his standard. The
1065–1109. dominions of his master, Alfonso VI. comprehended both the Castiles, Leon, Biscay, Astureas, and Gallicia. The Spanish princes of Navarre, Arragon, and Catalonia were still confined between
1072. the Ebro and the Pyrenees. About the same time Count Roger, the Norman, brother of Robert Guiscard,

Guiscard, expelled the Arabs from the island of Sicily, and pursued them to the coast of Africa.

These advantages were preludes to the great enterprise of the crusades. When we recollect that arms and devotion were the ruling passions of the independent barons and their numerous followers, and that fame, riches, and Paradise were held forth as the sure rewards of this holy warfare, we shall be the less surprised that more than a million of men enlisted under the banner of the Cross. Of this undisciplined multitude, the far greater part perished in Hungary and Asia Minor. Godfrey of Bouillon, and the other Christian leaders, arrived on the banks of the Jordan with with only twenty thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse; but even this handful of warriors was 1099.
sufficient to recover the holy sepulchre, and to establish a feeble and transitory dominion over Jerusalem, Antioch, Tripoli, and Edessa. The French and Normans had the greatest share in the folly and glory of the first crusade, which roused Europe from its long and profound lethargy, and was productive of much unforeseen benefit to the popes, the kings of France, and the commercial states of Italy.

Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Poland, Bohemia, and Hungary adopted the Christian, or rather Popish faith, a more civilized life, and the first rudiments of feudal policy. The conversion of Russia was the work of the Greek church. The Sclavonian tribes on the coasts of the Baltic, from the

the Elbe to the gulph of Finland, still preserved their ancient religion and savage independence.

1100-1200. THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

THE popes prevailed against their ancient sovereigns the emperors of Germany, and deprived the
1106. unfortunate Henry IV. of his dominions, his repu-
1106-1125. tation, his life, and the last honours of a grave. To escape a similar fate, Henry V. resigned the long-contested right of investitures, which was gradu-
1121. ally usurped by the Roman Pontiff. The clergy, instead of regaining their liberty, soon experienced a yoke, still heavier when imposed by one of their own order. The fictitious donation of Constantine, and the will of Matilda, were likewise asserted by the popes, but with less success; and they found it easier to shake the thrones of other princes than to establish their own temporal dominion. A jealous truce subsisted between the
1125-1137. church and empire during the reigns of Lothaire II. and Conrad III. the latter of whom was the first
1137-1152. of the house of Swabia. The war was renewed
1152-1190. between the Emperor Frederic I. surnamed Barbarossa, and Pope Alexander III. each of whom pretended that the other was his creature and vassal. The cities of Lombardy, enriched by commerce and aspiring to liberty, ranged themselves under the papal banner. Though Frederic maintained his lofty claims with the greatest resolution and ability; though he set up an anti-pope, marched six times

times into Italy, besieged Rome, and levelled Milan with the ground, yet he was at last obliged to bend before the throne of Alexander, and confirm all the immunities of the Italian confederacy. 1117.

This emperor and his successor Henry VI. were, however, dreaded and obeyed in Germany, now enlarged by the forced conversion of the Vandals of Mecklenburgh and Pomerania. In the north of Italy the Imperial authority was almost lost: but in the south, Henry VI. acquired the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, by marrying Constantia, the daughter of Roger I. who had united the Norman conquests, and assumed the regal title. A powerful party was unable to resist the right and the arms of Henry, but he sullied his victory with cruelty and avarice. 1190-1198 1130. 1194.

The kings of France still remained the feeble heads of a great body. In private quarrels, the most inconsiderable baron was able to wage war against his sovereign: but when Lewis VI. assembled the national force against a foreign enemy, two hundred thousand men appeared under the banner of the Oriflamme. Lewis VII. was a prince of slender abilities, who lost the great duchy of Aquitain by divorcing his wife Eleanor on a jealous suspicion. His minister Suger, and his son Philip Augustus, deserve to be considered as the founders of the French monarchy. The former was an honest statesman and a monk, without the prejudices of a convent. The fortune of the latter was equal to his genius. 1108-1137. 1124. 1137-1180. 1180-1223.

In England the weak title of Henry I. youngest 1100-1135.

son

son of the conqueror, his marriage with a Saxon princess, and above all the hand of time, gradually uniting the Normans and the English into one people, contributed to abolish the memory of the conquest, and to relax the chains of despot-
1135-1154. ism. After the death of Henry, England was afflicted with a civil war between his daughter Matilda and his nephew Stephen, till at length the
1154-1189. contending parties acknowledged Henry II. the son of Matilda, an active, powerful, and fortunate monarch. From his mother he inherited England and Normandy; from his father, Fulk Plantagenet, the counties of Anjou, Maine, and Touraine. By the marriage, which he most eagerly contracted with the repudiated Eleanor, he obtained the provinces of Aquitain and Poitou. He disposed of the duchy of Britanny in favour of his third son Jeffrey. The King of Scotland did him homage, the Welch dreaded his power, and to the adven-
1171. turous valour of some subjects he was indebted for the sovereignty of Ireland; a conquest at that time of little value, but which now contains more wealth and industry than the extensive empire of Henry II. His reign was however disturbed by
1170. the ambition, and still more by the murder of Becket; by the intrigues of the French king, and
1189-1199. by the ingratitude of his sons. Richard the First, the second of them, possessed only the personal
1199-1216. courage of a soldier. John, the youngest, (who usurped the crown in prejudice to his nephew Arthur, the son of Jeffrey,) was even devoid of that vulgar

vulgar merit. The crusade and captivity of Richard exhausted England, and impoverished the crown.

The Christians of Spain acquired a manifest superiority over the Infidels. The kingdom of Castile was already a considerable power, and Alfonso VIII. vainly styled himself Emperor of Spain. 1133.
The little kingdom of Navarre still remained among the Pyrenees; but the kings of Arragon (one of whom married the heiress of Catalonia) descended 1162.
from the mountains into the plain, took Saragossa, and carried their arms to the frontiers of Castile and 1118.
Valentia. The progress of the kingdom of Portugal was still more rapid. A prince of the house of France had received from Alfonso VI. the city of *Porto Calle*, with the title of count; his successor 1139.
assumed that of king, took Lisbon, with the assistance of some English and Flemish crusaders, and subdued the western coast of Spain, from Gallicia to the Algarves. All these victories were attended with the greater difficulty and glory, as the Moors, both of Spain and Africa, were united under the empire of the Miramolins; in whom were revived the zeal, the valour, the learning, and the magnificence of the caliphs. Their capitals, Fez and Morocco, were superior to any cities in Christendom.

Each state, unconnected with its neighbours, had its own revolutions; but the expeditions to Palestine were the common business of Europe. Though the sermons of St. Bernard excited a second crusade more formidable than the first, the far greater part of the numerous armies which followed

lowed the Emperor Conrad and Lewis VII. of France, perished by the artifices of the Greeks, and the arms of the Turks; and those monarchs appeared in the Holy Land rather as pilgrims than as conquerors. The most dangerous enemy of the Chris-
1171. tians was Saladin, who abolished the Fatimite caliphs, and raised himself from a private station to the sovereignty of Egypt and Syria. Zeal and policy forbade him to suffer a Christian kingdom in the heart of his dominions. Jerusalem yielded
1187. to his arms, and the Christians experienced a generous treatment, as unexpected as it was undeserved. The news of this loss filled Europe with shame, grief, and indignation. Suspending their domestic
1189. quarrels, the military force of Germany, France, and England, marched into the East, under their respective monarchs. Frederic Barbarossa died in Asia Minor, in a career of useless victories. Philip, Augustus, and Richard I. who preferred the safer but more expensive method of transporting their troops by sea, took the inconsiderable town of St. John D'Acre after a siege of two years. This
1191. third crusade was followed by the death of Saladin,
1193. who left a name admired in Asia, dreaded and esteemed in Europe.

The provinces beyond the Tigris no longer obeyed the house of Seljuk. New princes (to use the Eastern expression) had arisen from the dust before their throne. A race of slaves, the governors, afterwards sultans of Carizme, enriched by
1192. their favour, and spared by their clemency, de-
1136–1160. prived the last of these monarchs of his sceptre and life.

life. The caliphs of Bagdad, with a juster title, had recovered their independence and the adjacent provinces of Irak. Two younger branches of the house of Seljuk still reigned in Kerman and Asia Minor.

Under the feudal system, the rights, natural as well as civil, of mankind, were enjoyed only by the nobles and ecclesiastics, who scarcely formed the thousandth part of the community. In this century they were gradually diffused among the body of the people. The cities of Italy acquired full liberty: the greater towns of Germany, England, France and Spain became legal corporations, and purchased immunities more or less considerable; even the peasant began to be distinguished from the rest of the cattle on his lord's estate.

With the liberty of Europe its genius awoke; but the first efforts of its growing strength were consumed in vain and fruitless pursuits. Ignorance was succeeded by error. The civil and canon jurisprudence were blindly adopted, and laboriously perverted. Romances of chivalry, and monkish legends still more fabulous, supplied the place of history. The dreams of astrology were dignified with the name of astronomy. To discover the philosopher's stone was the only end of chemistry. Superstition, instead of flying before the light of true philosophy, was involved in thicker darkness by the scholastic phantom which usurped its honours. The two great sources of knowledge, nature and antiquity, were neglected and forgotten.

1200-1300. THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

We may now contemplate two of the greatest powers that have ever given laws to mankind; the one founded on force, the other on opinion: I mean the Tartar conquerors, and the Roman pontiffs.

The Moguls. 1203. Birth-right, election, personal merit, force of arms, and some claims to a divine mission, invested Zingis Khan with the absolute command of all the Tartar and Mogul tribes. As soon as he had introduced a degree of order and discipline among his 1211. barbarous host, he invaded the empire of China, took Pekin, and subdued the northern provinces. 1218. From thence he marched into Persia against Mohammed, sultan of Carizme, who, by putting to death the Mogul ambassadors, drew ruin on himself, his family, and his dominions. From the Jaxartes to the Tigris, nothing could withstand the numbers and fury of the Moguls. Carizme, Bocara, Samarcand, &c. were levelled with the ground, and the rich provinces to the east and to the south of the Caspian Sea were changed from a garden to 1227. a desert. Zingis died loaded with the spoils and curses of Asia. His successors trod in the same 1234. paths of rapine and conquest. About the same time, one army of Moguls completed the reduction of the northern empire of China, and penetrated to the farthest point of Corea, almost within sight of the shores of Japan; a second over-ran Russia, Poland, and Hungary, threatened Constantinople, and won the battle of Lignitz in Silesia;

sia; a third army took Bagdad, destroyed the empire of the Caliphs, and laid waste Asia Minor and Syria. The Mogul princes of Persia and the Western Tartary long hesitated between the Gospel and the Alcoran. Their conversion would have been of greater benefit to the church than all the crusades; but at length they preferred the faith of Mahomet, and renounced all intercourse with the great Khan, who still adhered to the worship of the Dalai Lama. Cublai Khan, the grandson and fourth successor of Zingis, united, by the extinction of the dynasty of the South, the whole Chinese monarchy with Eastern Tartary, adopted the laws and manners of the conquered people, encouraged the arts and artists of every nation, and is reckoned by the Chinese themselves among their best emperors. 1258. 1292. 1273.

The Roman pontiffs claimed an universal monarchy, temporal as well as spiritual; and maintained that all inferior powers, emperors, kings, and bishops, derived from the chair of St. Peter their delegated authority. Of all the Popes, none asserted these lofty pretensions with more spirit and success than Innocent III. By establishing the doctrine of Transubstantiation, and the tribunal of the Inquisition, he obtained the two most memorable victories over the common sense and common rights of mankind. He reduced the schismatic Greeks, exterminated the Albigeois heretics, despoiled Raymond, count of Thoulouse, of his dominions, excommunicated two emperors, a king of France, and a king of England; the last of whom The popes. 1198-1216.

confessed himself the vassal and tributary of the see of Rome. Innocent reigned in Rome as the successor of Constantine, and in Naples as the natural guardian of young Frederic the son of Henry the Sixth; who, after Philip of Suabia and Otho IV., was acknowledged Emperor of Germany.

The empire. 1215–1250. The superior abilities of Frederic II., his Italian education, the Imperial sceptre, the kingdom of the two Sicilies, and the vast possessions of the House of Suabia, rendered him formidable to the Popes, who, unmindful of their accustomed policy, had rather assisted than checked his elevation. This fatal error could be retrieved only by the de-

1227–1268. struction of the House of Suabia, and the design was prosecuted during more than forty years with a constancy worthy of the ancient senate. The Roman pontiffs seized the first ground of dispute, rejected all terms of peace, and convinced both their friends and their enemies that they were resolved either to perish or to conquer. The parties of the church and of the empire, under the names of Guelphs and Ghibellins, divided and desolated

1245. Italy. Amidst this confusion, Innocent IV. solemnly deposed Frederic in the council of Lyons, and pursued that unfortunate monarch to the

1250. grave. After his decease, the name of emperor was assumed for a short time by his son Conrad IV. and the kingdom of Naples was defended by his bastard Mainfroy, till the papal arms were entrusted to Charles count of Anjou, the brother of Lewis

1266. IX. Followed by the bravest and most pious warriors of Christendom, that active prince passed the Alps,

Alps, and in a single battle deprived Mainfroy of his sceptre and his life. Conradin, the grandson of Frederic, and the last of that unhappy line, lost his head on a scaffold at Naples, after a brave, but unsuccessful attempt to recover the throne of his ancestors. His blood was soon revenged by the blood of eight thousand French in the Sicilian vespers, who fell just victims of their licentious insolence. A long and bloody quarrel commenced between the House of Arragon, which was called by the oppressed people to the throne of Sicily, and the House of Anjou, which still remained in possession of Naples. 1268. 1282.

The free cities of Italy, now delivered from the German yoke, began to enjoy and to abuse the blessings of wealth and liberty. Of a hundred independent republics, every one, except Venice, was destitute of a regular government, and torn by civil dissensions. The Guelphs and the Ghibellins, the nobles and the commons, contended for the sovereignty of their country. The most trifling incident was sufficient to produce a conspiracy, a tumult, and a revolution. Among these troubles, the dark, insidious, vindictive spirit of the Italians was gradually formed. Italy.

In Germany, the death of Frederic II. was succeeded by a long anarchy. The prerogatives and domains of the emperors were usurped by the great vassals. Every gentleman exercised round his castle a licentious independence; the cities were obliged to seek protection from their walls and confederacies; and from the Rhine and Da- Germany. 1250-1272.

nube to the Baltic the names of Peace and Justice were unknown. It was at length discovered, that without an appearance of union the Germanic body could not subsist. The great princes, who began to assume the title of *electors*, agreed to invest a first magistrate with the dignity, but not
1272–1291. with the power, of their ancient emperors. Their
1292–1298. jealous caution successively fixed on Rodolph count of Hapsburgh, and Adolph count of Nassau; whose fortune was far inferior to their birth and personal merit. The former, however, who was father of the House of Austria, transmitted to his son Albert such ample hereditary dominions, as enabled him to form a party against the emperor Adolph,
1298–1308. to wrest from him the sceptre, and to display that ambitious pride which has ever since been the characteristic of that family.

France. The aggrandisement of the French monarchy
1180–1223. bore the appearance of an act of justice. Philip Augustus summoned John, king of England and
1203. peer of France, before the parliament of Paris, to justify himself of the murder of his nephew Arthur. The parliament punished the contumacious vassal by the confiscation of his fiefs, and the king executed the sentence before the indignation of the other peers could subside into a sense of their
1204. common interest. Normandy, Anjou, Maine, and Poitou were united to the crown. Aquitain, or Guyenne, still remained in the hands of the English. The victory of Philip over the empire was
1214. more splendid, but less useful. In the decisive and well-fought battle of Bovines, he defeated Otho

Otho IV. at the head of two hundred thousand Germans. His navy threatened England; and his son Lewis, afterwards Lewis VIII., was for a time acknowledged king by the English nation. The reign of that prince was short and inglorious: but France owes as much to the laws of Lewis IX. as to the arms of Philip Augustus his grandfather. Lewis IX., notwithstanding he has been disgraced by the title of Saint, possessed uncommon virtues and abilities. To abolish private hostilities and judicial combats; to introduce an uniform and equitable jurisprudence; to receive appeals from the barons' courts; to protect and extend the liberties of the people; to acquire the esteem and confidence of his neighbours, were the honest arts of his wise policy. Notwithstanding his mad passion for the crusades, (the only blemish of this accomplished character,) he left his son, Philip III. surnamed the Bold, the most flourishing kingdom of Europe, which was soon augmented by the reunion of the rich county of Thoulouse. Philip III. was succeeded by his son Philip IV. surnamed the Fair.

1213. 1216. 1223–1226. 1226–1270. 1270–1285. 1271. 1285–1315.

England.

To break the fetters which had been forged at the Norman conquest was the great business of the English barons. John, whose misfortunes deserve no pity, lost his reputation and foreign power by his contests with Rome and France; and his domestic authority, by signing Magna Charta, which contains the rude outlines of British freedom. The fifty-six years of his son Henry III. were a long minority; during which, the reins of government were successively resigned to foreign favourites, and

1215. 1216–1272.

1258. and usurped by the turbulent barons, under their leader Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester. Edward I. then only the heir apparent, rescued his father, vanquished Montfort and his adherents in
1265. the field, and restored the royal authority; but his
1272-1307. good sense soon taught him to respect the new barriers raised against it, to confirm Magna Charta, and to desist from a rash attempt to resume the alienated crown-lands. Amidst these troubles, the House of Peers became less numerous and more powerful; the Commons were admitted to a share of the legislature, the common law and courts of justice received their present form, and the first statutes were enacted against the avarice of Rome. Edward the First, to whose wisdom we owe many of those advantages, conceived, and almost executed, the great design of uniting the whole island
1283. under one dominion. The Welsh lost their ancient independence, but for several ages preserved their
1291. savage manners. The throne of Scotland was disputed, almost with equal claims, by several candidates. Edward, who was acknowledged as umpire,
1292. awarded the crown to Baliol, the most obsequious
1296. of the competitors, treated him first as a vassal, and soon afterwards as a rebel; endeavoured by every expedient to break the spirit of a haughty nation,
1298. and sullied his glorious end, by the injustice and cruelty of the means which he used to attain it.

Spain. The empire of the Miramolins was destroyed by
1212. the greatest battle ever fought between the Moors and the Christians. The latter pursued their ad-
1236-1248. vantage: Seville and Cordova were taken, and the provinces

provinces of Estramadura, Andalusia, and Murcia were, in about forty years, annexed to the crown of Castile. The kings of Arragon were not less successful. They wrested from the Moors the fertile kingdom of Valencia, and established a naval power by the conquest of the islands of Majorca and Minorca. The bravest of the Moors took refuge in the kingdom of Grenada, and displayed as much industry in the improvement, as they exerted valour in the defence of this last remnant of their extensive conquests. The kings of Castile who acquired the greatest reputation were Ferdinand III. and Alphonso the Astronomer; the former for his political wisdom, the latter for his speculative knowledge. 1238. 1229. 1217–1252. 1252–1284.

Four great crusades, besides many smaller expeditions, were undertaken in this century; but though Palestine was still the object of the war, it was no longer the scene of action. The French and Venetians of the fourth crusade turned their arms against the schismatic Greeks, took Constantinople, and divided the empire. Constantinople was indeed recovered by the Greeks, but the trade and dominions which had once belonged to that capital were irretrievably lost. John de Brienne, a soldier of fortune, and titular king of Jerusalem, invaded Egypt, took Damietta (the old Pelusium) after a siege of two years; but soon thought himself happy to purchase a safe retreat, by surrendering that important place. The crusade of Lewis IX. was more splendid at first; but in the end more unfortunate. It seemed impossible that Egypt, The crusades. 1204. 1261. 1218. 1248.

Egypt, subdued as often as it had been attacked, should withstand a young hero, at the head of sixty
1250. thousand valiant enthusiasts. The army was, however, destroyed, and the French monarch remained a prisoner among the infidels. Rather from a vague passion of combating the Mahometans, than from any rational prospect of recovering the Holy
1270. Land, Lewis IX. led another crusade to Africa, and died of the plague under the walls of Tunis.
1291. The few places yet held by the Christians on the coast of Syria were swept away by the sultans, the successors, but no longer the descendants of Saladin. The Mamalukes, a body of Circassian and Tartar slaves, had dethroned their masters, usurped
1250. the sovereignty of Egypt and Syria, and established a military government, oppressive at home, but formidable abroad.

Of these seven great armaments, which shook Asia, and depopulated Europe, nothing remained except the kingdom of Cyprus in the House of
1307. Lusignan, and the three military orders. The Templars, by their luxury and pride, hastened their dissolution. The Hospitaliers and Teutonic Knights preserved themselves by their valour.
1310. The former conquered Rhodes, and are still settled
1227-1309. at Malta: the latter formed a great dominion in Prussia and Courland, at the expense of the idolaters, whom they compelled to become Christians and subjects. A great part of the old nobility of Europe perished in the crusades, their fiefs reverted to their lords, and their place was supplied by new men, raised by wealth, merit, or favour; and who

soon

soon imbibed the vanity, though not the independence, of their predecessors.

Learning.

The numerous vermin of mendicant friars, Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustins, Carmelites, who swarmed in this century, with habits and institutions variously ridiculous, disgraced religion, learning, and common sense. They seized on scholastic philosophy as a science peculiarly suited to their minds; and, excepting only Friar Bacon, they all preferred words to things. The subtle, the profound, the irrefragable, the angelic, and the seraphic Doctor acquired those pompous titles by filling ponderous volumes with a small number of technical terms, and a much smaller number of ideas. Universities arose in every part of Europe, and thousands of students employed their lives upon these grave follies. The love-songs of the Troubadours, or Provençal bards, were follies of a more pleasing nature, which amused the leisure of the greatest princes, polished the southern provinces of France, and gave birth to the Italian poetry.

THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

1300–1400.

The popes. 1305.

Both the popes and the emperors, the conquerors and the vanquished, withdrew from Italy, their field of battle. The former, invited by the kings of France, and disgusted with the rebellious spirit of the Romans, established the papal residence at Avignon during more than seventy years. These French pontiffs were more strongly possessed

sessed by the love of money than the love of power.
1316-1334. John XXII., by the sale of benefices, indulgencies, and absolutions, accumulated a treasure of twenty-five millions of gold florins. At the repeated solicitations of the Romans, who felt their error
1377. when it was too late, Gregory XI. returned to his capital; but his eyes were scarcely closed, when
1378. the enraged people surrounded the conclave, threatening the cardinals with instant death unless they chose an Italian pontiff. The affrighted Frenchmen yielded to their fury, but were no sooner at liberty, than they protested against their first election, and nominated one of their own countrymen. Europe was divided between the two rivals. Italy, Germany, and England acknowledged the Pope of Rome: France and Spain sided with the Pope of Avignon. Each had his adherents, his doctors, his saints, and his miracles; but their mutual excommunications, which at another time might have produced a battle of swords, only occasioned a war of pens.

The emperors. Emperors, whose authority in Germany was so much circumscribed, could not invade with any success the confirmed liberty of the Italians.
1308-1313. Henry VII. of Luxembourg, and Lewis V. of
1314-1347. Bavaria, entered Rome in triumph; but their triumph was not attended with any solid or permanent advantages. The grandson of Henry of Lux-
1347-1378. embourg, Charles IV., Emperor and King of Bohemia, was invited by the eloquent Petrarch to assume the station and character of the ancient Cæsars. The Bohemian Cæsar marched into Italy; but

but it was only to see himself excluded from every fortified city as an enemy, or cautiously received as a prisoner. He was crowned at Rome, but quitted it the very day of his coronation; meanly, or perhaps wisely, resigning to the popes all the ancient rights which he derived from Charlemagne and Otho. His son Wenceslaus would glady (to use his own expression) have relinquished the empire, with its remaining prerogatives, for a few hogsheads of Rhenish or Florence wine. 1378–1400.

Italy.

Although neither leisure, independence, nor ingenuity were wanting to the Italians, they were never able to connect themselves into a system of union and liberty. Naples flourished under the administration of Robert, the grandson of Charles of Anjou, but was almost ruined by his granddaughter Joan. By the murder of her first husband Andrew, she drew down the vengeance of his brother, the stern king of Hungary; by adopting Lewis Duke of Anjou, the brother of Charles V., entailed on her dominions a civil war, of which she was herself the first victim. Rome saw, for a moment, her tribunes, her freedom, and her dignity restored by Nicholas Rienzi, whose extraordinary character was a compound of the hero and the buffoon. Florence, like Athens, experienced all the evils incident, or rather inherent, to a wild democracy. The *Venetians* and the *Genoese* wasted each other's strength in naval wars, which allowed not the latter a moment's respite from their intestine dissensions. The free cities of Lombardy and Romagna were oppressed by domestic tyrants, under

1309–1343.

1343–1382.

1347.

1350–1355.

1377–1381.

der the specious titles of vicars of the church or
1317. of the empire; but these petty usurpers were gra-
1395. dually swallowed up in the power of the Visconti, first lords, and afterwards dukes of *Milan*.

Germany. The more phlegmatic Germans, though poor and barbarous, maintained, and even improved, the form of their constitution. Whatever concerned the election and coronation of the emperors, the most fruitful source of civil discord, was finally re-
1356. gulated by the golden bull published by Charles IV. in a general diet. The title and power of electors were confined to seven great princes, the Archbishops of Mentz, Treves, and Cologne, the King of Bohemia, the Duke of Saxony, the Mar-
1400. grave of Brandenburgh, and the Count Palatin. These electors soon asserted over the Emperor Wenceslaus their right of deposing an unworthy sovereign.

Switzerland. The Swiss owe their reputation to their freedom, and their freedom to their valour. The peasants of three vallies among the Alps, Uri, Schwitz,
1308. and Underwald, oppressed by the officers of the Emperor Albert, entered into a strict alliance, at first for seven years, and afterwards for ever. Leopold duke of Austria, and son of Albert, marched against them at the head of twenty thousand men;
1315. but was overthrown in the battle of Morgarten by 1300 Swiss. The little communities of Zug and Glaris, and the cities of Lucerne, Zurich, and Berne, gradually acceded to the confederacy which
1386. was cemented with the blood of another Duke Leopold, who fell, with the flower of the Austrian nobility,

nobility, in the battle of Sempach. Zurich and Berne were allowed the first rank among the eight cantons; the former for its wealth, the latter for its military power. In the five rustic communities the government was a pure democracy; in the three cities, it was tempered with a small mixture of aristocracy, which time and circumstances have very much strengthened. The whole commonwealth, disclaiming the tyranny of the House of Austria, retained their ancient allegiance to the German empire.

The constitution of the French monarchy received new strength and harmony from the following events: 1. In the memorable quarrel between Pope Boniface VIII. and Philip the Fair, the greater part of the French clergy remembered that they were subjects as well as priests. *The liberties of the Gallican church* were asserted with spirit and success; and the crown was in some degree delivered from a servile dependence on a foreign prelate. 2. *The States General*, composed of the clergy, the nobility, and the commons, were assembled by Philip the Fair, for the first time since the decline of the Carlovingian race. As their meetings were short and irregular, they never acquired the authority of legislators, and their tumultuous opposition commonly subsided into an obsequious compliance with the demands of the court. 3. The parliament of Paris was styled the Court of Peers, and should have been composed of the great vassals of the crown; but as they disdained the humble office of judicature, their place

France. 1303. 1301.

was supplied by the bishops, the barons, and the principal officers, whose *noble* ignorance was directed by some plebeian assessors. The servants gradually supplanted their masters, combated the violence of the nobility with the subtilties of law, and laboured to erect a pure monarchy on the ruins of the feudal system. For a long time these magistrates held their places only during the king's pleasure. 4. *The Salic law*, though of the most lasting benefit to the monarchy, occasioned the long and destructive wars between France and England. After a series of eleven kings, in lineal
1314-1317. and male descent from Hugh Capet, Lewis X.
1317-1322. Hutin, was succeeded by his brothers Philip V.
1322-1328. and Charles IV., and afterwards by his first cousin,
1328-1350. Philip VI. of Valois, on the acknowledged principle that females were incapable of inheriting the crown of France. Whether that principle be admitted or rejected, the claim of Edward III. of England is equally indefensible. The question was not, however, decided by arguments, but by arms. Both nations signalized their valour in the
1346-1356. battles of Crecy and Poitiers; but the discipline of the English triumphed over the numbers of the
1350-1364. French. The captivity of John, who had succeeded to the crown and misfortunes of his father Philip, exposed France to a total dissolution of government, with all its attendant calamities. However, though Edward was able to ruin, he was
1360. unable to conquer that great kingdom. By the treaty of Bretigny, he accepted of three millions of gold crowns, the city of Calais, and seven provinces

vinces adjacent to Guyenne; but the last were soon wrested from him by the arms and policy of Charles V., whose wise administration healed the wounds of his country. They bled afresh under his unhappy son Charles VI.: first a minor, and afterwards deprived of his senses, he was ever a victim of the ambition and avarice of his uncles. In this century, Champagne and Dauphiné, the first by inheritance and treaty, the second by donation, were re-united to the crown. 1369. 1364–1380. 1380–1422.

The iron fetters, in which Edward I. seemed for ever to have bound Scotland, were broken by the valour and fortune of Robert Bruce, a descendant of the ancient kings. To resist the heroic leader of a brave nation, combating for freedom and a throne, required all the powerful genius of Edward I., and was a task by far too arduous for his feeble son. The victory of Bannocks Boarn secured to Robert a sceptre, which, by the marriage of his daughter, was transmitted to the house of Stuart. Edward II., vanquished by his enemies, despised by his subjects, governed by his favourites, betrayed by his brother, his wife, and his son, descended from a throne to a prison, and from a prison to an untimely grave. The English dwell with rapture on the trophies of Edward III. and his gallant son the Black Prince; on the fields of Crecy and Poitiers; and on the Kings of France and Scotland, at the same time prisoners in London. To a thinking mind, Edward's encouragement of the woollen manufacture is of greater value than all these barren laurels. Richard II., son of England. 1306. 1307–1327. 1315. 1371. 1327–1377.

1377–1399. the Black Prince, affords the second instance in this century of an English king deposed and murdered by his subjects. The House of Commons acquired its present form, and a dignity unknown to the third estate in any other country, by the junction of the knights of shires, or representatives of the lesser nobility, who, about this time, separated themselves from the peers. After the deposition

1399. of Richard, Henry IV., son of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, the third son of Edward III., usurped the crown. The posterity of the second son, Lionel of Clarence, was disregarded, but still existed latent in the House of York.

Spain. The Mahometan kingdom of Grenada, and the four Christian monarchies of Castile, Arragon, Navarre, and Portugal, preserved their respective laws and limits. The constitution of the Christian states was suited to the haughty and generous temper of the people. The justiciary of Arragon, a name dreadful to royal ears, possessed the noble but dangerous privilege of declaring *when* the subjects were justified in taking arms against their sovereign. The Castilians, without waiting for the sentence of a magistrate, knew how to resist a tyrant, either in the *Cortes* or in the field. The

1366–1368. civil war between Peter the Cruel, King of Castile, and his brother, occasioned a great revolution, in which France and England took the opposite sides, rather from a wild love of enterprise, than from any rational motives of policy. After several turns of fortune the bastard was victorious, transmitted the crown to his posterity, and ratified a strict union

union with his French allies; binding France and Castile to each other, king to king, people to people, and man to man.

Africa, relapsing into its native barbarism, no longer merits our attention. Egypt and Syria continued to groan under the tyranny of the Mamalukes; although some of those sultans corrected, by their personal virtues, the defects of their institution. In the East, two formidable powers arose. The greatness of the Othman Turks was gradual and permanent; the conquests of Timur were rapid and transitory.

The Turks.

During the anarchy which overspread Asia Minor on the fall of the Seljukian dynasty, the Greeks recovered many of the maritime places, and every Turkish emir made himself independent within his jurisdiction. Othman first erected his standard near Mount Olympus in Bithynia; and as he commanded only a small tribe of shepherds and soldiers, he was branded with the name of robber. A more numerous army, and the reduction of Nice, Nicomeda, and Prusa, bestowed on his son Orcan the appellation of Conqueror. The imprudent Greeks, in the madness of civil discord, invited the Turks, opened the Hellespont, and betrayed Christendom. Adrianople became the capital of the Othman power in Europe; and the Eastern empire, reduced to the suburbs of Constantinople, was pressed on either side by the arms of Amurath I. That sultan instituted the janizaries, a body of infantry, from their arms, discipline, and enthusiasm, almost invincible. The flower of

1300-1326.

1326-1360.

1360-1389.

the Christian youth, torn in infancy from their parents, were gradually aggregated to the Turkish nation, after they had lost, in the severe education of the seraglio, all memory of their former country
1389-1402. and religion. Bajazet I. deserved his surname of Ilderim, or Lightning, by the rapid impetuosity with which he flew from the Euphrates to the Danube. He triumphed by turns over the Mahometans of Asia Minor, and the Christians of Bulgaria,
1396. Servia, Hungary, and Greece; and the total defeat of an army of French in the battle of Nicopolis, spread the terror of his name to the most remote parts of Europe.

Timur. Timur, or Tamerlane, raised himself from a pri-
1369-1405. vate, though not a mean condition, to the throne of Samarcand. His first dominions lay between the Jaxartes and the Oxus, in the country called Sogdiana by the ancients, Maurenahar by modern Persians, and by the Tartars Zagatay, from one of the sons of Zingis. The lawful successor of Zagatay, rather mindful of his situation than of his descent, served with humble fidelity in the army of the usurper. After reducing the adjacent provinces of Carizme and Khorasan, Timur invaded Persia, and extinguished all the petty tyrants who had started up since the decline of the House of
1335. Zingis. The khan of the Western Tartary (who ruled the kingdoms of Cazan and Astracan, and exacted a tribute from the Grand Duke of Muscovy) was unable to elude the pursuit, or to resist the arms of Timur. From the deserts of Siberia he marched to the banks of the Ganges, and returned

turned from Delhi to Samarcand laden with the treasures of Hindostan. He knew how to reign as well as how to conquer. Although very profuse of the blood of his enemies, he was careful of the lives and property of his subjects. He loved magnificence and society: encouraged the arts, and was versed in the Persian and Arabian literature. His zeal for the Mussulman faith inflamed his natural cruelty against the Gentoos of India and the Christians of Georgia.

The empire of the Moguls in China, founded on violence, and maintained by policy, was at length dissolved by its own weakness. The Chinese placed a dynasty of their countrymen on the throne, whilst the Tartars, returning to the pastoral life of the desert, gradually recovered the martial spirit which they had lost amidst the arts and luxury of the conquered provinces. 1370.

A more diffusive commerce began to connect the European nations by their mutual wants and conveniences; the discovery of the compass inspired navigators with greater boldness and security. The Hanseatic cities of Prussia and Saxony formed a powerful association, engrossed the fishery, iron, corn, timber, hides and furs of the North; and contended for the sovereignty of the Baltic with the Kings of Denmark and Sweden. The exchange of money, the finer manufactures, and the trade of the East were in the hands of the Italians. The merchants of Venice and of Dantzic met at the common mart at Bruges, which soon became the warehouse of Europe. The Flemings, animated Commerce.

by the spectacle of wealth and industry, applied themselves with great ardour to the useful arts, and particularly to the making broad cloth, linen, and tapestry.

Literature. The advantages of trade were common to several nations; but the pleasures and glory of literature were confined to the Italians, or rather to a few men of genius, who emerged from an ignorant and superstitious multitude. The writings of Dante, Boccace, and Petrarch, for ever fixed the Italian language. The first displayed the powers of a wild but original genius: the Decameron of the second contains a just and agreeable picture of human life. A few stanzas on Laura and Rome have immortalised the name of Petrarch, who was a patriot, a philosopher, and the first restorer of the Latin tongue, and of the study of the ancients. If any barbarian on this side the Alps deserves to be remembered, it is our countryman Chaucer, whose Gothic dialect often conceals natural humour and poetical imagery.

THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

1400-1500.

Timur. AFTER breaking the power of the Mamalukes, and ruining the cities of Bagdad, Aleppo, and Damascus, Timur advanced towards the frontiers of Bajazet. The situation and character of the two monarchs rendered a war inevitable. The armies met in the plains of Angora, and the contest was decided in the Tartar's favour, by the total defeat and captivity of his rival. After this victory,

1402.

the

the empire of Timur extended from Moscow to the Gulph of Persia, and from the Hellespont to the Ganges; but his ambition was yet unsatisfied: death surprized him as he was preparing to invade China, to assert the cause of his nation and of his religion. His feeble successors, far from meditating new conquests, saw province after province gradually escape from their dominion, till a few cities near the Oxus were the only patrimony that remained to the House of Timur. 1405. 1470.

The Turks had been defeated, but not subdued. As soon as Timur was no more, they collected their scattered forces, replaced their monarchy on its former basis, and under the conduct of Mahomet I. were again victorious both in Europe and Asia. Amurath II. swayed the Othman sceptre with the abilities of a great monarch, and twice resigned it with the moderation of a philosopher. He was forced from his retreat to chastise the perfidy of Ladislaus king of Hungary, who, at the instigation of the court of Rome, had violated a solemn truce. That act of justice was most completely executed in the decisive battle of Warna, which was fatal to the king, to the papal legate, and to the whole Christian army. The easy but important conquest of Constantinople was reserved for Mahomet II. The little empire of Trebizond, and the other independent provinces of Greece and Asia Minor, soon experienced the same fate. Though Mahomet was obliged to raise the sieges of Belgrade and Rhodes, though he was for a long time stopped by Scanderbeg in the mountains of Albania, The Turks. 1413-1421. 1421-1451. 1444. 1453. 1451-1481. 1462.

Albania, yet his arms were generally successful from the Adriatic to the Euphrates, on the banks of which he vanquished Uzun Hassan, a Turcoman prince, who had usurped Persia from the posterity of Timur. The conquest of Rome and Italy was the great object of Mahomet's ambition; and a Turkish army had already invaded the kingdom of Naples, when the Christians were delivered from this imminent danger by the seasonable death of Mahomet, and the inactive disposition of his son
1481–1512. Bajazet II. But the valour and discipline of the Turks were still formidable to Christendom, and the passion for crusades had ceased at the very time when it might have been approved by reason and justice.

Popes and councils. 1409. 1414–1418. The council of Pisa, by the election of a third pontiff, multiplied, instead of extinguishing, the evils of the great schism. The council of Constance, in which the five great nations of Europe were represented by their prelates and ambassadors, acted with greater vigour and effect. They rejected the defective title of two pretenders, and judicially deposed the third, by whose authority they were assembled. The election of Martin V. restored peace to the church; but the spirit of independence, which had animated the fathers of
1432–1443. Constance, revived in the council of Basil. The assembled bishops of Christendom attempted to limit the despotic power which the bishop of Rome had usurped over his brethren; but the treasures of the church, distributed with a skilful hand, silenced the opposition; and nothing remains of those

those famous councils but a few decrees, revered at Paris, detested and dreaded at Rome. Amongst these disorders, the laity of some countries discovered as much discontent at the riches of the clergy, as the clergy expressed at the power of the popes. 1415. John Huss and Jerom of Prague, two Bohemian doctors, who taught principles not very different from those of the protestants, were committed to the flames by the council of Constance, before which they appeared under the sanction of the public faith. From their ashes arose a civil war, in which the Bohemians, inflamed by revenge and enthusiasm, for a long time inflicted and suffered the severest calamities.

Italy, undisturbed by foreign invasions, maintained an internal balance, through a series of artful negociations and harmless wars, attended with scarcely any effusion of blood. The sword, which had fallen from the hands of the Italian sovereigns, was taken up by troops of independent mercenaries, who acknowledged no tie but their interest, nor any allegiance except to leaders of their own choice. The five principal powers were, the popes, the kings of Naples, the dukes of Milan, and the republics of Florence and Venice. 1. The popes, after the council of Constance and Basil, applied themselves to reconcile the Roman people to their government, and to extirpate the petty usurpers of the ecclesiastical state. 2. Their great fief the *kingdom of Naples* was the theatre of a long civil war between the Houses of Anjou and Arragon. 1442–1458. It flourished under the administration of Alphonso the

Italy.

1458–1494. the Wise, who preferred Italy to his Spanish dominions. Ferdinand his natural son succeeded him in Naples only, oppressed the barons, protected the people, and was delivered by a seasonable death from the arms of Charles VIII. king of
1448. France. 3. After the death of the last of the Visconti, the duchy of Milan, superior in value to several kingdoms, was claimed by the duke of Orleans in right of his mother; but was usurped by
1450–1466. Francis Sforza, the bastard of a peasant, and one of the most renowned leaders of the mercenary bands; who, with a policy equal to his valour, left Milan the peaceable inheritance of his family. 4. The elevation of the Medici was the more gradual
1433–1464. effect of prudence and industry: Cosmo the father
1472–1492. of his country, and Lorenzo the father of the muses, in the humble station of citizens and merchants, revived learning, governed Florence, and influenced the rest of Italy. The old forms of the commonwealth were preserved, and it was only by an unusual tranquillity that the Florentines could be sensible of the loss of their freedom. 5. The wisdom of the Venetian senate, the arts and opulence of Venice, an extensive commerce, a formidable navy, the possession of a long tract of sea coast in Dalmatia, with the islands of Candia, Cyprus, &c. formed the natural strength of a republic respected in Europe as the firmest bulwark against the Turkish arms. The imprudent conquests in Lombardy, from which the Venetians were not able to refrain; the Friul, Padua, Vicenza, Verona, Brescia, and Bergamo, drained the treasury of St. Mark,

Mark, and excited the jealousy of the Italian powers.

The reign of the emperor Robert Count Palatin was obscure and inglorious. Though Sigismund of Luxembourg presided with some dignity at the council of Constance, his administration was rather busy than active. After his death, the Imperial crown returned for ever to the House of Austria, first in the person of Albert II. and then of Frederic III.; the latter possessed the title of emperor above half a century without either authority or reputation. Germany was without influence in Europe; but judicious foreigners began to discover the latent powers of that great body, when once roused into action by the necessity of its own defence. The levity of Maximilian I. engaged him in perpetual wars and treaties, which commonly ended in his disappointment and confusion. However, he may be considered as the founder of the Austrian greatness, by his marriage with Mary of Burgundy; and as the founder of the *public law*, by his useful institutions of the circles and of the Imperial chamber.

Germany. 1400–1410. 1410–1438. 1438–1440. 1440–1493. 1493–1519.

The usurpation of the House of Lancaster was supported by the fortune and abilities of Henry IV. His warlike son Henry V. asserted, by the victory of Azincourt, the claim of the Plantagenets to the French monarchy. The conquest of it was a task much too difficult for a prince whose revenue did not exceed an hundred and ten thousand pounds of our present money, and whose subjects were neither able nor willing to make any extra-

England.

ordinary

ordinary efforts to render England in the end a province of France. The vindictive spirit of Queen Isabella, and of Philip duke of Burgundy, betrayed their country and posterity. The English monarch was *solicited* to sign the treaty of Troyes, and to accept, with the hand of the Princess Catharine, the quality of regent and heir of France. His infant son Henry VI. was proclaimed at Paris as well as at London. His reign was a series of weakness and misfortunes. The French conquests were gradually lost, and the English barons returned into their island exasperated against each other, habituated to the power and licence of war, and as much discontented with the monkish virtues of Henry, as with the masculine spirit and foreign connections of his Queen Margaret of Anjou. The pretensions of Richard duke of York, and of his son Edward IV., inflamed the discontent into civil war. Hereditary right was pleaded against long possession; the banners of the white and red roses met in many a bloody field, and the votes of parliament varied with the chance of arms. Edward of York assumed the title of king, revenged the death of his father, and triumphed over the Lancastrian party: but no sooner was the imprudent youth seated on the throne, than he cast away the friendship of the great Earl of Warwick, and with it the English sceptre. That warlike and popular nobleman, impatient of indignities, drove Edward into exile, and brought back Henry (scarcely conscious of the change) from the tower to the palace. Edward's activity

activity soon retrieved his indiscretion. He landed in England with a few followers, called an army to his standard, obtained the decisive victories of Barnet and Tewksbury, and suffered no enemy to live who might interrupt the security and pleasure of his future reign. The crimes of Richard III., who ascended the throne by the murder of his two nephews (Edward V. and his brother), reconciled the parties of York and Lancaster. Henry Tudor, earl of Richmond, was invited over from Britanny as the common avenger, vanquished and slew the tyrant in the field of Bosworth, and uniting the two roses by his marriage with the eldest daughter of Edward IV., gave England a prospect of serener days. The kingdom had however suffered less than might be expected from the calamities of civil war. The frequent revolutions were decided by one or two battles; and so short a time was consumed in actual hostilities as allowed not any foreign power to interpose his dangerous assistance: no cities were destroyed, as none were enough fortified to sustain a siege. The churches, and even the privilege of sanctuaries were respected, and the revenge of the conquerors was commonly confined to the princes and barons of the adverse party, who all died in the field or on the scaffold. The power and estates of this old nobility were gradually shared by a multitude of new families enriched by commerce, and favoured by the wise policy of Henry VII.; but between the depression of the aristocracy and the rise of the commons,

commons, there was an interval of unresisted despotism.

France. The factions of Burgundy and Orleans, who disputed the government of Charles VI., filled France with blood and confusion. The Duke of Orleans was treacherously murdered in the streets of Paris, and John duke of Burgundy, who avowed and justified the deed, was some years afterwards assassinated in the presence, and probably with the consent of the young Dauphin. That prince, persecuted by his mother, disinherited by the treaty of Troyes, and on every side pressed and surrounded by the victorious English, assumed the title of Charles VII. on his father's death, and appealed, though with little hopes of success, to God and his sword. The French monarchy was on the brink of ruin, but, like the Othman empire in the same century, rose more powerful from its fall. A generous enthusiasm first revived the national spirit, and awakened the young monarch from his indolent despair. A shepherdess declared a divine commission to raise the siege of Orleans, and to crown him in Rheims. She performed her promises; and the consternation of the English was still greater than their real loss. The genius of Charles, seconded by his brave and loyal nobility, seemed to expand with his fortune. The Duke of Burgundy was reconciled to his kinsman and sovereign, Paris opened its gates with willing submission, and at length, after some years of languid operations or imperfect truces, the French recovered

covered Normandy and Guyenne, and left the English no footing in their country beyond the walls of Calais. The last years of Charles VIIth's reign were employed in reforming and regulating the state of the kingdom. He is the first modern prince who has possessed a military force in time of peace, or imposed taxes by his sole authority. The former were composed of 1500 lances, who with their followers made a body of 9000 horse. The latter did not exceed 360,000 pounds sterling. This great alteration was introduced without opposition, and felt only by its consequences, which gradually affected all Europe.

The feudal system, weakened, in France, by these innovations, was annihilated by the severe despotism of Lewis XI., into whom the soul of Tiberius might seem to have passed. As it was his constant policy to level all distinctions among his subjects, except such as were derived from *his* favour, the princes and great nobility took up arms, and besieged him in Paris: but their confederacy, surnamed of the *public good*, was soon dissolved by the jealousy and private views of the leaders, few of whom afterwards escaped the revenge of a tyrant, alike insensible to the sanctity of oaths, the law of justice, or the dictates of humanity. The Gendarmerie of the kingdom was increased to 4000 lances, besides a disciplined militia, a large body of Swiss infantry, and a considerable train of artillery, the use of which had already altered the art of war. The revenue of France was raised to nearly a million sterling, as well by extra-

ordinary impositions, as by the union of Anjou, Maine, Provence, Roussillon, Burgundy, Franche-Comté, and Artois, to the body of the French monarchy, which, under this wise tyrant, began to improve in domestic policy, and to assume the first station in the great republic of Christendom.

The revolution which restored Burgundy to the French monarchy merits more than common attention. Charles the Bold of the house of France, duke of Burgundy, and sovereign of the Netherlands, was the natural and implacable enemy of Lewis XI. His subjects of Burgundy were brave and loyal; those of Flanders, rich and industrious; his revenue was considerable; his court magnificent; his troops numerous and well disciplined; and his dominions enlarged by the acquisition of Guelders, Alsace, and Lorraine. But his vain projects of ambition were far superior either to his power or his abilities. At one and the same time he aspired to obtain the regal title, to be elected King of the Romans, to divide France with the English, to invade Italy, and to lead a crusade against the Turks. The Swiss Cantons, a name till then unknown in Europe, humbled his pride. Many writers, more attentive to the moral precept than to historic truth, have represented the Swiss as a harmless people, attacked without justice or provocation. Those rude mountaineers were, on the contrary, the aggressors: and it appears by authentic documents, that French intrigues, and even French money, had found a way into the senate of Berne. Lewis XI., who in his youth had

had experienced the valour of the Swiss, inflamed the quarrel till it became irreconcileable, and then sat down the quiet spectator of the event. The Gendarmerie of Burgundy was discomfited in three great battles, by the firm battalions of Swiss infantry, composed of pikemen and musqueteers. At Granson, Charles lost his honour and treasures; at Morat, the flower of his troops; and at Nancy, his life. He left only an orphan daughter, whose rich patrimony Lewis might perhaps have secured by a treaty of marriage. Actuated by passion, rather than sound policy, he chose to ravish it by conquest. Burgundy and Artois submitted without much difficulty; but the Flemings, exasperated by the memory of ancient injuries, disdained the French yoke, and married their young Princess Mary to Maximilian, son of the Emperor Frederic III. The low countries became the inheritance of the House of Austria, and the subject, as well as theatre, of a long series of wars, the most celebrated that have ever disturbed Europe.

Such was the growing prosperity of France, that even the disturbances of a minority proved favourable to its greatness. Britanny, the last of the great fiefs, escaped a total conquest only by the marriage of Anne, heiress of that great duchy, with Charles VIII., son and successor of Lewis XI. The expedition of Charles VIII. into Italy displayed his character, and that of the nation which he commanded. In five months he traversed affrighted Italy as a conqueror, gave laws to the Florentines and the Pope, was acknowledged King of Naples,

and assumed the title of Emperor of the East. Every thing yielded to the first fury of the French; every thing was lost by the imprudence of their councils. The Italian powers, recovered from their astonishment, formed a league with Maximilian and Ferdinand, to intercept the return of Charles VIII. The kingdom of Naples escaped from his hands, and the victory of Fernova only served to secure his retreat. He died soon afterwards, leaving his kingdom exhausted by this rash enterprize, and weakened by the imprudent cession of Roussillon to the Spaniards, and of Franche-Comté and Artois to the house of Austria.

Spain. Spain was hastening to assume the form of a powerful monarchy. Castile and Arragon were first united under the same family, and not long afterwards under the same sovereigns. Henry IV., King of Castile, a prince odious for his vices, and contemptible for his weakness, was solemnly deposed in a great assembly of his subjects; who, despising the suspicious birth of his daughter Juanna, placed the crown on the head of Isabella, his sister. The marriage of that princess with Ferdinand of Arragon completed the salutary revolution. The Spaniards celebrate, with reason, the united administration of those monarchs; the manly virtues of Isabella, and the profound policy of Ferdinand the Catholic, always covered with the veil of religion, though often repugnant to the principles of justice. After a ten years' war, they executed the great project of delivering Spain from the infidels. The Moors of Grenada defended that last

last possession with obstinate valour, and stipulated, by that capitulation, the free exercise of the Mahometan religion. Public faith, gratitude, and policy ought to have maintained this treaty; and it is a reproach to the memory of the great Ximenes that he urged his masters to violate it. The severe persecutions of the Mahometans, and the expulsion of many thousands of Jewish families, inflicted a deep but secret wound on Spain, in the midst of its glory. The prosperity of Ferdinand and Isabella was embittered by the death of their only son. Their daughter Juanna married the Archduke Philip, (son of the Emperor Maximilian, and of Mary of Burgundy,) and the great successions of the houses of Austria, of Burgundy, of Arragon, and of Castile, were gradually accumulated on the head of Charles V., the fortunate offspring of that marriage.

The dominion of Spain was extended into a new hemisphere, which had never yet been visited by the nations placed on our side of the planet. Christopher Columbus, a Genoese, obtained from the ministers of Isabella, after long solicitations and frequent repulses, three small barks and ninety men, with which he trusted himself to the unknown Atlantic. His timid and ignorant sailors repeatedly exclaimed, that he was carrying them beyond the appointed limits of Nature, whence they could never return. Columbus resisted their clamours, and at the end of thirty-three days from the Canaries, shewed them the Island of Hispaniola, abounding in gold, and inhabited by a gentle race of men. In his

subsequent voyages, undertaken with a more considerable force, he discovered many other islands, and saw the great continent of America, of whose existence he was already convinced from speculation.

The discoveries of Columbus were the effort of genius and courage; those of the Portuguese, the slow effect of time and industry. They sailed round the continent of Africa; found, by the Cape of Good Hope, a new and more independent route to the East Indies, and soon diverted the commerce of the east from Alexandria and Venice to Lisbon.

Italy. A new world was opened to the studious as well as to the active part of mankind. It was scarcely possible for the Italians to read Virgil and Cicero, without a desire of being acquainted with Homer, Plato, and Demosthenes. Their wishes were gratified by the assistance of many learned Greeks, who fled from the Turkish arms. The manuscripts which they had saved, or which were discovered in old libraries, were quickly diffused and multiplied by the useful invention of printing, which so much facilitated the acquisition of knowledge. For some time, however, the genius of the Italians seemed overpowered by this sudden accession of learning. Instead of exercising their own reason, they acquiesced in that of the ancients; instead of transfusing into their native tongue the taste and spirit of the classics, they copied, with the most awkward servility, the language and ideas suited to an age so different from their own.

If we turn from letters to religion, the Christian must

must grieve, and the philosopher will smile. By a propensity natural to man, the multitude had easily relapsed into the grossest polytheism. The existence of a Supreme Being was indeed acknowledged; his mysterious attributes were minutely, and even indecently, canvassed in the schools; but he was allowed a very small share in the public worship, or the administration of the universe. The devotion of the people was directed to the Saints and the Virgin Mary, the delegates, and almost the partners, of his authority. From the extremities of Christendom thousands of pilgrims, laden with rich offerings, crowded to the temples and statues the most celebrated for their miraculous powers. New legends and new practices of superstition were daily invented by the interested diligence of the mendicant friars; and as this religion had scarcely any connection with morality, every sin was expiated by penance, and every penance *indulgently* commuted into a fine. The popes, bishops, and rich abbots, careless of the public esteem, were soldiers, statesmen, and men of pleasure; yet even *such* dignified ecclesiastics blushed at the grosser vices of their inferior clergy.

MÉMOIRE SUR LA MONARCHIE DES MÈDES,

POUR SERVIR DE SUPPLÉMENT AUX DISSERTATIONS DE MM. FRERET ET DE BOUGAINVILLE.

PARMI les savans qui ont osé pénétrer dans la nuit du tems pour y découvrir les origines des nations de l'Orient, l'on doit distinguer M. Freret de l'Académie des Belles Lettres. Cet habile homme, égal aux Scaliger et aux Marsham par son érudition, a su substituer à leurs vues bornées, à leurs conjectures hasardées, et à leurs hypothèses partiales et défectueuses, un esprit de système, de critique, et de philosophie. Il a rassemblé toutes les autorités qui nous sont parvenues. Il les a étudié, apprécié, rapproché et comparé. De ce travail il a vu sortir une masse de lumière qui éclaire sans nous éblouir. Je vais exposer son système. Dans ces sortes d'étude nous devons chercher la vérité et nous contenter de la vraisemblance.

V. Freret, Mém. de l'Acad. tom. v. p. 331—405.

1. L'an 1968 avant Jésus Christ est l'époque radicale de l'empire des Assyriens. Ce peuple et leurs successeurs les Mèdes, les Perses et les Macédoniens ont régné 1905 ans. L'an 63 le Grand Pompée dépouilla le dernier des Séleucides de l'héritage de ses pères et fit passer l'Asie sous les loix de la république.*

2. Velleius

* Ce fragment est curieux. Mais il y a bien quelque chose à dire. 1. Nous ne connoissons point cet Emile Sura. 2. Lipse

2. Velleius Paterculus place la révolte d'Arbace 1070 après le règne de Ninus. Dans son propre système, c'est 898 ans avant J. C. La voix unanime de l'antiquité nous rapproche de cette époque. Æmil. Sura, ap. Vel. Pater. l. 1.

3. Castor, fameux chronologiste de l'antiquité, assignoit 1280 ans de durée à cet empire. Ils nous conduisent à 688 ans avant J. C. C'est l'année que les Mèdes d'Hérodote enlevèrent aux Assyriens l'empire de l'Asie.

4. Ctesias nous donne 1360 ans jusqu'à la destruction totale de Ninève et la mort du dernier de ses rois. L'on trouve par les combinaisons les plus sûres que l'an avant Christ 608 fut celui de cette grande révolution.

Trois souverains de cette dynastie ont porté le nom de Sardanapale, et la ressemblance des noms, jointe à celle des événemens, a répandu sur les récits des Grecs une confusion, dont une critique éclairée peut seule nous garantir.

Nous sommes parvenus à l'aurore, mais cette aurore est couverte de nuages. M. Freret n'a point essayé de les dissiper. Mais le premier de ses disciples, M. de Bougainville, son confrère, son successeur, son interprète et son ami, a voulu consommer ce grand ouvrage. D'un coup d'œil sûr et lumineux il a parcouru le tableau de l'Asie sou- V. de Bougain. Mém. de l'Acad. xxiii. p. 1—33.

Lipse a soupçonné que cet endroit n'est pas du texte de Velleius. 3. Il y a des variantes quant au nombre. Il faut opter entre 1905 et 1995. 4. Cet auteur semble indiquer l'époque de la défaite de Philippe et d'Antiochus plutôt que celle des conquêtes de Pompée.

mise

mise aux Mèdes. Il a vu que les deux dynasties de Ctesias et d'Hérodote étoient essentiellement différentes, et que les loix de la critique nous permettoient aussi peu de les rejetter que de les accorder. Un seul parti lui restoit. Son heureuse simplicité l'avoit dérobé à tous les yeux. Il suppose que les deux historiens ont parlé de deux monarchies différentes et que les successeurs d'Arbace régnoient à Suse lorsque Déjoce jetta les fondemens d'Agbatane. M. de Vignoles avoit déjà proposé cette explication, mais il étoit réservé à M. de Bougainville de changer en système raisonné ce qui n'étoit encore qu'une conjecture hasardée. Il lui restoit encore le soin de développer l'origine, la liaison, et les révolutions des deux dynasties, et de montrer que cette distinction mettoit dans l'histoire ancienne un accord et une harmonie qu'on chercheroit vainement ailleurs. Il se proposoit de remplir cette tâche dans un second mémoire. Ses occupations et ses maux auront reculé l'exécution de sa promesse, et la mort, qui l'a enlevé à la société et aux lettres, ne permet plus d'espérance. Je me propose de poursuivre ses idées. Je donnerai quelques coups de crayon au tableau imparfait d'un grand maître. Ce maître étoit mon ami. Je goûte un triste plaisir dans cette occupation qui me retrace si vivement tout ce qu'il à été, et tout ce qu'il n'est plus.

Je crois devoir m'arrêter un instant pour réfléchir sur le caractère de Ctesias, et sur le dégré de foi que méritent ses annales. On peut le fixer en peu de mots. Ctesias se servoit assez mal des excel-

excellens matériaux qu'il avoit sous les yeux. Un séjour de dix-sept ans à la cour de Perse et la faveur d'Artaxerxe dont il étoit le médecin, lui ouvrirent toutes les archives de la monarchie, et lui donnent un avantage décidé sur les historiens qui n'ont rempli leurs ouvrages que des traditions populaires qu'ils avoient recueilli dans leurs voyages. Mais résolu de s'élever sur les débris de la réputation d'Hérodote, il ne sacrifioit que trop souvent les intérêts de la vérité à l'envie de plaire à sa nation toujours avide de nouveautés et de fables. Voilà l'idée que les plus habiles critiques de l'antiquité nous ont donné de cet écrivain; mais ils ont cru en même tems que son imagination a toujours respecté les grands principes de l'histoire de l'orient; et les ouvrages nationaux qui ont paru sous les successeurs d'Alexandre n'ont jamais ébranlé le système de Ctesias sur l'origine, la durée, et la ruine des empires des Mèdes et des Assyriens. Une critique modeste et impartiale pourroit décomposer le tissu des récits de cet historien, démêler la vérité, et éclaircir souvent la source des erreurs. Une pareille recherche exigeroit sans doute un examen attentif et détaillé. Je dirai seulement ici qu'au lieu de rejetter ou d'adopter en gros son histoire orientale, je distinguerois plusieurs classes de faits, d'opinions et de fables; très indépendentes par leur nature et leur autorité, et réunies seulement dans la narration de Ctesias. 1. Les traits vraiment historiques qu'il a puisé dans les annales et qui portent tous les caractères de l'évidence. 2. Les traditions fabuleuses des peuples

Voy. Phot. Biblioth. p. 157. 133. Freret dans les Mém. de l'Académie, tom. v. p. 850, tom. vi. p. 175.

peuples qui font partie de leur système religieux, ou qui servent à orner le berceau des empires. Le plus sage des historiens les rapporte. Le lecteur sourit; il les détache sans peine du corps de l'histoire, et la croix de Constantin ne lui fait point rejetter la défaite de Maxence. Je citerois ici la naissance et l'éducation de Sémiramis. 3. Les interprétations que Ctesias à données à ses matériaux. Nous ignorons la nature précise des secours qu'il a eu, si les écrivains originaux de Ninève existoient encore, s'il a travaillé sur des abrégés faits sous la dynastie des Mèdes ou même sous celle des Perses. Il se voyoit obligé de rendre dans une langue étrangère des noms de dignités, de lieux, et mille idées devenues obscures dans le siècle de Ctesias. Quelle source féconde d'erreurs! Il vouloit composer une histoire générale par la réunion de plusieurs chroniques particulières; mais peu accoutumé aux études chronologiques, destitué d'une époque générale, égaré par la différence ou par la ressemblance des noms, il marchoit en aveugle et nous autorise à distinguer entre les faits particuliers qu'il rapporte, et le système de chronologie par lequel il les rassemble. 4. A l'exemple de ses devanciers il interrompt souvent son récit par des digressions ménagées avec art et liées avec son sujet principal: mais cette liaison qui existe dans l'esprit de l'historien n'a point de fondement dans la nature des choses. A l'occasion des grands travaux de Sémiramis, Ctesias décrit la plûpart des monumens que la tradition attribuoit à cette princesse. Mais l'autorité de ces traditions, et la vérité

Diodor. Sic. l. ii. p. 116. Ed. Wessel.

L. ii. p. 120, &c. 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, &c.

des

des descriptions n'ont rien de commun avec la foi des anciennes annales qui constatent l'existence d'une Sémiramis et les grands événemens de son règne. 5. Je sens, et je l'avoue sans peine, qu'il y avoit des fictions aussi bien que des erreurs dans les ouvrages de Ctesias. Il a souvent quitté le personnage d'historien pour celui de rhéteur et même de poëte. Je mets, sans balancer, dans cette classe l'oracle d'Ammon, et le secours qu'un roi d'Assyrie envoya aux Troyens. J'accorderai, si l'on veut, que les armées de Ninus et de Sémiramis sont trop nombreuses, et que nous pourrions donner un peu moins d'étendue à leur empire. 6. Si l'ouvrage de Ctesias subsistoit encore nous n'aurions point à craindre de nous tromper sur ses véritables sentimens. Mais nous ne le connoissons plus que par l'Abrégé de Photius,* et par les extraits détaillés de Diodore de Sicile, de Nicolas de Damas, &c. L'on ne sent que trop combien nous sommes portés à mêler nos idées avec celles que nous rapportons et à faire des changemens dont nous ne voyons pas la conséquence. Diodore de Sicile doit en général nous tenir d'un original qu'il suit de près, dont il rapporte souvent les paroles, et qu'il a cependant altéré plus d'une fois. Mais je ne puis souffrir qu'on relève les erreurs d'un abbréviateur, d'un Justin copiste de la troisième main et

L. ii. p. 128, 136.

L. ii. p. 117, 130, &c.

V. l. ii. p. 127, et Wesseling, not. 60.

* Il est assez surprenant que ce patriarche se soit contenté d'indiquer les six premiers livres de Ctesias qui contenoient l'histoire des Mèdes et des Assyriens, et qu'il n'ait commencé son extrait que par le septième. Il avoit lu tous les vingt-trois livres de cet historien.

Phot. Bibl. p. 106, &c.

qu'on

qu'on les employe contre l'autorité de Ctesias. L'abbréviateur lui a fait dire que Ninus fut le premier qui fit la guerre à ses voisins. Hélas! ce ne fut pas Ninus, ce fut ce sauvage que enleva le premier à son frère le gland qu'il venoit de cueillir! On a développé toute l'absurdité d'une proposition qui renverse même le système de son auteur. Mais cet auteur n'est point Ctesias. Le Ctesias de Diodore avoit dit seulement que Ninus est le premier dont l'histoire nous ait conservé les exploits.

Justin, l. i. c. 1.

Diod. Sicul. l. ii. p. 13.

Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona
Multi ————

La foule des savans a voulu encore opposer au système de Ctesias l'autorité d'Hérodote, qui n'a jamais exposé ses sentimens sur les grands principes de l'histoire Asiatique, et dont le témoignage bâti sur l'observation et sur la tradition s'affoiblit en s'éloignant du siècle dans lequel il a vecu. Mais encore je démêle dans cette obscurité le système assez conforme à celui de Ctesias, qu'il aura suivi dans ses Assyriaques. Je développerai cette proposition avec d'autant plus de plaisir, que la tradition générale y rendra témoignage à la haute antiquité de la domination Assyrienne.

Strab. Geo. l. xvi. p. 737. Cellarii Geo. Antiq. tom. ii. p. 202.

1. Le nom de Syrie ou Assyrie n'a point été borné à cette petite province sur les bords du Tigre dont Ninève est la capitale. Il s'étendoit, selon Strabon, depuis le fond de la Babylonie jusqu'au Pont Euxin. Les habitans de la Chaldée, de l'Aturie, de la Mésopotamie, et de la Syrie propre, étoient les Syriens noirs ou de la haute Syrie. Ceux du Pont et de la Cappadoce, plus avancés que les premiers

miers du côté du nord et de la mer Méditerranée, s'appelloient les Syriens blancs ou de la basse Syrie. Plusieurs auteurs ont regardé le fleuve Halys comme la borne occidentale du nom Syrien, mais il est constant qu'il s'étoit étendu dans la Phrygie majeure. 2. On ne peut rendre raison de ce nom commun qu'en supposant une domination commune à toutes ces provinces. Tous les anciens ont pensé que les Assyriens de Ninève ont communiqué leur nom aux pays dans lesquels ils ont porté leurs armes victorieuses. 3. On voit qu'ils plaçoient cette conquête dans ce tems obscur que les Grecs ont nommé fabuleux mais qui ne l'étoit que pour eux. Hérodote nous apprend que les Phéniciens, transplantés des bords de la Mer Rouge à leur nouvelle demeure, commençèrent aussitôt à faire de longs voyages de mer, et à porter les marchandises d'Egypte et d'Assyrie dans les ports les plus éloignés et en particulier à celui d'Argos d'où ils enlevèrent la fille du roi Inachus. Du tems d'Inachus, c'est à dire 1800 ans avant J. C.* les Assyriens étoient déjà (dans le sentiment d'Hérodote) une nation qui possédoit une côte maritime, et qui alloit de pair avec les Egyptiens pour la réputation, le luxe, et les arts. 4. On me demandera peut-être pourquoi le nom d'Assyrie ne s'est jamais étendu aux provinces Orientales de l'empire? Je n'en sais rien, mais je répondrois volontiers que les fondateurs de la monarchie ont

Xenophont. Cyropæd. l. vi. p. 435.

Herodot. Hist. l. i. c. 1.

Euseb. Præpar. Evangel. l. x. c. 9. Freret dans les Mém. de l'Acad. tom. x. p. 357.

* Phoronée, fils d'Inachus, étoit contemporain d'Ogyges qui a vecu 1020 ans avant la première Olympiade, c'est à dire 796 ans avant l'ère Chrétienne.

obscurci

obscurci la gloire de leurs successeurs qui ont subjugué ces provinces long tems après eux. Cette conjecture expliqueroit très bien les 520 ans de règne qu'Hérodote accorde aux Assyriens sur les Mèdes. Il paroît que le dernier roi des Assyriens* avoit reçu de ses pères un empire qui s'étendoit depuis les frontières de l'Inde jusqu'à l'Euphrate et l'Halys. La Syrie propre s'en étoit détachée depuis cent cinquante ans, et les extrémités de la monarchie, telles que l'Arménie et les côtes de la Mer Rouge, étoient encore plongées dans la barbarie la plus grossière.

Id. l. i. c. 95.

V. Freret, Mém. de Littérature. t. v. p. 388. Nicol. Damas. apud Joseph. Antiq. l. vii. c. 6. Arrian. India. c. 22. 40.

Avec l'empire Sardanapale avoit hérité de la mollesse de ses pères. Depuis long tems on ne voyoit plus les rois d'Assyrie à la tête des armées. La chasse leur étoit aussi inconnue que la guerre. Renfermés dans leur palais, ils ne régnoient plus que sur un sérail dans lequel tout, jusques aux plaisirs, ne respiroit que la langueur, la contrainte et la servitude. Mais leur nom régnoit encore sur l'Asie, et les sages institutions des premiers monarques sembloient assurer la puissance de leurs foibles successeurs. Une armée nombreuse, composée de toutes les provinces, se rassembloit tous les ans à Ninève ; politique adroite, qui environnoit le trône d'une garde formidable, et qui la dispersoit sans lui donner le tems de connoître ses forces.

Diodor. Sicul. l. xi. p. 137. Nicol. Damas. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 425. Justin. l. i. c. 2. Diod. l. ii. p. 135. V. Goguet. Origine des Loix, &c. tom. i. p. 92.

Ce fut cependant dans le sein de ces troupes que la révolte se forma. Arbace, qui commandoit les

* Dernier roi selon l'interprétation de Ctesias. C'est le Sardanapale de Velleius Paterculus, le premier des trois que M. Freret a distingués.

troupes

troupes de la province de Médie possédoit la faveur publique et la méritoit par toutes les vertus opposées aux vices de son maître. Ce guerrier, qui se sentoit digne de donner des loix, rougissoit d'en recevoir d'un souverain qu'il méprisoit. Il ne cherchoit que les moyens de s'en affranchir, et les conseils de son ami Belesus achevèrent de développer le germe d'une révolte qui changea la face de l'Asie. Ce chef Chaldéen lui annonça hardiment cet empire que les astres (dont il se disoit l'interprète) lui destinoient. Arbace, ébloui lui-même par les promesses de cet art trompeur, ou charmé d'en éblouir les autres, le crut sans peine. Dès ce moment il ne s'occupa plus qu'à inspirer ses sentimens à tous les chefs de l'armée. Il ne seroit pas difficile de composer la harangue d'Arbace. La mollesse de Sardanapale, la honte de lui obéir, la facilité de la révolte, le bien public étalé avec beaucoup de pompe, et les avantages particuliers insinués avec art:—telles furent sans doute les raisons qu'il employa. A force d'intrigues, de promesses et de présens, il associa à ses desseins les Mèdes, les Persans, les Babyloniens, et quelques tribus d'Arabes qui reconnoissoient la supériorité plutôt que le joug de l'empire. Au commencement de l'année suivante, tous ces corps s'avancèrent vers la capitale sous prétexte de faire leur service. Les anciennes troupes se joignirent à celles qui les relevoient. Arbace arbora l'étendard de la liberté, et se campa près de Ninève à la tête de 400,000 hommes composés de ces quatre nations.

Diodor. Sic. l. ii. p. 137.

Id. p. 138.

A la nouvelle de la révolte Sardanapale se réveilla de sa léthargie, et brisa les liens de la mollesse, des plaisirs, et de l'habitude. Il assembla bientôt une armée nombreuse, marcha à la rencontre des rebelles, les attaqua, les battit après un combat sanglant, et les chassa jusqu'au pied des montagnes qui terminent la plaine de Ninève. Après avoir vainement mis à prix les têtes d'Arbace et de Belesus, il livra une seconde bataille aux troupes d'Arbace, et remporta une autre victoire plus décisive que la première. Ces défaites réitérées n'ébranlèrent point la constance du chef des révoltés, qui se montra digne de soutenir l'entreprise qu'il avoit commencée ; mais les autres conjurés, découragés par le malheur, parloient déjà d'éviter par la fuite la vengeance d'un prince irrité, d'occuper les forteresses de leurs pays respectifs, et d'y attendre tranquillement un moment plus propice. Arbace avoit inutilement employé toutes les ressources de la politique ; mais celles de la superstition sont inépuisables. Belesus annonça à l'armée consternée que les dieux les éprouvoient pour couronner enfin leur constance. Le fanatisme ranima le courage des chefs et des soldats, mais il ne leur donna point la victoire. Sardanapale les battit une troisième fois, s'empara de leur camp, et les poursuivit jusqu'aux frontières de la Babylonie. Le général des Mèdes fut blessé dans ce dernier combat après s'y être distingué par mille actions de valeur. Les confédérés, effrayés par la constance de leur infortune, résolurent de se retirer ; mais le prophète Chaldéen, qui sentoit que l'instant de leur

Diod. Sicul. l. ii. p. 139.

leur séparation seroit celui de leur destruction commune, tenta encore de les arrêter. Il y réussit. Il passa la nuit entière à observer les astres. " Les Dieux (leur dit-il le lendemain) vous annoncent par ma voix une révolution subite et inespérée, un grand secours que vous n'attendez point. Dans cinq jours vous verrez l'accomplissement de leur parole." Belesus et Arbace savoient sans doute que les troupes de la Bactriane s'avançoient au secours de la capitale. Ce dernier, accompagné d'un corps choisi, alla à leur rencontre. Il eut l'art de lier une négociation avec eux, son éloquence et ses intrigues leur firent aisément préférer le parti de la liberté à celui du tyran: il les ramena avec lui au camp des confédéres, et sans donner le tems aux ennemis d'apprendre cette nouvelle, il attaqua l'armée Assyrienne, enivrée encore de sa dernière victoire et plongée dans la débauche et la négligence. Il en fit un carnage excessif, tua Salœmene, beau-frère du roi et général des Assyriens; et poursuivit leurs débris dispersés jusqu'aux portes de la capitale. Id. p. 140.

Le roi y attendit l'ennemi sans crainte; il se confioit dans la force de la ville, aux anciennes prophéties, et aux secours qu'il espéroit de recevoir des autres provinces de l'empire. Le siège, ou plutôt le blocus de Ninève, dura deux ans; et elle ne seroit peut-être jamais tombée sous la puissance des Mèdes si le Tigre, en se débordant avec une violence extrême, n'eut renversé vingt stades des murs. Sardanapale vit alors que l'oracle étoit rempli puisque le fleuve étoit devenu ennemi de Id. p. 141.

la ville, et qu'il ne lui restoit plus qu'à choisir entre la mort et la captivité. Il fit dresser un vaste bucher dans la cour du Sérail, le couvrit de tout ce qu'il avoit de plus précieux, d'un nombre infini de robes de pourpre, cent cinquante lits d'or, et un trésor incroyable.* Il s'y enferma (dans une chambre qu'il avoit fait bâtir) avec toutes ses femmes. Ses eunuques y mirent le feu et l'incendie dura quinze jours. Cependant les ennemis entrèrent par la brèche, se rendirent maîtres de Ninève, et une assemblée générale des chefs salua Arbace comme roi. Telle fut la fin de Sardanapale qui vécut et qui mourut comme Othon. Tous les deux ils montrèrent à l'univers que la mollesse peut étouffer des vertus qu'elle n'éteint pas. Tel fut encore le sort de cette dynastie Assyrienne; voici le tableau énergique et vrai d'un homme qui voyoit beaucoup d'histoire dans une seule réflexion. "Après les trois ou quatre premiers princes, la corruption, le luxe, l'oisiveté, les délices s'emparent des successeurs; ils s'enferment dans leur palais, leur esprit s'affoiblit, leur vie s'accourcit, la famille décline, les grands s'élèvent, les eunuques s'accréditent; on ne met sur le trône que des enfans, le palais devient ennemi de l'empire, un peuple oisif

Tacit. Hist. l. ii. c. 48. & Sueton. in Othon. c. 11, 12.

Esprit des Loix. l. vii. c. 7.

* Ce trésor étoit célèbre. Hérodote en fait mention. Mais je crois qu' Athénée ou plutôt Ctesias se sont laissé éblouir par une exagération orientale, qui désignoit plutôt un nombre infini, qu'elle ne fixât une somme particulière. Ce nombre est de mille myriades de talens d'or, et de dix mille myriades de talens d'argent. A n'employer que des talens Attiques, et une proportion décuple, il nous donnera plus de quarante quatre milliards de livres sterling; à toute rigueur, £44,174,999,760.

Herodot. l. ii. c. 150. Athenæi Deipnosop. l. xii.

qui

qui l'habite ruine celui qui travaille, l'empereur est tué, ou détruit par un usurpateur, qui fonde une famille dont le troisième ou quatrième successeur va dans ce même palais se renfermer encore."

Dans ce récit abrégé je ne me suis point arrêté à corriger une erreur de mes originaux qui, dans plus d'un endroit, placent la ville de Ninève sur les bords de l'Euphrate. Elle étoit située sur ceux du Tigre. Plusieurs critiques ont déjà relevé cette méprise que je ne saurois attribuer à Ctesias. Il y a des fautes géographiques qu'un homme qui a parcouru l'Asie, d'Ephèse jusqu'aux Indes, ne peut jamais commettre et les commettre encore sans motif et sans intérêt. Je ne craindrois pas de la reprocher à un Diodore qui ne se perdoit que trop souvent dans l'immensité de son ouvrage et dans l'abondance de ses matériaux. Mais qu'il me soit permis de conjecturer quelque expression équivoque dont Ctesias aura pu se servir et qui laissoit quelque incertitude dans l'esprit de Diodore; les Orientaux disent souvent le grand fleuve, le fleuve royal, en parlant de la rivière qui baigne les murs de la capitale. Si Ctesias avoit conservé cette phrase, la méprise du Sicilien seroit des plus naturelles. Si Ctesias avoit employé le nom Assyrien, ou Persan, du Tigre, s'il l'avoit même exprimé par un nom vague qui désignoit toutes les grandes rivières qui sortent des montagnes de l'Arménie; la situation de Diodore auroit été encore plus embarrassante. Il est difficile d'expliquer plusieurs des anciens sans supposer que le Niphates (nom d'une chaine de montagnes dans la grande Arménie) avoit aussi ce sens

Phot. Biblio. p. 133.

Cellar. t. ii p. 202.

vague et général. Tzetes, qui lisoit encore l'histoire de Ctesias ou du moins les recueils de Constantin Porphyrogénète, confirme ma conjecture, en renchérissant sur l'erreur de Diodore ; il ne met point l'Euphrate à la place du Tigre : il y met le Nil.

Strab. p. 723. 725. 727. Lucan. Phars. iii. v. 245. Juvenal Sat. vi. p. 409. Horat. Carm. ii. 9. 20. avec les notes de Dacier et Sanadon. J. Tzetes Chil. iii. 430. Voss. de Historicis Græc. l. ii. c. 27. p. 305.

Mais il y a une erreur bien plus importante, et qu'on doit imputer à Ctesias lui-même : c'est d'avoir fixé à la mort de Sardanapale, la dernière ruine de Ninève et de l'empire Assyrien. Les monumens les plus purs de l'antiquité nous assurent que l'un et l'autre ont subsisté quoique avec un éclat affoibli jusqu'à l'an 608 avant J. C. et près de trois siècles après cette révolution. M. Freret a prouvé très solidement qu'il y a eu trois Sardanapales, et que sous le premier et le dernier de ces princes les Mèdes et les Babyloniens ont renversé la puissance Assyrienne. Tant de conformités auront ébloui Ctesias ou ses interprètes, au point de lui faire confondre sous la même époque la révolte d'Arbace, et la ruine finale de l'empire de Ninève. Dans cette confusion il nous est très difficile d'en séparer les traits détachés. Je crois pourtant qu'Arbace, jaloux de la force de cette capitale, qu'il avoit éprouvé lui-même, la fit raser de fond en comble, "*την δε πολιν εις εδαφος κατεσκαψεν.*" Les villes de l'Asie, qui ne sont bâties que de briques cuites, se détruisent et se rebâtissent avec une facilité merveilleuse. Nous voyons reparoître après les ravages affreux des Mogols toutes ces villes qu'ils avoient détruites, et l'on ne sera pas étonné de retrouver Ninève dans le siècle suivant. Arbace

Diodor. Sicul. l. ii. p. 142.

usa

usa des droits de la victoire avec une modération qui fit aimer son joug aux vaincus; en détruisant Ninève il épargna les biens des citoyens, il se contenta de les disperser dans les bourgs du pays. Hélas! qu'un Arbace seroit utile à Londres ou à Paris! Cette modération du vainqueur nous permet de croire qu'il laissa à quelque prince du sang royal une autorité subalterne sur l'ancien héritage de Ninus, qu'il lui conféra même le titre de roi, et que c'est par ces dynastes que les anciens ont continué la liste des monarques Assyriens.*

La modération d'Arbace éclata encore plus à l'égard des compagnons de sa victoire. Lorsqu'ils prirent les armes il leur avoit promis la liberté. Sa promesse ne fut pas vaine. Mais il est bon de fixer l'idée précise d'un mot toujours vague en lui-même, et assez étranger au langage des Orientaux.

1. Aux gouverneurs des provinces, Arbace

* Qu'on me passe encore une conjecture. Un passage d'Athénée (copié sur Ctesias) a toujours fait de la peine aux savans. " τους γαρ τρεις υιους, και δυο θυγατερας, ορων τα πραγματα κακουμενα, προπεπομφει εις Νινον, προς τον εκει βασιλεα," &c. Personne ne comprend comment Sardanapale, Roi de Ninève, a pu envoyer ses enfans au Roi de Ninève. Voici mon interprétation de cet endroit qu' Athénée a très bien pu gâter en l'abrégeant. Sardanapale étoit résolu de périr, mais le sort de ses enfans le touchoit. Il les fit sortir du sérail dont l'enceinte étoit peut-être distinguée de celle de la ville, et il les fit conduire aux pieds du vainqueur qui entroit déjà dans la capitale et qu'il regardoit avec raison comme le souverain de Ninève. Si j'ajoutois qu' Arbace, touché du malheur de ces jeunes princes, leur laissa le royaume d'Assyrie, je le dirois sans preuves, mais le caractère d'Arbace me justifieroit dans cette idée. Athenæi. Deipn. xii. 7.

donna une autorité plus grande que celle dont ils jouissoient. Il les distribua parmi ses amis. On devine sans peine les dégrés successifs par lesquels ces satrapes s'attribuèrent tous les droits régaliens et secouèrent enfin jusqu'au nom de la dépendance. Il paroît même qu'Arbace accorda à ses capitaines le privilège important de ne jamais perdre la vie ou leur satrapie que par la sentence d'une assemblée générale des capitaines leurs pairs. Arbace suivit du moins cette règle à l'égard de Belesus à qui il avoit donné la satrapie de Babylone. Son avarice lui fit enlever les cendres du bucher de Sardanapale. Il fut condamné à perdre la tête, mais Arbace oublia son crime, ne se souvint que de ses services, et lui rendit jusqu'à son gouvernement et le trésor même qu'il avoit dérobé.

Diodor. Sic. l. ii. p. 141. Nicol. Dam. in Excerpt. Val. p. 426.

2. Les chariots des Scythes, les tentes des Arabes, et toutes les branches du Taurus et du Caucase ont toujours renfermé une multitude de sauvages fiers de leur pauvreté et de leur indépendance féroce. De tems en tems ils sortent de leurs retraites pour subjuguer les peuples amollis par le luxe, pour se corrompre et pour périr comme eux. Il seroit aussi difficile qu'inutile d'indiquer toutes les nations à qui Arbace se contenta de faire reconnoître sa souveraineté. On y peut distinguer les Cadusiens, les habitans d'une partie de la Perside, quelques montagnards de la Médie, et plusieurs peuplades des Scythes en deça de l'Oxus connues sous le nom de Parthes, de Saques, de Derbices, &c.

A. C. 898. 1. *Arbace* se soutint sur le trône par les mêmes vertus

vertus auxquelles il le devoit. Il gouverna l'Asie vingt-huit ans et laissa l'empire à sa mort à son fils Mandauces. Diod. Sicul. l. xi. p. 146.

2. Mandauces régna vingt ans, ou cinquante selon Diodore. A. C. 870.

3. Sosarme régna trente ans. A. C. 850.

4. Attycas régna trente ans, ou cinquante selon Diodore.* A. C. 820.

5. Arbianes régna vingt-deux ans. A. C. 790.

Je n'ai point d'événemens pour remplir ces cinq règnes des premiers rois des Mèdes et de l'Asie. Ctesias n'avoit rien trouvé dans les annales, ou Diodore s'est peu soucié de conserver ses détails. Je vois très clairement que ce copiste a négligé plusieurs faits des plus intéressans, que nous trouvons ailleurs. Sa liste des rois est défectueuse, peut-être même remplie de fautes. Je lui trouve dans cette partie de sa bibliothèque une sorte d'impatience. Il s'étoit fort étendu sur le règne de Sémiramis, les merveilles de Babylone et la science des Chaldéens; ce grand morceau avoit déjà passé les bornes que la proportion générale de son ouvrage lui prescrivoit. Il se dédommage aux dépens de la monarchie des Mèdes.

On n'est pas en droit d'exiger que je remplisse ce vuide: il y en a tant dans ces siècles reculés.

* Diodore a donc compté 282 ans au lieu des 232 de Jules Africain cité par les chronologistes Chrétiens. J'ai suivi l'exemple de M. de Bougainville; mais je crains qu'un certain petit intérêt de système n'ait contribué à cette préférence que nous lui donnons. Artée, le sixième roi de la dynastie, devoit régner avant l'ère de Nabonassar.

Mais

Mais je sens que le système que je propose deviendra bien plus vraisemblable et plus lumineux si je réussis à découvrir quelques traces de cette monarchie et de ses premiers rois, dans les traditions des compatriotes et des contemporains, je veux dire dans celles des Perses modernes et des anciens Grecs.

Je ne connois l'histoire Persanne que par les extraits que nos savans nous en ont donnés, et particulièrement par la Bibliothèque Orientale de M. d'Herbelot.* Cette ignorance me donne une sorte de mérite; c'est celui de l'impartialité. Mon amour-propre n'est point intéressé à justifier une science dont l'acquisition ne m'a rien coûté. Voici en peu de mots l'idée que je me suis fait de l'authenticité de cette histoire.

Dans ce long intervalle de cinq siècles qui s'écoula depuis la destruction de la première monarchie des Perses jusqu'à l'établissement de la seconde, la haute Asie étoit retombée dans la barbarie. Les Parthes, ses maîtres, conservèrent toujours la férocité de leurs ayeux Scythes. Le luxe corrompit leurs mœurs sans les adoucir. Ils opprimoient les Persans et se rendoient odieux à tous les vrais Mages par mille superstitions étrangères qu'ils avoient introduites dans le culte de Zoroastre. Les malheureux n'ont d'asile que l'avenir et le passé. Les prédictions et les fables les consolent de leur misère actuelle. Lorsqu'Ardshir Baha-

Justin. Hist. l. xli. et xlii. Agathias, Hist. l. ii. c. x. xi. Hist. du Manichéisme, par M. de Beausobre, tom. i. p. 165.

* Sur toute cette histoire, v. Biblioth. Orient. aux mots *Pischadiens* et *Caianides*, et à ceux de chaque roi en particulier.—Universal Hist. Edd. Fol. tom. ii. p. 172—240.

man

man rendit l'empire aux Perses, les poëmes historiques qui sembloient renfermer les origines de la nation furent reçus sans critique et sans contradiction. Ecrits d'ailleurs d'une manière intéressante; ils franchirent bientôt les bornes de l'empire. On les écoutoit avec autant d'avidité à la Mecque qu'à Madyan. Enfin les Arabes parurent et subjuguèrent la Perse. L'ignorance et le fanatisme marchèrent devant eux: ils détruisirent partout les monumens d'un culte étranger. Au bout de trois siècles les arts avoient civilisé ces barbares; et ils ne cherchèrent plus qu'à réparer les ravages de leurs ancêtres. Ferdoussi, fameux poëte Persan, composa un poëme historique de 30,000 vers sur les débris des vieux romans qu'il avoit recueillis. Mais Ferdoussi étoit poëte et Musulman. On peut croire que dans cette première qualité il préféroit toujours le merveilleux au vraisemblable, et que c'est à la dernière que nous devons Abraham, Salomon, et tous les prophètes Juifs. Ferdoussi est cependant la source où la plûpart des historiens et des poëtes ont puisé. Mirkhond et Khondemir, deux historiens Persans de la fin du quinzième siècle, sont, pour ainsi dire, les seuls originaux que nos savans sont accoutumés à citer.

Biblioth. Orient. au mot Nasser. p. 664. Abulpharag. Pocock, Dynast. ix. p. 114.

Biblioth. Orient. au mot Ferdoussi, p. 347.

Je passe aux caractères internes de cette histoire. Je n'y vois rien de plus vraisemblable. C'est un assemblage de fictions grossières. Nulle géographie, nulle chronologie, des paladins, des génies, des fées et des monstres. Nous avons surtout un excellent moyen de comparaison dans les deux siècles depuis Cyrus jusqu'à Darius. Les Grecs

contem-

contemporains, sujets ou ennemis du grand roi, ont pu prendre de fausses idées sur les révolutions intérieures et sur les caractères de ces princes, mais ils connoissoient sans doute leurs noms, la durée de leurs règnes, leurs successions, et les grands événemens qui les regardoient eux-mêmes. Les relations d'Hérodote, de Xénophon et de Ctesias, n'ont avec celles de Mirkhond que ce rapport qui suffit pour nous convaincre combien les idées de ce dernier étoient confuses et défectueuses.

De cet amas de traditions, tout imparfait qu'il est, nous pouvons néanmoins extraire quelques vérités utiles. Les événemens généraux se gravent dans le souvenir des hommes, l'idée des grands établissemens passe à la postérité, et l'imagination bornée et stérile de cette créature singulière, qui ne peut souffrir ni la vérité ni le mensonge, altère plus de faits qu'elle n'en invente. Je tâcherai de choisir quelques uns de ces traits saillans. Dès que je n'entreprends point de justifier tout l'enchainement des petits faits, la bonne critique me défend d'en tirer avantage dans les occasions où ils me seroient favorables. Je m'arrêterai à trois chefs principaux. 1. L'idée générale de chaque dynastie. 2. Les monumens de Persepolis. 3. La réformation du calendrier.

1. Réduisons l'histoire ancienne de la Perse à cette proposition générale et simple, " Que quatre dynasties différentes y ont régné dans ces siècles qui ont précédé la conquête des Arabes; c'est à dire les Pischadiens, la Caianides, les Aschkhaniens, et les Sassanides, et que la tradition à conservé

conservé les noms, l'origine, la ruine, et le caractère des trois premières races."* Je respecte peu la foi de la tradition, mais je ne crois pas l'avoir chargé d'un dépôt au-dessus de ses forces. Nous connoissons les Sassanides. Les Parthes sont désignés assez clairement sous le nom d'Aschkhaniens. Darab, le dernier des Caianides, fut vaincu par Iskender le fils de Filikous : ce sont les noms sous lesquels les Orientaux connoissent Darius Codaman, Alexandre, et son père Philippe. La dynastie des prédécesseurs de Darab remonte au-delà du règne de Cyrus, et semble comprendre les Mèdes d'Hérodote. Il ne reste qu'à chercher la place de la dynastie des Pischadiens, la plus ancienne, et peut-être la plus illustre de celles qui ont gouverné la Perse. Le Chevalier Newton y a cru reconnoître les Assyriens. Mais ce grand homme avoit peu réfléchi sur le génie de l'histoire Persanne. Les Mages étoient les seuls dépositaires de la vérité et des fables. Ils ne connoissoient de souverains légitimes de la Perse que ceux qui en avoient professé la religion. Une identité, ou du moins une ressemblance de culte, soutenoit la chaine de la succession. Tous les idolâtres n'étoient à leurs yeux que des usurpateurs dignes d'un oubli éternel; les hérétiques (tels que les Aschkhaniens) passoient

Chronology, &c. p. 293, 376.

* Je dis des trois premières. L'authenticité de l'histoire des Sassanides n'a besoin de preuves. Un habile homme, qui nous donneroit une bonne histoire de cette race, fondée sur la combinaison des écrivains Persans et Arabes avec les historiens de l'église et du bas empire, enricheroit la littérature sacrée et profane d'un ouvrage très intéressant.

à la

à la postérité sans éloge et sans détail.* Nous connoissons la religion des Assyriens: c'étoit le sabisme, le culte le plus ennemi de celui des Mages, l'adoration des astres, des images, et peut-être enfin l'apothèose des héros. Mais, si l'amour d'un système (qui n'est pas le mien) ne m'éblouit point, tous les grands caractères de cette dynastie conviennent avec tout autant de justesse aux Mèdes de Ctesias qu'ils seroient déplacés à l'égard des Assyriens de Ninève ou de Babylone. Les Pischadiens étoient Mèdes d'origine; Souster et Istekhar (Suse et Persepolis) étoient leur demeure ordinaire. Ils se distinguoient par la magnificence de leur cour et par l'étendue de leur empire; mais c'est encore plus à la sagesse de leurs loix, à une conduite modérée et populaire qu'ils ont dû leur grande réputation. Ils ont soutenu de longues guerres contre les Scythes jusqu'à ce qu'enfin ces barbares, inondant l'Asie, ont détruit cette dynastie dont les malheurs ont été vengés, et l'empire rétabli, par les princes du nom de Cai, ou Cy, qui descendèrent des montagnes de la Médie pour chasser les barbares. Je n'entreprends point d'expliquer les expéditions de Thamurath dans le Ginnistan, et les guerres de Huschenk contre les peuples de Mahiser, qui avoient des têtes de poisson, et qui n'étoient peut-être que des ictyophages. M. d'Herbelot ne cite ici que les romans modernes, dont le goût et le principe sont toujours très diffé-

Biblioth. Orient. au mot Caiamarath, p. 243. Universal Hist. vol. ii. p. 176, 205. Prideaux's Connexion, tom. i. p. 167, —182.

Herodot. l. i. c. 120.

* L'application de ce principe jetteroit beaucoup de lumière sur les endroits les plus obscurs. Elle rendroit une sorte de raison du silence étonnant qu'ils ont gardé à l'égard de Cyrus. J'ai de bonnes raisons pour croire qu'il n'étoit pas Mage. Je ne citerai que le témoignage formel d'Hérodote.

rens

rens de ceux des anciens poëmes, qui tenoient lieu d'annales. On peut remarquer que les Persans ont placé sous ces premiers rois l'invention des arts les plus nécessaires. Vanité insensée! mais commune à tous les peuples; qui ont voulu confondre l'origine de leur nation, ou de leur secte, avec celle du genre humain.

2. Tous les voyageurs ont décrit les fameux restes de la grandeur de Persepolis, et M. le Comte de Caylus, dont l'œil attentif et pénétrant suit par tout le progrès des arts, leur naissance et leur perfection, a rassemblé dans un excellent mémoire le précis de nos connoissances sur une matière aussi intéressante. Accoutumé depuis longtems à tous les prodiges de l'architecture, il ne pense qu'avec étonnement à cette vaste esplanade taillé dans un roc de marbre, aux canaux qu'on y avoit creusés, à la hardiesse du dessein, à la grandeur des masses, et à l'extrême perfection de toutes ses parties. Il rend justice aux beautés réelles de l'ouvrage tout éloignées qu'elles sont des règles des Grecs. Tout s'y ressentit (à son avis) du goût Egyptien qui a passé au fond de l'orient et sur les côtes de l'Etrurie dans le tems que la Grèce n'étoit remplie que de cabanes. M. de Caylus voit partout dans ces débris l'empreinte de l'architecte, mais il n'en voit aucune du fondateur. Il fait sentir même qu'on rencontre des difficultés insurmontables lorsqu'on veut les attribuer aux dynasties qui ont régné sur la Perse dans ces siècles que nous nommons historiques. Ils subsistoient sans doute avant les Sassanides. La tribu connue sous le nom de Parthes, détrui-

V. Universal Hist. vol. ii. p. 46—56. Ed. fol. Hist. de l'Acad. des Belles Lett. tom. xxix. p. 113–149.

détruisoit les villes mais n'en bâtissoit pas. Le règne de la barbarie n'a rien de commun avec celui des arts. Les Acheménides n'ont jamais établi leur séjour à Persepolis. Ils partageoient l'année entre Suse, Babylone, et Agbatane. Les temples, les palais, et les tombeaux de Persepolis supposent la résidence ordinaire d'un grand roi. M. de Caylus expose ses difficultés, et en laisse la solution à quelqu'un plus habile ou plus heureux que lui. Peut-être serois-je plus heureux. Je vois que les Persans attribuent la construction de Persepolis à la dynastie des Pischadiens. Un fait aussi simple a pu se conserver. Le souvenir du fondateur sembloit lié avec celui d'un monument éternel. Je pardonne sans peine à quelques ornemens que la tradition a acquis en viellissant, et même à l'enceinte de douze parasanges (36 milles Romains) que Giamschid donna à sa capitale. Je ne sais même si elle a besoin de pardon, puis qu'elle renfermoit des maisons de plaisance, des champs, des bois et des villages entiers. Je suis encore très content, que les génies n'y soient entrés pour rien dans ces grands ouvrages.* Si l'on me permet de lier l'histoire orientale avec celle des Grecs, et de supposer que les Pischadiens n'étoient pas différens des Arbacides, nous aurons trouvé les vrais fondateurs de Persepolis. Je ne vois rien qui ne s'ac-

Xenoph. Cyrop. l. vii. p. 545. et les autorités recueillies par son éditeur Hutchinson.

D'Herbelot Bibliot. Orient. au mot Giamschid, p. 395.

V. d'Anville sur les Mesures Itinéraires.

* Ceux qui lisent avec quelque attention l'histoire Persanne peuvent remarquer que les génies et les prodiges ne sont point dans le tableau, et qu'ils en ornent seulement le quadre. On doit sentir le poids de cette distinction.

corde

corde avec cette idée. Le siècle d'Arbace est celui de la grandeur et du goût Egyptien. Leurs architectes venoient d'achever les pyramides.* La monarchie des Mèdes, qui s'étendoit d'abord sur l'Asie de l'Inde à l'Euphrate, n'étoit point au-dessous de cette entreprise, et sa splendeur a assez duré pour trouver à toute rigueur les deux cens ans que M. de Caylus exige pour l'achever.

Mais a-t-il droit de l'exiger? Je respecte infiniment l'autorité de cet habile académicien, mais je ne sais s'il a assez réfléchi sur la combinaison de la puissance despotique avec la grandeur, les trésors, et la résolution de triompher de tous les obstacles. J'ai encore devant les yeux, les restes augustes de l'amphithéâtre de Vespasien, des bains de Titus, de la colonne Trajane, des arcs de triomphe de Titus et de Trajan, du temple de paix, et de cent autres ouvrages qui luttent encore contre le tems et la barbarie. Trouveroit-il ces ouvrages indignes d'être comparés avec les monumens de Persepolis? Prononceroit-il qu'il a fallu deux siècles entiers pour les élever? Personne ne sait mieux que lui que leur construction n'a pas coûté une cinquantaine d'années.

V. Nardini Roma Antica, Donatus Roma Vetus, &c. à tous ces articles.

3. L'ère de Yezdegerd est aussi fameuse en Perse que celle des Séleucides l'a été parmi les Grecs, ou l'hégire parmi les Musulmans. Celle-ci, chère aux Musulmans, et répandue dans la vaste

* Diodore de Sicile, qui vécut un peu avant la naissance de J. C. place la fondation des pyramides 1000 ans auparavant.—Voyez Diodor. Sic. lib. i. p. 72. Greaves, Pyramidographia, dans ses ouvr. Tom. i. p. 23, &c. Voss. de Histor. Græc. l. ii. c. 2.

étendue de leurs conquêtes, n'a point aboli l'usage de la première dans ces provinces qui ont conservé la langue Persanne. L'époque radicale de l'ère de Yezdegerd nous est connue avec la plus grande précision. Tous les astronomes de l'orient la fixent au 16 Juin, l'an de J. C. 632; c'est aussi la première année du règne de ce prince qui lui a donné son nom. Mais quelle est l'origine de ce période, est-il civil ou astronomique? En faut-il chercher la source dans les cieux ou sur la terre? Je crois qu'il faut la chercher dans les cieux. Je ne puis y voir aucun des caractères d'un période civile et historique. Toutes ces ères ont commencé par quelque grand événement intéressant et flatteur pour la société qui les a établi; des événemens qui sembloient annoncer un nouvel ordre de choses. La durée du période se mesure sur celle du peuple, et si la première survit au dernier, ce n'est que lorsqu'un long usage lui a fait prendre des racines fortes et inébranlables.

V. d'Herbelot Bibl. Orient. au mot Yezdegerd, p.485. Ockley's Hist. of the Saracens, vol. i. p. 127 & 264, 378. Abulpharag. Dynas. Pers. Pocock, p. 112, 116.

Lorsqu'une conjuration des grands du royaume mit Yezdegerd sur le trône, la Perse, déchue de son ancienne splendeur depuis la mort de Khosroes et déchirée pas ses discordes civiles, alloit succomber sous la fortune des Arabes. Cette nation avoit déjà remporté une grande victoire sur l'élite de l'armée Persanne. Elle franchissoit sans peine toutes les barrières qu'on lui opposoit. L'avénement de Yezdegerd ne ramena point la victoire aux drapeaux Sassanides; ses premières années ne se comptoient que par ses revers. En 637 les Arabes s'emparèrent de sa capitale et de son palais.

Il

Il se cantonna dans les montagnes de la Sogdiane, où il se soutint jusqu'en 651. Avec lui on vit périr pour jamais la gloire et l'empire des Perses. Les rochers du Mazanderan et les sables du Kerman furent les seuls asiles que les vainqueurs laissèrent aux sectateurs de Zoroastre. Sur ces principes je me crois en droit de conclure que l'ère de Yezdegerd n'est point une époque arbitraire que les hommes ont imaginé, mais un période astronomique, que l'ordre naturel du tems ramenoit au point de sa première institution.

C'est au savant Docteur Hyde que nous devons la connoissance précise de ce période, ou du grand cycle de 1440 ans employé par les Perses pour ramener leur année vague à la vraie année solaire. L'année Persanne étoit composée de 365 jours, c'est à dire de 12 mois chacun de 30 jours avec cinq jours épagomènes ou surnuméraires. Mais leurs astronomes étoient encore parvenus à savoir que cette année avoit un quart de jour de moins que l'année solaire. Ils négligeoient ces quarts de jours pendant 120 ans pour les rassembler alors, et pour en faire un mois de 30 jours, qui devenoit ainsi le troisième mois de la 120me année. Le grand cycle étoit composé de douze de ces petits cycles, le mois intercalaire changeoit de place, et avançoit toujours un mois dans le calendrier.* Il lui falloit une

V. le Mémoire de M. Freret dans les Mém. de Littérature, tom. xvi. p. 233, 267. Hyde, Golius, Greave, &c.

* M. Freret se fonde sur quelques détails obscurs et peu décisifs des règles de cette intercalation, pour croire que du tems de Yezdegerd il ne s'étoit écoulé qu'une portion du grand cycle de 960 ans. Ce cycle a donc commencé en 329 A. C. avec le règne

Mém. de Litt. tom. xvi. p. 256.

 d'Alexandre

une durée de 1440 ans pour parcourir l'année entière et pour achever la grande révolution. Puisque l'ère de Yezdegerd a commencé une de ces révolutions, elle fait remonter le période précédent à l'an 809 avant J. C. C'est aussi l'époque radicale que M. Hyde lui a donnée. Dans le système de Ctesias, Attycas, quatrième roi des Mèdes, régnoit alors sur l'Asie. Les Persans, qui ont connu l'établissement de ce grand cycle, le placent sous le règne de Giamschid, quatrième roi de la dynastie des Pischadiens. Ce synchronisme trouvé sans effort me flatte beaucoup. J'y vois l'identité des Mèdes de Ctesias avec les Pischadiens, prouvée par les faits. Je reconnois dans cette réformation du calendrier une nation policée et éclairée; et dans toutes les cérémonies qui l'accompagnoient je retrouve jusqu'à la bonté populaire des Arbacides. Pendant les six jours du Neurouz* le monarque se livroit à ses sujets. Il leur rendoit justice, mangeoit avec eux, les bénissoit et recevoit d'eux des présens de fruits et de grains, le gage et les prémices de l'abondance. A ce spectacle intéressant on eût cru voir un père cultivateur au milieu de sa famille.

Bibliot. Orient. au mot Giamschid, p. 395.

Hyde de Religione Persar. c. 14.

Voyez l'ouvrage de Goguet sur l'origine des loix, des arts, et des sciences. Mém de. Littér. tom. xix.

d'Alexandre sur la Perse, et le cycle précédent remonte jusqu'en 1769 avant J. C. dans un tems où les notions astronomiques étoient bien éloignées de la justesse d'une année Julienne. Je voyois la raison et M. Hyde d'un côté, Freret seul de l'autre. Cependant je balançois encore. L'autorité de Freret m'embarrassoit, jusqu'au moment que je l'ai vu changer d'opinion et embrasser lui même le système de mon compatriote.

* La fête du nouvel an.

Les

Les Arbacides ne sont plus, mais l'orient en a conservé la mémoire sous le nom de Pischadiens. Il est encore plein des monumens de leur grandeur, de leur génie, et de leurs vertus. Je pense bien que ces rois ne se sont pas uniquement occupés des loix, des sciences, et des beaux-arts. L'humanité seroit trop heureuse si ses fastes n'étoient remplis que de pareils événemens. Si cette histoire s'étoit conservée, on y liroit, comme dans toutes les autres, les vices des grands, et les malheurs des peuples ; on y verroit ce triomphe perpétuel de la violence et de l'intrigue sur la justice, qu'elles outragent en la violant, et qu'elles outragent cent fois davantage en se servant impunément de son nom sacré. Les traditions Persannes ont effectivement conservé un grand nombre de ces faits qui ne sont que trop vraisemblables ; mais je ne sais par quel art je pourrois les séparer de cet alliage grossier dont on les a chargé. Je ne demanderois grace que pour un seul fait. Giamschid, le fondateur de Persepolis et le réformateur du calendrier, fut chassé enfin de son trône par un usurpateur Arabe. Ce tyran lassa par ses cruautés la patience d'un peuple soumis à ses maîtres. Il courut aux armes, un forgeron se mit à la tête des séditieux, délivra sa patrie du joug des Arabes, et rendit le sceptre à son héritier légitime. Cette révolution mérita de passer à la postérité par une fête solemnelle qu'on célébroit tous les ans : et c'est en sa faveur que j'ai demandé cette exception particulière. Je m'étonne toujours que, si le tablier du forgeron enrichi de pierres précieuses devint effectivement

V. d'Herbelot Bibliot. Orient. *Giamschid*, p. 395. *Dhohak*, p. 948. *Feridoun*, p. 347.

l'oriflamme de la Persie, il ne soit pas tombé entre les mains d'Alexandre, et que tous les historiens qui ont décrit l'aigle d'or qu'on portoit à la tête des armées, n'ayent jamais fait mention d'un drapeau aussi singulier que celui-ci.

V. Just. Lips. de milit. Rom. l. iv. dial. v. in edit. Plan. 1638. tom. iii. p. 106.

Je passe aux Grecs. A travers les nuages répandus sur tout l'orient, et qui ne se sont dissipés qu'au règne de Cyrus, les Grecs, plus anciens que ce prince, ont entrevu l'empire des successeurs d'Arbace. Mais ces siècles, féconds pour eux en pöetes, étoient encore destitués d'historiens. Je ne puis espérer de découvrir quelque vérité qu'en creusant la source des fables.

Strab. Geo. l. xv. p. 735.

Strabon étoit admirateur éclairé du génie et même des connoissances d'Homère, dont il préféroit souvent l'autorité à celle des historiens les plus célèbres. Ce grand géographe remarque avec son bon sens ordinaire, que le poëte qui connoissoit les richesses de Thèbes, et le commerce des Phéniciens, n'avoit jamais entendu parler de la grandeur des Assyriens. Il le prouve parcequ'il a parlé des uns, et qu'il n'a rien dit des autres. La force de cet argument négatif échappera à ceux qui ne l'approfondissent pas. Homère parloit à des peuples encore grossiers, qui ont toujours plus de curiosité que de goût, et qui écoutent avec avidité les actions merveilleuses de leurs héros, et les relations singulières et éloignées. La construction de ses ouvrages lui donnoit une facilité extrême pour y faire entrer tout ce qu'il avoit recueilli dans ses voyages. Toutes les nations se sont assemblées sous les murs de Troye. Ulysse et Ménélas ont parcouru

parcouru toutes les mers. Rempli de son objet, il y sacrifie jusqu'aux règles de l'art, et celles de la nature. Dans quel moment ne suspend-t-il pas le courroux d'Achille pour lui faire décrire assez froidement les cent portes de Thèbes! Ce même Achille, qui ne rentre au combat que pour immoler tous les Troyens aux mânes de son ami, écoute avec une patience admirable la généalogie des rois d'Ilium depuis Dardanus jusqu'à Priam. L'homme de goût s'impatiente; l'homme curieux s'y instruit. Le philosophe jette un coup d'œil sur les contemporains d'Homère, et reconnoît que la première loi d'un poëte est celle de leur plaire.

Iliad. ix. v. 380.

Iliad. xx. v. 199—258.

Homère n'a conservé qu'un seul événement qui paroisse avoir trait aux affaires de l'orient: c'est l'histoire ou fable de Memnon; qu'il n'a touchée même qu'en peu de mots. La voici dans sa pureté originale, telle que nous la trouvons en rapprochant plusieurs endroits détachés. " Tithon étoit fils de Laomédon et frère de Priam. Il fut aimé de la déesse Aurore, dont il eut un fils nommé Memnon, qui se distingua à la guerre de Troye par sa beauté et sa valeur." Cette histoire n'a rien que de vraisemblable, si l'on suppose que Tithon, cadet de la maison de Dardanus, passa dans l'orient pour y chercher fortune, qu'il y épousa une princesse, et que leur fils Memnon conduisit les forces de leurs nouveaux états au secours de son oncle. Le poëte n'a désigné ce pays que par le nom vague de l'Aurore, mais ce terme étoit permis à la licence de la poësie; et l'ignorance des Grecs sur l'intérieur de l'Asie nous oblige seulement à le reculer un peu au-delà

Iliad. xx. v. 237. Odyss. iv. v. 188. xi. v. 521.

V. Cleric. ad Hesiod. Theog. v. 985.

delà de l'Asie mineure et des côtes de la Phénicie. Sous le nom d'Hemathion qu'a donné Hésiode au frère de Memnon, M. le Clerc a cru voir la ville de Hemath en Syrie. La conjecture me paroît très naturelle.

Hesiod. Theog. v. 984.

Cette histoire ou fable (je ne la garantis point) ne conserva pas longtems sa première simplicité. Cent vingt ans après Homère,* Hésiode a donné sa génération des Dieux, le premier système suivi de la mythologie Grecque. Il vouloit indiquer le nom de la nation sur laquelle ce fils de l'Aurore avoit régné. Il nomma les Ethiopiens orientaux, peuple limitrophe de l'Inde, et situé aux bords de l'océan. Ces Ethiopiens n'étoient point inconnus à Homère. Il les connoissoit avec une précision singulière, mais il ne les a peints que sous les traits de la piété envers les dieux, de la simplicité de mœurs, et d'un extrême éloignement où le nom de Troye n'étoit jamais parvenu. La fable de Memnon réussit très bien; on lui trouva bientôt un trepas digne d'un tel héros. Sa mort (dit on) fut le plus beau des triomphes d'Achille. Ce combat étoit représenté sur le fameux coffre des Cypselides, monument très ancien de la sculpture Grecque, et qui remonte jusqu'à la fin du huitième siècle avant Jesus-Christ. L'imagination continua toujours à ensèvelir la vérité, ou du moins la vraisemblance primitive, sous une foule d'ornemens étrangers. Enfin les antiquaires des Ptolémées déterrèrent en Egypte je ne sais quelle torse miraculeuse, qu'ils

Homer. Odyss. 1. 23. 24. Pindar. Pyth. Od. 6. v. 30. Olymp. Od. 2. v. 148. Nem. Od. 6. v. 82. Pausan. l. v. p. 197. Commentaires de Meziriac sur les Epitres d'Ovide, tom. 1. p. 290. V. Marsham. Can. Chronic. p. 423—433 et les autorités qu'il a recueillies. V. Cleric. de ætat. Hesiod. in suâ editione Vell. Pater, l. 1.

* On est très peu d'accord sur l'age d'Hésiode. J'ai suivi le calcul de Velleius qui paroît avoir suivi de très bons mémoires.

trouvèrent

trouvèrent à propos de nommer Memnon. Les écrivains postérieurs, qui semblent avoir perdu l'idée des Ethiopiens de l'Inde, adoptèrent avidement un prodige qui transportoit cette fable dans l'Ethiopie occidentale, peut-être dans l'Egypte même.—Mais je m'arrête; je n'ai besoin ici que de connoître les sentimens des premiers Grecs.

Dès que les colonies de l'Asie mineure avoient pris quelque consistence dans leurs nouvelles demeures, l'humeur active et inquiète des Grecs les porta à se répandre sur toutes les côtes de la Méditerranée, et à fonder des villes depuis l'embouchure du Tanaïs jusqu'à celle du Nil. Le commerce, la curiosité, le service militaire, l'esclavage même, auront souvent conduit des particuliers de la nation dans les cours de la haute Asie. Le caractère national les suivoit partout; c'étoit un goût vif pour les ouvrages de leurs poëtes, et un vanité extrême qui rapportoit les antiquités de toutes les nations à leur mythologie. Par tout l'orient un vrai Grec ne cherchoit que les vestiges des Argonautes, de Bacchus et de Memnon. S'il a cru trouver le royaume de Memnon, je dirai qu'il a vu un souverain puissant qui régnoit sur les Ethiopiens orientaux, et dont l'empire s'étendoit jusqu'à l'océan, j'en conclurrai l'existence de ce monarque, et l'erreur des Grecs m'assurera d'une vérité historique. Lorsque les Portugais ont voulu faire du Negus d'Abyssinie, le Prêtre Jean si prôné par les missionnaires Nestoriens, on dira tout ce qu'on veut du Prêtre Jean, mais la méprise même des Portugais m'apprend que dans le quinzième siècle ils

V. Marsham. Can. Chronic. p. 546—554.

V. Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, v. 1. p. 555, et les relations d'Abyssinie dans le 1r vol. du Recueil des Voyages par Ramusio.

ils ont trouvé au fond de l'Afrique un empire puissant et Chrétien.

Herodot. Hist. l. v. c. 53, 54. l. vii. c. 115. Eschyl. in Pers.

C'est à Suse que les Grecs ont fixé la demeure de Memnon longtems avant qu'elle est devenue la capitale des Rois de Perse. Suse se nommoit déjà la Ville Memnonienne ; c'étoit déjà la dénomination par laquelle les Grecs désignoient son palais, sa citadelle, et son enceinte. En un mot, pour résumer mon argument, je crois pouvoir conclure que dans le septième et le huitième siècle avant J. C. Suse étoit la capitale d'un empire qui s'étendoit jusqu'à l'océan et la frontière de l'Inde; et cet empire n'a pu être que celui des successeurs d'Arbace. Cet éclat de Suse, qui a précédé le règne de Cyrus, nous explique parfaitement la raison pourquoi cette ville a partagé la résidence de ce prince avec Babylone et Agbatane.

En quittant pour quelques instans les Mèdes de Ctesias, j'ai essayé d'en prouver l'existence par des autorités étrangères, et de remplir en partie ce vuide de cent trente ans qui a dû être le moment le plus brillant de leur histoire. Je vais reprendre ce fil historique que Diodore nous en a laissé, mais qui seroit bien imparfait sans le secours de Nicolas de Damas.

Avant J. C. 768.

Artée fut le sixième roi des Mèdes.* Je dois ici raconter un événement, petit dans son origine, bisarre par ses effets, mais dont les conséquences

* Cette histoire se trouve dans les fragmens de Nicolas de Damas tirés du Recueil de Constantin Porphyrogénète et publiés par M. de Valois, p. 426—437.

ébranlèrent,

ébranlèrent, et enfin renversèrent le trône des Arbacides. Parsondas, qui sortoit d'une famille Persanne, se distinguoit parmi les favoris du roi. Un choix aussi judicieux faisoit également honneur au maître et au sujet; sous les traits d'un Adonis, Parsondas avoit l'âme d'un héros. Adroit dans tous ses exercices, infatigable à la chasse, intrépide à la guerre, il sembloit formé pour la cour, le conseil, et le camp. Un seul vice ternissoit l'éclat de tant de vertus : c'étoit l'orgueil. Fier de son mérite et de l'amitié du monarque, il se comparoit souvent avec le Satrape de Babylone, Nanybrus, dont la mollesse, qui surpassoit celle des femmes, le rendoit indigne de gouverner la plus belle province de l'empire. Il la demanda au roi pour lui-même. Artée montra dans cette occasion une vertu d'autant plus respectable qu'elle est rare parmi les souverains Asiatiques. Il fit taire l'amitié pour n'écouter que les loix. Il respecta les institutions d'Arbace, et ces institutions assuroient l'état des satrapes. Nanybrus n'étoit que méprisable. Il n'étoit point coupable. Etonné d'un refus auquel il ne s'attendoit pas, Parsondas ne se rebuta point, mais le roi opposa aux instances réitérées de son favori une fermeté qui le réduisit enfin au silence. Ces intrigues de cour parvinrent facilement à la connoissance de Nanybrus. Il avoit tout à craindre des importunités de son rival. Il ne lui restoit que la ressource dangereuse de prevenir les desseins de Parsondas en s'assurant de sa personne. Tous ses officiers, animés par l'espoir des récompenses, ne cherchoient qu'une occasion favorable,

favorable, lorsque le hasard les servit mieux que toute leur industrie. Parsondas, qui suivoit le roi à la chasse, se laissa emporter un jour à son ardeur, perdit de vue toute sa compagnie, et se trouva vers le déclin du jour auprès d'un endroit où les gens de Nanybrus dressoient les tentes de leur maître, et préparoient son souper. Dès qu'ils apperçurent leur proye, qui se jettoit ainsi dans leurs filets, ils lui offrirent avec la politesse la plus empressée tous les rafraichissemens, qui ne pouvoient être qu'agréables au chasseur fatigué et affamé. Parsondas se laissa bientôt vaincre par la douce violence des Babyloniens. Il accepta même un repas exquis qu'on lui servit. Les vins les plus recherchés agirent bientôt sur un corps échauffé par un exercice aussi violant, et le Persan, qui vouloit toujours monter à cheval pour rejoindre le roi, fut enfin convaincu que la nuit étoit trop avancée, et qu'il feroit mieux d'attendre le retour du jour dans les tentes de Nanybrus. Les belles Babyloniennes qu'on lui présenta, ne contribuèrent pas peu à cette résolution. Parsondas s'endormit dans les bras de l'amour. Son réveil fut terrible. Il se trouva chargé de fers et au pouvoir de son plus cruel ennemi. Conduit à Babylone, il soutint avec fermeté les reproches du satrape. " J'ai voulu t'enlever ton royaume (lui dit-il fièrement) parcequ'une femme n'est pas digne de régner sur les hommes, et que les récompenses de la vertu ne sont pas faites pour les lâches." Nanybrus sentit vivement que son ennemi le braveroit encore au milieu de supplices. Par un raffinement de vengeance

geance il préféra de le laisser vivre, mais de le dépouiller de sa superbe vertu, de l'avilir à ses propres yeux et de jouir de sa misère. Il le confia à l'eunuque chargé du soin des chanteuses de son sérail, avec un ordre d'habiller en fille ce jeune homme, et d'épuiser sur lui tous les arts de la mollesse Asiatique.* L'eunuque remplit les ordres et les intentions de son maître avec un succès extraordinaire. Parsondas fut forcé de s'y prêter. La fraîcheur de la plus belle jeunesse acquit un nouvel éclat; ses talens se développèrent; bientôt cette nouvelle Vénus auroit enlevé à toutes ses compagnes le prix du chant, de la musique, et même de la beauté. Artée fut étonné de ne plus revoir son favori. Les recherches les plus exactes furent inutiles. Le roi crut enfin qu'il avoit péri à la chasse; il le pleura sept ans; et ce secret seroit mort dans les obscures profondeurs du sérail de Babylone sans l'infidelité d'un eunuque qui en étoit instruit. Outré d'une punition qu'il avoit reçue, cet esclave écouta facilement les séductions de Parsondas qui lui proposa de se sauver du palais, de se rendre à la capitale, et d'instruire le roi du triste sort de son ami. Ce prince en reçut la nouvelle avec une joie mêlée d'étonnement et de douleur. Sur le champ il fit partir un ministre fidèle pour le tirer des mains de Nanybrus. On

* Nicolas de Damas décrit ces arts. Je m'étonne que Nanybrus oublia une précaution, avilissante pour son captif, et nécessaire pour rassurer la jalousie.

peut

peut s'imaginer quelle étoit la surprise de ce rusé Babylonien. Il assura le ministre royal qu'il ignoroit avec le reste du public le sort de Parsondas depuis le jour qu'il avoit disparu. Cette ignorance prétendue ne trompa point le souverain. Il renvoya un second ministre d'un rang très supérieur au premier avec ordre de lui retrouver son ami, ou de rapporter la tête du satrape de Babylone. " Plus de renvois, (lui dit-il,) plus d'excuses. S'il balance, prenez-le par la ceinture et conduisez-le sur le champ à la mort." On reconnoît ici le style d'un despote, et le changement de la modération en fureur, si naturel à ceux dont on a méprisé la trop facile bonté. Il fallut obéir ; Nanybrus promit de remettre son prisonnier à l'envoyé du roi, aux yeux de qui il n'étoit point embarassé (disoit-il) à justifier tout ce qu'il avoit fait. Le soir le satrape régala magnifiquement le ministre. Cent cinquante chanteuses et musiciennes égayèrent ce festin, lorsque Nanybrus, qui s'appercevoit l'attention avec laquelle l'envoyé consideroit ce spectacle riant, lui demanda l'objet de son choix ; C'est celle-là, lui dit le ministre. Après avoir joui quelques instans d'un embarras qu'il se plaisoit à augmenter, Le voilà, lui dit-il, vous avez choisi ce Parsondas que vous cherchez. Je ne décrirai point l'étonnement et la joie qui suivirent cette reconnoissance. Parsondas fut ramené à Suse où le roi faisoit sa demeure actuelle. Artée ne reconnut pas d'abord cette chanteuse qu'on lui présenta à la place du guerrier qui s'étoit distingué à la tête de ses armées.

Il

Il s'étonnoit que ce guerrier n'eut pas préféré la mort à tant d'infamie. " Seigneur, (lui répondit le Persan,) "deux idées consolantes m'ont toujours soutenu au milieu de mes malheurs; l'espérance de te revoir et celle de me venger un jour de mon lâche persécuteur. Je jouis déjà de la première. La justice ne me trompera point sur l'accomplissement de la dernière." Le caractère d'Artée le ramenoit toujours à cet esprit de modération dont il ne s'étoit écarté qu'un instant. Il renvoya l'examen de cette affaire importante à la visite prochaine qu'il faisoit à Babylone. Le Persan attendoit avec impatience le moment de la vengeance, et rempli de cet espoir il reprit, avec les habits de son sexe, cet extérieur guerrier qu'il avoit perdu depuis longtems. Le roi les fit enfin comparoître devant son tribunal. Parsondas exagéra l'énormité d'un attentat qui attaquoit sous les yeux du roi les fondemens de la sureté publique. Nanybrus fit valoir la clémence avec laquelle il avoit traité un ennemi qui cherchoit à le dépouiller de ses états et de la vie. Cette clémence dans l'exercice d'un droit illégitime balançoit encore dans l'esprit d'Artée la justice et l'amitié. Il renvoya au dixième jour la décision finale de cette affaire. Le satrape de Babylone profita de cet intervalle pour faire agir les ressorts les plus efficaces dans toutes les cours. Il s'addresse à l'eunuque Mitrapherne, un de ces favoris domestiques dont l'autorité ne l'emporte que trop souvent sur celle des premiers de l'état. Aux présens qu'il lui offroit, il joignoit des dons immenses pour le roi, si ce prince daignoit lui conserver

conserver la vie et la province de Babylone.* La facilité naturelle d'Artée ne put résister aux vives instances de son favori; peut-être fut-il encore ébloui par l'appas séducteur des richesses. Mais en pardonnant la faute de Nanybrus il n'oublia point les intérêts de Parsondas. Il imposa au premier une amende de cent talens en faveur de l'offense. Cette légère satisfaction n'appaisa point le courroux du Persan, et les conseils de l'eunuque ne servirent qu'à l'irriter. Il refusa cet or qu'on lui apportoit. " Périsse le premier (s'écria-t-il avec indignation) qui a trouvé ce funeste métail! C'est par lui que je deviens aujourdhui le jouet d'un vil Babylonien." Il ne rouloit plus dans son esprit que des projets de vengeance. Il y réussit enfin ———— Mais nous ignorons de quelle façon il y réussit. L'Extrait de Nicolas de Damas, que nous avons suivi jusqu'ici, est tiré du livre des Vices et des Vertus du grand Recueil de Constantin Porphyrogénète; mais le compilateur nous renvoie pour la suite de cette aventure au livre des Stratagèmes, et ce livre n'est plus. M. de Valois a déterré fort heureusement une citation de Suidas qui nous permet de continuer le fil de l'histoire, mais ce lexicographe, qui par goût et par état préféroit les

* Il achetoit la faveur de l'eunuque avec dix talens d'or, cent talens d'argent; dix gobelets d'or, deux cens d'argent; et beaucoup de vestes précieuses. Il offroit au roi cent talens d'or, mille d'argent; cent gobelets d'or, trois cens d'argent, et une garderobe prodigieuse. Le seul argent monnoyé de ces présens (y compris le cent talens d'amende) se montoient à près de six cens mille livres sterling; £592, 689 selon les principes du savant Evêque Hooper. V. Inquiry into the state of Ancient Measures, &c. in 8vo. London, 1721.

mots

mots aux idées, n'a rapporté ici qu'un sens obscur et imparfait. Il y paroît cependant que Parsondas (qui aura trompé ses ennemis par une réconciliation simulée) invita le Satrape Nanybrus et l'Eunuque Mitrapherne à un repas qu'il leur donna chez lui; qu'il enferma sans bruit les portes sur leur suite; et que, dans les excès d'une débauche à laquelle il encourageoit ses convives, Parsondas se ménagea toujours avec art, et ne buvoit qu'avec modération. C'est à nous à suppléer le reste; mais le caractère de Parsondas et les conséquences de sa vengeance me persuadent qu'elle fut sanglante, et que Nanybrus et Mitrapherne en furent les victimes.

Diodore de Sicile ne s'étoit point arrêté sur la première partie de cette histoire singulière, mais nous lui devons la connoissance de son denouement. C'est lui seul que je suivrai désormais. Parsondas avoit satisfait à sa juste fureur, mais il craignoit la sévérité des loix et la colère d'un maître irrité. Il assembla promptement mille cavaliers et trois mille fantassins; et se retira avec ce corps tout dévoué à sa fortune, dans le pays des Carduches. Ces peuples habitoient les montagnes situées entre l'Assyrie et l'Arménie. Ce pays, fortifié par la nature, lui paroissoit un sûr asyle. Mais peu content d'être mis à couvert des poursuites d'Artée, il voulut encore punir ce foible prince, qui avoit préféré un eunuque à un ami tel que lui. Parsondas s'établit bientôt dans sa retraite par une alliance qu'il contracta avec la maison d'un des chefs des Carduches. Ses intrigues réunirent les tribus divisées, son indignation contre les Mèdes passa dans

Diodor. Sicul. l. ii. p. 146.

L. ii. p. 147.

tous les cœurs, et la nation entière, toujours ennemie du repos, ne craignit point de déclarer la guerre au Grand Roi. Le feu de la révolte se répandit peut-être dans toutes les montagnes de l'Arménie et des provinces limitrophes. Je le soupçonne, sur le nombre de 200,000 hommes qui coururent aux drapeaux de Parsondas, et qui me paroît trop fort pour un pays stérile qui n'avoit que sept journées de largeur. Cette armée, toute nombreuse qu'elle étoit, paroissoit encore bien foible contre une multitude de 800,000 hommes, qu'Artée rassembla dans l'étendue de son empire pour marcher à leur tête contre les rebelles; mais la nature du pays, théâtre de la guerre, offroit à chaque instant des ressources que Parsondas ne négligea point. Les Carduches se trouvoient partout, dans les défilés, et sur les bords des précipices dont ce pays, qu'ils connoissoient parfaitement, étoit hérissé. De ces postes avantageux ils écrasoient leurs ennemis par les rochers énormes qu'ils leur rouloient sur la tête, ou ils les perçoient à travers leurs boucliers et cuirasses avec ces flèches longues de deux coudées qu'ils tiroient avec une force et une adresse inconcevable. A chaque pas il falloit recommencer un combat toujours inégal pour une armée accablée de ses propres forces et retardée par tout l'attirail du luxe Asiatique. Un général assez adroit pour surmonter tous ces obstacles ne voit plus d'ennemis. Les retraites souterraines des barbares lui sont inconnues. La nature accorde à peine à ces tristes contrées quelques fruits sauvages. S'il ose s'arrêter dans ces montagnes, un

Xenophont. Anabasis. l. iv. p. 284.

un hiver encore plus rigoureux dans un pays qui n'a point de bois, achève bientôt l'ouvrage de la faim. Une retraite paisible devient sa seule espérance. Heureux si elle lui est encore permise. Darius, Xénophon, et Artaxerxe éprouvèrent ces difficultés qu' Artée avoit éprouvées avant eux. Il se retira avec la honte de sa défaite et la perte de 50,000 hommes de ses meilleures troupes. Parsondas profita de sa victoire pour faire des courses dans les provinces encore sujettes à l'empire. Le reste de sa vie ne fut rempli que des avantages journaliers qu'il remportoit sur les Mèdes. Ce guerrier mourut dans une vieillesse assez avancée au milieu des regrets d'une nation qui le regardoit comme son libérateur. Il exhorta ses successeurs à suivre son exemple, et à faire passer à la postérité son amour pour la liberté et sa haine des Mèdes. Jamais les dernières volontés d'un prince n'ont été plus religieusement observées, mais aussi jamais prince n'en donna de plus conformes au génie de sa nation.

V. Plutarch. in Artaxerxe. Xenophon. Anabasis. l. iv. p. 261—284.

Diodor. Sicul. l. ii. p. 147.

Tout ce récit me montre assez clairement que l'empire des Arbacides conserva son premier éclat jusqu'à la révolte de Parsondas. Les armées nombreuses d'Artée, les richesses et la magnificence de ses vassaux, et l'autorité despotique qu'il exerçoit à leur égard ; tout m'annonce dans sa personne un monarque souverain de l'Asie. Mais la révolte de Parsondas étoit propre à faire naître partout des sentimens d'indépendance, et les défaites honteuses et réitérées d'Artée avilissoient la majesté du trône, découvroient tous les vices du gouvernement, et

divisoient les forces de l'état. N'est il pas permis de croire que cette révolte brisa le joug que des satrapes puissans et éloignés supportoient à regret? et lorsque nous retrouvons des rois d'Assyrie et de Babylone sous le règne d'Artée, ne peut-on pas conjecturer qu'ils étoient du nombre de ces satrapes ambitieux? .

Avant C. 747.

1. Tous les savans ont considéré avec raison l'ère de Nabonassar comme une de ces époques précieuses qui lient l'histoire de la terre avec celle des cieux, et qui en assurent par ce moyen la certitude. Elle nous est encore plus utile pour la chronologie Orientale, puisqu'elle sert de base au canon astronomique de Ptolémée, qui contient une suite exacte et non-interrompue des rois de Babylone, de Perse, d'Egypte, et des empereurs Romains, depuis le commencement du règne de Nabonassar le 26 Février avant J. C. 747. Cette liste est aussi dénuée de faits, qu'elle est fournie de caractères chronologiques. Le Syncelle cependant nous apprend (je ne sais par quel droit) que Nabonassar fit brûler tous les anciens livres et qu'il tâcha d'éteindre la mémoire de ses prédécesseurs. Ce fait n'est vraisemblable que du fondateur d'une dynastie nouvelle, et son ère, qui n'est certainement pas un période astronomique, confirmeroit assez cette idée. Elle a du moins assez d'apparence pour donner quelque avantage au système qui rend raison de ce nouveau royaume de Babylone. M. de Bougainville avoit prévu cet avantage. Je tâche de suivre les traces des idées, qu'il s'est contenté de montrer de loin, mais je sens ici qu'il a vu quelque chose de plus que moi, et que

V. Scaliger. de Emendat. Tempor. l. v. p. 391.

je

je voudrois voir aussi. Il n'auroit pas sûrement conjecturé que Nabonassar étoit fils de Nanybrus, qu'il ne pardonnoit point à Artée la mort de son père, et que ce prince subit le sort commun de ceux qui choisissent les partis mitoyens?—Non—M. de Bougainville n'écrivoit pas un roman. Un critique judicieux respecte toujours ces bornes qui séparent la conjecture permise de la supposition arbitraire; bornes sacrées, que des mains téméraires ont tant de fois arrachées. Les loix de la critique m'autorisent seulement à soupçonner que Nabonassar, successeur de Nanybrus, mais d'un caractère bien différent, profita habilement de la confusion où la révolte de Parsondas avoit jetté l'empire Mède, pour en démembrer la grande satrapie de Babylone, et pour y fonder un royaume indépendant qui ne fut détruit que par les conquêtes de Cyrus. Pendant longtems ce royaume languissoit dans l'oubli; dans le tems même que la nouvelle dynastie Assyrienne remplissoit l'Asie du bruit de ses exploits, celle de Babylone n'opposoit à sa grandeur renaissante qu'une vaine jalousie et des négociations frivoles. Les discordes civiles et un trône mal-assuré affoiblissoient peut-être les forces de la monarchie. J'en juge sur les deux interrègnes, et les onze règnes qui remplissent les soixante-six premières années du Canon de Ptolémée. Dans une succession aussi rapide j'entrevois des trahisons, des conjurations, des massacres,

Avant C. 713. 2 Rois, c. xx. Isaie, c. xxxix. Prideaux's Connection. vol. i. p. 16.

—— et infidos agitans Discordia fratres.

Mais enfin deux grands rois connurent les forces de Babylone et les firent sentir à l'Asie. Nabuchodonosor recula les bornes de ses états jusqu'aux

Avant C. 607.

jusqu'aux extrémités de l'Orient, et par un sort assez commun les successeurs d'Arbace devinrent les vassaux de leurs esclaves révoltés. Dans tout ce période, Babylone étoit le centre des sciences, des arts, du commerce et du luxe. On y voyoit régner des mœurs douces et des loix sages. J'invite ceux qui ont quelque goût pour la philosophie de l'histoire à lire la description qu' Hérodote nous a laissée de Babylone, de ses ouvrages, et de ses habitans. Au lieu de ce faiseur de contes qu'on leur a si souvent annoncé, ils seront étonnés d'y trouver un observateur dont le coup d'œil pénétrant et juste ne voit que les grands objets, qui les voit de sang-froid, et qui les peint avec chaleur.

Herodot. t. i. c. 178—200.

2. Le Chrétien doit un respect aveugle aux livres saints qui renferment le dépôt de la foi. Le critique éclairé mais profane doit préférer leur témoignage des affaires d'orient à celui des premiers historiens de la Grèce. Les Juifs ont sur eux l'avantage de la proximité des tems et des lieux, la conformité de langue, et la liaison intime qui subsiste entre l'esclave et le maître. L'envie extrême qu'ont eu la plûpart des chronologistes, de concilier Ctesias avec l'Ecriture, a produit mille hypothèses forcées et arbitraires, qui défigurent l'une et l'autre, en voulant les expliquer. Le Chevalier Newton, qui n'avoit que trop étudié les prophètes, a tiré de leurs écrits aussi bien que des livres historiques, l'idée simple et naturelle de la monarchie Assyrienne telle que les Juifs l'ont connue sous les successeurs de David. Vers l'an 830 avant J. C. l'autorité du Roi de Ninève ne s'étendoit qu'aux environs de sa capitale.

Ant. C. 830.

capitale. Cette capitale ne contenoit que 120,000 habitans, et la foiblesse de ce petit royaume ne lui rendoit les menaces de Jonas que trop vraisemblables. Vers l'an 770, Pul, roi d'Assyrie, soumit les provinces voisines, et se montra le premier en deça de l'Euphrate. Le royaume de Damas tomba sous les armes de Tiglath-Pelassar; celui de Samarie fut détruit par Salmaneser, Sennacherib hérita des états et de l'ambition de ses pères. Fier de leurs succès il attaqua à la fois la Judée et l'Egypte. Un revers terrible et subit fit échouer tous ses desseins. Les Egyptiens et les Juifs se disputent la destruction de son armée au nom de leurs dieux respectifs. Cette histoire entre sans peine dans le système que j'adopte. Arbace, qui laisse subsister les dynastes de Ninève, leur permet bientôt de rétablir leur ville. La puissance des Mèdes décline, celle de Ninève se renouvelle. Elle remet sous ses loix une partie de son ancien patrimoine. Elle brille quelques instans. Mais les effets ruineux de cette splendeur passagère ne font que hâter sa destruction. Hérodote lui-même nous confirme un trait de cette histoire; c'est le règne et la défaite de Sennacherib. Lorsqu'il appelle ce monarque Roi des Assyriens et des Arabes, il nous indique une des principales causes de la grandeur nouvelle de Ninève. Ses princes surent réunir sous leurs drapeaux un grand nombre des tribus Arabes. En un mot mon système me permet d'adopter le troisième chapitre de Newton presqu'en son entier; s'il veut me permettre d'appeller renouvellement, ce qu'il regarde comme le

Ant. C. 770.

Ant. C. 740.

Ant. C. 728.

Ant. C. 710. V. Prideaux's Connection, v. 1. p. 19. Herodot. l. ii. c. 141.

Chronology of Ancient Kingdoms, p. 266-294.

premier établissement de l'empire Assyrien. Le silence de l'Ecriture ne me le défend point. Le royaume de Damas, fondé du tems de David, formoit une barrière entre la Judée et l'Assyrie que les foibles prédécesseurs de Sardanapale n'essayoient jamais de briser. Sur les siècles antérieurs nous n'avons rien que le livre des Juges, abrégé fidèle mais imparfait; son témoignage est d'un grand poids, mais on ne peut rien conclurre de son silence.

L'indépendance des rois de Ninève et de Babylone remonte jusqu'au règne d'Artée, sixième roi des Mèdes. Nous avons fixé l'époque, et deviné l'occasion de leur révolte. Il y eut sans doute plusieurs autres satrapes qui profitèrent des victoires de Parsondas. J'oserois nommer ceux de l'Arménie, du Pont et de la Cappadoce. Il semble que vers le même tems une nation Scythique très nombreuse, que les Persans ont nommé Saques, s'est établi en deça de l'Oxus, et que la Perse a beaucoup souffert des ravages de ces barbares. J'ai promis de ne me point servir des détails qui se sont conservés de la dynastie des Pischadiens. Un critique plus hardi que moi feroit sentir que sous le règne de Manougeher, sixième roi de la première race, les provinces de l'occident et de l'orient se sont révoltées, et que les successeurs de ce prince n'ont régné que sur les pays placés entre ces deux extrémités.

Bibliothèq. Orientale, au mot Manougeher, p. 550.

A. C. 728. Le règne d'Artynes, successeur d'Artée, fut de vingt-deux ans. L'histoire n'en a point conservé les événemens, mais la chronologie y fixe l'époque de Déjocès; et nous laisse entrevoir combien la dynastie

dynastie des Arbacides perdoit tous les jours de son ancienne grandeur.

Astibaras, huitième successeur d'Arbace, occupa le trône de Suse quarante ans. Son règne fut distingué par la révolte des Parthes, nation belliqueuse et inconstante, qui conservoit trop bien l'idée de son origine Scythique pour ne pas préférer la domination des Saques à celle des Mèdes. Cette défection causa une guerre sanglante entre les deux empires, qui fit répandre très inutilement beaucoup de sang, et qui finit enfin par l'épuisement des deux partis. Le traité de paix rendit les Parthes à leurs anciens maîtres, et les deux nations se jurèrent une amitié éternelle. Cette guerre, qui ressemble à tant d'autres, ne sert qu'à nous faire connoître les forces qui restoient encore au trône chancelant de Suse. Diodore de Sicile nous a conservé le caractère intéressant de la souveraine qui régnoit alors sur les Saques: elle s'appelloit Zarine.* Avant son règne sa nation étoit le mépris de ses voisins. Elle en devint la terreur. Sa force et sa valeur étonnoient ces barbares, parmi qui une éducation rude, et des travaux perpétuels égalisoient les deux sexes. Mais des vertus inconnues dans ces climats les étonnèrent bien davantage. Elle adoucit les mœurs de ses sujets. Des villes florissantes s'élevèrent sous ses auspices, et les Saques éprouvèrent pour la première fois les douceurs de la paix et des arts.

A. C. 706.

Diodor. Sicul. l. ii. p. 147, 148.

* Les mots de Czar et de Czarine appartiennent aux langues Tartares.

Voltaire Hist. de Pierre I. t. 1. p. 63.

La

La reconnoissance éternelle de son peuple, un tombeau superbe, et des honneurs divins furent la récompense de ces bienfaits. Telle fut Zarine. Ce point de vue sous lequel nous l'avons considéré est grand sans être romanesque. Je rougis d'y mêler une intrigue amoureuse sur laquelle Ctesias s'est étendu avec la complaisance d'un rhéteur Grec, et que M. Boivin l'ainé nous a donnée de nouveau dans un style précieux et digne du grand Scuderi lui-même. Là voici cependant en peu de mots. Stryangée, gendre d'Astibaras, commandoit les armées Mèdes dans la guerre contre les Saques. Dans une bataille il sauva la vie à Zarine. Ils s'aimèrent. Après la guerre ils se virent à la capitale des Saques; mais le Mède amoureux exigea un prix de ses services que la princesse, aussi vertueuse qu'elle étoit belle, ne voulut jamais lui accorder. Stryangée se livra à son désespoir, lui écrivit ses derniers reproches, et se tua. Cet amour de romans, étranger aux mœurs de l'orient, a rarement décidé des événemens de la politique, et du destin des grands hommes. La gloire, l'intérêt, la vertu quelquefois; voilà leurs tyrans. Le Dieu de l'amour se retire, en soupirant, à l'oisiveté d'une vie obscure et privée.

V. Nicol. Dam. in Excerptis Vales. p. 436—440. cum notis. Vales. p. 65. Mémoires de Littérature, t. ii. p. 64—80.

A. C. 666. Diodor. Sicul. l. ii. p. 143.

Astibaras laissa le trône des Mèdes à son fils Aspadas. Si nous en croyons Diodore, ce prince n'est pas différent d'Astyage, l'ayeul du grand Cyrus. Mais il paroît que Diodore n'a cherché ici qu'à concilier deux auteurs, qu'il entendoit mal, et que cette identité prétendue n'est point appuyée sur l'autorité de Ctesias. Cet historien, qui suivoit

voit une ortographe différente de celle des Grecs, à l'égard du nom d'Astyage, ne s'en écartoit cependant qu'en le nommant Astiagas. Dans notre système le règne d'Aspadas a précédé de 106 ans, celui de Cyrus. Il semble que l'historien n'a compté l'existence des états que par leur grandeur, et qu'il dédaignoit de continuer une suite de rois dont le lustre s'éclipsoit tous les jours devant la dynastie naissante d'Agbatane. Je vais y porter toute mon attention ; sans perdre de vue ces rois d'Elam ou de Suse dans lesquels je retrouve toujours les successeurs d'Arbace.* Phot. Bibl. p. 108.

C'est ici qu'Hérodote va nous tenir lieu de Ctesias. Une curiosité insatiable avoit conduit cet historien aux extrémités de l'Asie : il a interrogé toutes les nations sur leur origine et leur histoire ; ses écrits sont encore le dépôt précieux de leurs traditions, de leurs fables et de leurs préjugés.

* Je dois une explication générale au lecteur. Tout ce système, je le regarde comme assez vraisemblable. Mais j'y distingue très clairement plusieurs dégrés de vraisemblances, qui vont en diminuant. Les voici tels qu'ils se sont placés dans mon esprit. 1. Vers l'an 900, Arbace, général des Mèdes, fonda un empire très puissant dans la haute Asie sur les débris de celui des Assyriens. Cet empire s'affoiblit vers l'an 750 ; cent ans après, il ne méritoit plus d'attention des historiens. 2. Cette dynastie Mède de Ctesias, est la race Pischadienne des Persans. 3. Suse étoit la capitale de cet empire, que les Grecs ont nommé Memnonien. 4. Il se réduisit enfin au royaume d'Elam ou de Suse ; tributaire des Babyoniens selon l'Ecriture et Xénophon. Si l'on craint d'adopter ces dernières conséquences, on peut s'arrêter à la troisième, à la seconde, ou même à la première qui a prêté aux autres plus de forces qu'elles n'en reçoit.

Voici

Voici les idées qu'il nous a laissées de la formation
Herodot. l. i. c. 95. de la monarchie des Mèdes: " Les Assyriens (dit il) étoient maîtres de la haute Asie, depuis cinq cens vingt ans, lorsque les Mèdes donnèrent les premiers l'exemple de la révolte. Leur liberté fut le prix de plus d'une victoire, mais cette liberté ne fut pour eux qu'une licence effrénée, ou plutôt qu'une
C. 96. anarchie sans loix et sans magistrats; dans laquelle personne n'étoit indépendant parceque chacun vouloit l'être. Partout la violence fouloit aux pieds la timide équité, et l'homme rendu à sa première égalité, apprit qu'un maître est pour lui-même un frein nécessaire. Des talens extraordinaires attiroient seuls un hommage volontaire. La jeunesse obéissoit à ce chef, parcequ'il s'étoit déjà distingué à leur tête; les particuliers soumettoient leurs différens à la décision de cet autre vieillard, dont ils révéroient la vertu et l'expérience. Déjoce se distinguoit parmi ces derniers. Sa voix sembloit être l'organe de la justice. Bientôt sa réputation franchit les limites du canton qu'il habitoit. De tous côtés on voyoit accourir les Mèdes à son tribunal. Sans force, sans licteurs, il étoit devenu l'unique juge de la nation. Cet homme habile, qui cachoit sous une simplicité apparente une ambition extrême, sentit sans peine combien il étoit
Hérodot. l. i. c. 97. nécessaire à ses compatriotes. Pour leur faire connoître un bien par sa privation, il se dérobe tout d'un coup aux importunités des plaideurs, qui l'accabloient (disoit-il) d'affaires, qui lui étoient étrangères. La retraite d'un seul homme déchaine de nouveau la licence et le crime. Une assemblée générale

générale fut enfin convoquée, pour découvrir un remède efficace aux maux qu'on ne pouvoit plus endurer. Tout se disposoit à une révolution, et les amis de Déjoce paroissoient ceux de la nation, lorsqu'ils proposèrent l'élection d'un roi, dont le règne ne seroit que celui des loix. Ce conseil fut reçu avec l'acclamation générale de l'assemblée; et Déjoce consentit enfin à se charger du fardeau pesant de la royauté. C. 98. Il fonda la ville d'Agbatane, défendue par sept enceintes, qui s'élevoient les unes au-dessus des autres. C. 99. Ce fut dans la dernière que ce prince établit son séjour. Pendant un long règne de cinquante-trois ans, les Mèdes ne le voyoient plus; mais son esprit actif et éclairé sembloit être présent partout, et animoit toutes les parties de son gouvernement. Un pareil système de politique n'est pas celui d'un conquérant. Déjoce ne le fut point. C. 100. Il ne laissa à son fils Phraorte que des peuples que le C. 101. respect et l'amour lui avoient soumis. Ils étoient partagés en six tribus: les Buzæ, Paretaceni, Stuchates, Arizanti, Budii et Magi." Voilà l'abrégé du récit d'Hérodote, pur et sans mélange étranger. Avant que de prononcer sur le système d'un auteur il faut l'étudier en lui-même; maxime assez simple, mais qu'on a rarement suivie. Qu'il me soit permis à présent d'y joindre quelques réflexions.

1. Hérodote n'a point indiqué la durée de cet état d'anarchie parmi les Mèdes. Il doit avoir fini par l'élection de Déjoce l'an 710 avant J. C. mais nous n'avons rien qui nous aide à fixer le terme auquel il a commencé. Dans cet extrait infidèle, que Diodore nons a laissé du système d'Hérodote, Diod. Sicul. l. ii. p. 145, 146.

d'Hérodote, il accorde à cette autonomie une durée de plusieurs générations : les critiques modernes, aussi avares du tems que les anciens en étoient prodigues, l'ont extrêmement rétréci. Usserius réduit cet interrègne à trente-sept ans, et Prideaux lui assigne à peine une année entière. Le calcul de Diodore n'est fondé que sur un sort de convenance. Le récit d'Hérodote le remplit très bien et paroît même l'exiger. Ceux qui cherchent à concilier cet historien avec son rival Ctesias, doivent trouver ici leur point de réunion. Il n'est pas difficile à le saisir. Cet Arbace, destructeur de l'empire de Ninève, aura suivi dans toutes ses actions cet esprit de modération qui le distingue de tous les usurpateurs. Il aura accordé à ses compatriotes la liberté, digne prix de ce sang qu'ils avoient versé pour le placer sur le trône de l'Asie.*

Usserii Annales ad an. 747 et 710. Prideaux's Connection. vol.i.p.20.

2. Si nous joignons aux lumières de la critique, la connoissance de l'homme, nous verrons sans peine qu'un vaste pays tel que la Médie, n'a jamais pu rentrer dans l'état de la nature après avoir porté pendant plus de cinq siècles le joug des loix. Les révolutions changent le contrat politique, mais elles n'ont jamais brisé les liens du contrat social. Le premier n'est appuyé que sur la crainte ou le préjugé. L'habitude et l'intérêt de chacun assurent la

* Voici une circonstance qui fortifie notre conjecture. Diodore nous assure qu'Arbace attira les Persans dans la révolte par l'espoir de la liberté. Selon ce même historien Parsondas étoit Persan, Nicolas de Damas en fait un Mède. Si nous avions encore le texte de Ctesias, nous y verrions peut-être qu'Arbace affranchit ses compatriotes plutôt que les Persans.

Diodor. Sic. l. ii. p. 138, 146. Nicol. Damas. in Excerpt. Val.

durée

durée éternelle du second. Dès qu'il est formé il fait partie de la constitution de l'homme, qui y tient également et par ses vices et par ses vertus. Pour rendre la vraisemblance au récit d'Hérodote, je dois supposer qu'il ne s'agit que de quelques tribus de barbares, enfermées dans les forêts et les montagnes de la Médie, qui n'avoient jamais formé une société politique, et que ces sauvages belliqueux, excités par la voix d'Arbace, descendirent en foule dans la plaine pour briser leurs fers, et ceux de l'Asie entière. Ils y rapportèrent, avec la gloire du succès, le principe des vices qui les forcèrent enfin à préférer la tyrannie à l'anarchie. Cette explication naturelle en elle-même n'a rien que de très analogue au tableau général de l'Asie. Le système de M. de Bougainville s'y prête très heureusement. Il y acquiert même un air de franchise et d'aisance, dont il avoit besoin. Dès qu'on établit la distinction des Mèdes, on y voit le germe des deux dynasties collatérales; les Mèdes des montagnes sont ceux d'Hérodote, pendant que les Mèdes de la plaine (c'est à dire de la partie la plus étendue de la province) ont passé sous les loix d'Arbace, et qu'ils ont donné leur nom à la dynastie de Ctesias dont ce prince est le fondateur. Ctesias est descendu de Ninus à Aspadas, en suivant le fil de l'histoire; Hérodote est remonté de Cyrus à Déjoce, en suivant celui de la tradition. Ces deux lignes parallèles ne se sont jamais touché: et par une erreur assez naturelle, chacun des écrivains a cru qu'il n'existoit rien au-delà de ce qu'il voyoit.

3. Dans

3. Dans le récit d'Hérodote tout est naturel et instructif: ce pacte solennel entre le prince et le peuple, que les philosophes supposent partout ailleurs, mais que l'historien ne trouve que dans l'élection de Déjoce; l'anarchie qui se change tout d'un coup en despotisme par l'impétuosité d'un peuple barbare, qui ne sent jamais que le mal actuel, et qui ne sait pas se dépouiller d'une partie de sa puissance: enfin l'art raffiné du nouveau monarque qui cache aux regards profanes l'homme et ses foiblesses, pour ne leur montrer dans un lointain obscur et révéré que le juge et le souverain.

4. La chronologie de cette dynastie n'est pas cependant sans difficultés. Si le texte d'Hérodote n'est pas corrompu, cet historien se contredit en nous laissant deux calculs contradictoires. Il est certain que la somme collective des règnes de ses quatre rois ne monte qu'à 150 ans. Déjoce, le premier, en remplit 53; il en reste 97 pour le règne de Phraorte et de ses deux successeurs, c'est à dire pour la durée de l'empire des Mèdes sur la haute Asie, puisqu'Hérodote lui-même nous assure de trois façons différentes, que ce Phraorte fut le premier conquérant de la dynastie. Cependant ce même Hérodote nous apprend, que lorsque Astyage fut détrôné par Cyrus, les Mèdes avoient régné sur la haute Asie 128 ans. Il faut choisir. Je choisis sans peine le calcul général.* Mais il est permis d'embrasser l'hypothèse qui concilie les

Herodot. l. i. c. 101. 102.

Id. l. i. c. 130.

* Voici ma raison. Ce nombre unique peut être erroné; je le sais, mais des quatre membres du calcul particulier chacun peut l'être. J'ai trois dégrés de vraisemblance contre un.

deux

deux calculs avec la moindre erreur possible. C'est ainsi que j'adopte les quatre termes particuliers des quatre règnes de la dynastie, en supposant seulement que la mémoire d'Hérodote l'a trompé sur leur application. Selon ce principe de la saine critique, je vois clairement que Déjoce a régné vingt-deux ans au lieu de Phraorte. Il est effectivement assez peu naturel qu'un vieillard, dont la sagesse et l'équité ont preparé la grandeur, ait pu régner 53 ans. Il nous reste pour les trois autres règnes les 128 dont nous avons besoin. Tous les détails du règne de Cyaxare nous convaincront, combien il a de droits aux années de Déjoce. On ne peut que laisser à Astyage ses 35 ans de règne. Les 40 qui restent à Phraorte suffisent pour les conquêtes de ce prince guerrier. Je vais mettre devant les yeux, cette nouvelle chronologie de la dynastie, et l'on décidera sur la hardiesse et la nécessité de mes changemens.

Chronologie vulgaire.	*Ma Chronologie.*
710 Déjoce - - 53	710 Déjoce - - 22
657 Phraorte - 22	688 Phraorte - 40
	Empire des Mèdes 128 ans.
635 Cyaxare - 40	548 Cyaxare - 53
595 Astyage - 35	595 Astyage - 35
560 Cyrus.	

5. Voilà des difficultés qui ne sont que trop réelles; mais il y en a d'imaginaires qui ont embarrassé les plus grands hommes de ce siècle. Eschyle écrivit *les Perses* de la même main avec laquelle il avoit combattu aux rivages de Salamine.

J'admire avec les hommes de génie la vérité énergique de cette tragédie, et j'oublie en sa faveur cette règle timide du goût qui défend de traiter les sujets contemporains. On y a cru voir je ne sais quel dénombrement des prédécesseurs de Cyrus, qui ne s'accorde pas avec la chronologie d'Hérodote. Eh bien, Eschyle, poëte et soldat, s'étoit trompé en recueillant sans attention les premiers bruits de la renommée! Au lieu de prendre un parti aussi naturel, le Chevalier Newton a supposé qu'Asytage étoit fils de Phraorte, et père du Cyaxare d'Hérodote. Le Chevalier Marsham s'y est pris avec bien plus d'artifice. Il a créé deux Cyaxares, deux Astyages, et un royaume des Medo-Perses inconnu à toute l'antiquité. Il seroit facile de ruiner ces deux systêmes, mais il n'est pas nécessaire. Les édifices bâtis sur le sable s'écroulent par leur propre poids.

Chronology of Ancient Kingdoms, p. 307–312. Marsham, Canon Chronicus, p. 604.

A.J.C.688. Herodot. l. i. c. 102.

Phraorte, successeur de Déjoce, ne se contenta point des états de son père. Les Persans furent sa première conquête; et cette nation belliqueuse se rangea sous ses drapeaux, et lui prépara de nouvelles victoires. Nous avons des preuves que dès l'an 670, l'Arménie, le Pont, et la Cappadoce reconnoissoient ses loix. Ce fut ainsi qu'il jetta les fondemens d'un empire qui s'étendoit du fleuve Halys, jusqu'aux déserts de la Parthie. On peut conjecturer que la vaine ombre qui restoit encore de la monarchie des Arbacides, s'obscurcissoit à la vue de ses progrès; mais il sembleroit que le roi d'Ecbatane épargna leurs débris, et qu'il préféra la gloire de porter les derniers coups à l'ancien empire de

de Ninève. Un revers affreux l'attendoit sous les murs de cette capitale. Les Assyriens ne comptoient plus tous les peuples de l'orient au nombre de leurs esclaves; mais il leur restoit encore des forces et du courage. Ils marchèrent à la rencontre des Mèdes. Phraorte perdit dans une seule bataille le fruit de toutes ses victoires. Il y périt avec la plus grande partie de son armée.

Un synchronisme aussi bien constaté qu'il est intéressant se présente ici, et nous sert à lier l'histoire de la Grèce avec celle de l'Asie. La liberté Messénienne luttoit depuis quatre-vingt ans contre la tyrannie des Spartiates. Aristomène soutenoit seul la cause chancelante de sa patrie; mais ce grand homme se vit enfin réduit à sortir de cet asyle, la citadelle d'Ira, qu'il avoit défendu pendant onze ans. Il laissa partir la jeunesse de Messène, sous la conduite de son fils, pour aller chercher un établissement sur les côtes de l'Italie. Pour lui il se retira à Rhodes, mais non point y goûter les douceurs du repos. Il n'avoit survécu à sa patrie que pour la venger, et pour susciter dans tout l'univers des ennemis aux Spartiates. Il se préparoit à passer auprès d'Ardyes, roi de Lydie, et de Phraorte, roi des Mèdes. Il espéroit d'intéresser ces princes à sa querelle; et d'armer tout l'orient contre les destructeurs de Messène. La mort arrêta tous ses projets. Il seroit inutile de rechercher si cette expédition auroit eu un sort plus heureux que celle de Xerxes. Qu'il nous suffise ici de remarquer, que la réputation de Phraorte, sa puissance, et ses victoires, sont établies par la

Ant. C. 665. Pausanias, l. iv. p. 242, 261. Marsham, Can. Chronicus, p. 554. 560. Freret, Défense de la Chronol. Ancienne, p. 174.

seule idée d'Aristomène, qui détestoit trop les Spartiates pour leur préparer un triomphe facile. Nous n'avons rien de mieux constaté dans l'histoire ancienne que la seconde guerre de Messène, dont les détails sont appuyés du témoignage des contemporains. Elle finit l'an 668 avant J. C. et la mort d'Aristomène la suivit de fort près.

Ant. C. 648. Herodot. l. i. c. 103. La nouvelle monarchie des Mèdes étoit perdue si le fils de Phraorte n'avoit pas été un grand homme. Cyaxare vit bien qu'il étoit nécessaire d'ajouter la discipline à la valeur. Avant lui, les armées n'étoient qu'une foule de soldats, distingués seulement par nations, et par tribus. Ce prince introduisit parmi ses troupes les loix d'une nouvelle tactique. Chaque arme eut sa place marquée, et l'on vit, pour la première fois, des corps de cavalerie, d'archers, et de ceux qui se servoient du javelot. Cette tactique étoit cependant bien grossière, et la manière de combattre des Asiatiques annonçoit aussi peu d'art que de bravoure. La journée se passoit à se tirer de loin, jusqu'à ce que le plus foible se retirât, sans avoir jamais vu l'ennemi de près. Cyaxare a dû employer, pour le moins, quatre ans à tous ces travaux importans et préliminaires; à ranimer le courage des Mèdes, à former sa nouvelle armée, à la discipliner, et à lui inspirer une confiance, avant-coureur de la victoire.

Ant. C. 644. Sans perdre de vue l'idée d'agrandir sa puissance, en vengeant la mort de son père, il voulut commencer par essayer ses forces contre des ennemis moins redoutables que les Assyriens. Il parcourut toutes les provinces de son empire, qu'il soumit aux

aux loix qu'elles avoient méprisées depuis la mort de Phraorte. Enfin il osa attaquer les Assyriens, les vainquit dans un grand combat et mit le siège devant Ninève. Cette ville fut sur le point de succomber, lorsque Cyaxare fut rappellé à la défense de ses états par une irruption des Scythes. Ces barbares enlevèrent l'empire de la haute Asie aux Mèdes, et pénétrèrent même jusqu'aux frontières de l'Egypte. Cyaxare souffrit avec impatience le joug de ce peuple féroce pendant vingt-huit ans. Il attendit le moment de la vengeance. Il le trouva enfin dans un festin, qu'il prépara pour les chefs de la nation. Ils y furent massacrés, et cette démarche hardie et bien soutenue rendit à Cyaxare cet empire qu'il avoit perdu. Il s'en servit pour reprendre ses projets contre les Assyriens, qu'il n'avoit jamais perdus de vue. Il se fortifia par une alliance avec le Roi de Babylone, et réunissant ses forces avec les siennes, ils formèrent de concert le siège de Ninève. Ce fut alors que la monarchie et la ville de Ninus périrent pour ne se jamais rétablir; après avoir subsisté 1360 ans depuis leur première fondation. Je me suis contenté d'indiquer ces faits. Je ne pourrois rien ajouter aux éclaircissemens de plusieurs de nos savans ; et je n'ai pas envie de les répéter. Par la même raison, je passerai sous silence la guerre des Mèdes contre Alyatte, roi de Lydie. L'inquiétude et la jalousie y donnèrent lieu. On se battit six ans de suite. La lassitude et la superstition disposèrent enfin les esprits à la paix. Cyaxare mourut bientot après. Il laissa un empire affermi et un nom illustre. Il

Herodot. C. 104. Ant. C. 604. Herodot. C. 105. C. 106. Ant. C. 612. Ant. C. 608. V. Scaliger, Usserius, Prideaux, Marsham, Newton, Freret. &c. Ant. C. 602. Ant. C. 597. Ant. C. 595. Herodot. C. 107.

le méritoit par la fermeté pleine d'habileté et de ressources avec laquelle il avoit soutenu et la prospérité et les revers.

Je ne m'arrête qu'un instant sur l'irruption des Scythes. C'est en vain qu'on a voulu refuser aux peuples du Nord cette force et ce courage physique, qui les a rendus tant de fois maîtres de la terre.* Dans les conquêtes des Romains ou des Arabes, je ne vois qu'un courage d'institution, et des vertus d'autant plus héroïques, qu'elles sont l'ouvrage d'une législation sublime. Les Scythes ont rarement connu d'autres loix que celles des lions de leurs déserts; le sentiment de leur force, et la soif du carnage. Un conquérant s'élève sur les bords glacés des mers de la Corée; le tonnerre gronde, la terre s'ébranle, mille nations se précipitent les unes sur les autres, et les derniers des fuyards écrasent le midi, l'orient et l'occident. Les hommes amollis par les arts, par le luxe, et par le climat, cherchent vainement une retraite contre la cavalerie rapide et les flêches inévitables des Scythes. La résistance et la fuite leur sont également fatales. C'est ainsi que, précédés de la terreur, armés du glaive destructeur et suivis de la désolation, Tamerlan, Jenghiz, et avant eux le Madyes d'Hérodote, ont parcouru l'Asie étonnée. C'est ainsi qu'avec cet enthousiasme qui fait les poëtes et les

* Ecoutons Lucain.

Pharsal. l. viii. v. 363.

Omnis, in Arctois, populus, quicunque pruinis
Nascitur; indomitus bellis, et Martis amator.
Quidquid ad Eoos tractus, mundique leporem
Labitur, emollit gentes clementia cœli.

pro-

prophètes Jérémie les a décrit: " Des hommes féroces, dont le langage inconnu ressemble au bruit des flots irrités, qui ne connoissent ni la crainte ni la pitié, et dont le carquois redoutable est un tombeau toujours ouvert pour les nations." V. Jérémie. c. iv. v. vi.

Il me paroît que la mémoire de cette première expédition s'étoit conservée dans les traditions Tartares, et que leur Oguz Khan n'est pas différent du Madyes des Grecs. On y voit que ce conquérant, après avoir soumis les Indes et le Turkistan, passa l'Oxus avec une armée nombreuse; et se rendit maître de toutes les provinces jusqu'aux frontières de l'Egypte. Il s'arrêta longtems dans la ville de Damas, où il désigna les successeurs de son vaste empire. Il mourut enfin accablé d'ans et de gloire. Ses enfans partagèrent les conquêtes du père, et il n'est plus fait mention de ces conquêtes. Toutes ces circonstances conviennent parfaitement avec l'histoire de Madyes, et ne conviennent qu'à lui. Dans le dernier trait on apperçoit la cause de la chute de cet empire. Cyaxare avoit redouté les Scythes, réunis sous les drapeaux de Madyes; divisés par ses foibles successeurs, il les détruit sans peine. His. Geneal. des Tartar. par Abulghozi Khan, p. 11, c. 2, 3.

Je sens qu'à cette conjecture l'on se recriera l'ignorance des Tartares, et l'incertitude de leur histoire jusqu'au règne de Jenghiz Khan. Je n'opposerai à ce préjugé qu'un fait unique dans son espèce, puisqu'il nous permet de considérer le même événement confié à la tradition d'un peuple barbare, et raconté dans les annales contemporaines de ses voisins; c'est le rétablissement de l'empire Turc ou Mogol dans Voy. M. de Guignes, Histoire des Huns, tom. ii. l. i. & v.

le septième siècle; ces barbares avoient fidelèment conservé tous les grands traits de cette révolution; la destruction de l'empire Mogol, l'asyle que les débris de la nation trouvèrent dans les montagnes, le terme précis de 458 ans qu'ils y passèrent, et leur sortie qui arriva vingt générations, c'est à dire 700 ans avant la naissance de Jenghiz. L'histoire Chinoise et Grecque les justifie sur tous ces détails, et n'enlève qu'un vernis merveilleux, dont les Mogols avoient embelli une circonstance assez humiliante pour leurs ancêtres. Dans nos systêmes de critique ou de logique nous établissons trop aisément des règles générales, sur notre façon de sentir. Nous ne concevons pas assez qu'une jeunesse passionnée pour la gloire militaire écoutoit avec transport les exploits de ses ayeux, qu'elle brûloit de surpasser; et que ces récits se gravoient avec des traits de feu dans ces âmes fortes, simples, et peu chargées d'idées étrangères.

Il me paroît que ce même Madyes, l'Oguz des Tartares, est aussi cet Apherasiab si fameux dans les romans Persans: mais cet esprit de fiction, qui dédaigne la vérité historique, ne permet point de compter sur les détails de ses exploits, et feroit presque douter de son existence. Il semble pourtant que cet Apherasiab détruisit la première dynastie, et qu'après avoir ravagé impunément la Perse, il fut enfin détruit par Kai Kaus, dans les montagnes de la Médie. Si les Pischadiens s'identifient avec les Arbacides, je vois ici un événement très naturel. L'irruption des Scythes ébranla tous les trônes de l'Asie; la jeunesse vigoureuse de ceux

V. d'Herbelot. Bibl. Orient. au mot Afrasiab, p. 65. Rostam, p. 719. Kai Kaus, p. 235, et la suite des rois Caianides jusqu'à Kischtasb. A. C. 640.

ceux de Babylone et d'Agbatane, les soutint au milieu de l'orage, mais la première dynastie des Mèdes, déjà foible et languissante, ne se releva jamais de sa chute. La plûpart des romanciers Persans semblent avoir vécu dans les provinces orientales. L'empire y périt sans retour; mais semblable à celui des successeurs de Constantin, il perdoit tous les jours une partie de son existence, jusqu'au terme fatal que les fauxbourgs de sa capitale devenoient sa frontière. C'est ainsi que la dynastie d'Arbace se vit enfin renfermée dans la petite province de la Susiane ou d'Elymais; lorsque Nabuchodonosor, roi de Babylone, en fit la conquête. Il se contenta cependant d'y établir un roi tributaire qui gouvernoit, soumis à son autorité, les tristes débris de ce vaste empire. Les prophètes Juifs, qui annonçèrent cette révolution, ont exalté la puissance et la réputation du royaume d'Elam; sa gloire passée ne servoit qu'à rendre sa chute plus déplorable. Nous lisons dans Alexandre Polyhistor, que le grand Nabuchodonosor invita Astibares, roi des Mèdes, à l'accompagner dans sa guerre contre les Juifs. Dans ce nom d'Astibares, on ne peut pas méconnoître les Mèdes de Ctesias. Lorsque le Roi de Babylone assembla ses forces, pour marcher contre la Palestine et la Phénicie; il étoit très naturel qu'il convoquât tous les princes, vassaux de son empire. Si l'on veut mettre Astibaras de ce nombre, on auroit de la peine à lui trouver une situation aussi vraisemblable que celle de roi d'Elam, ou de Suse. Si l'amour d'une système ne me séduit point, je vois ici un enchainement de faits

A. C. 612.

A. C. 598. Jérémie, c. xlix, 34, 39. Prideaux's Connections, vol. i. p. 63. Sir I. Newton's Chron. p. 314.

Euseb. Præ. Evang. l. 9. A. C. 588.

faits qui unit la défaite de Sardanapale avec les conquêtes de Nabuchodonosor et de Cyrus.

A. C. 595. Astyage, le fils de Cyaxare, remplit sans gloire un trône qu'il devoit aux vertus de ses pères. Il est mieux connu par sa qualité de prédécesseur de Cyrus; de ce Cyrus qui réunit sous ses loix les monarchies de Médie, de Lydie, et de Babylone, et qui laissa dans toute l'Asie un nom qui a survécu à la ruine de son empire. On connoit les relations contradictoires qu'Hérodote, Ctesias, et Xénophon nous ont transmis de ses exploits. Il y a peu de lectures aussi intéressantes et aussi utiles que la Cyropédie du dernier de ces écrivains. La philosophie s'y montre parée de la main des graces. Mais la muse de l'histoire a-t-elle présidé à ce travail? N'y doit-on chercher que la morale, à laquelle son auteur a prêté les attraits d'une fiction ingénieuse? C'est une question qui a toujours partagé les esprits; mais à laquelle on ne peut répondre, qu'après un examen réfléchi de l'ouvrage et des vues de l'écrivain. Je m'en occuperai quelques instans; mon sujet principal m'y conduit; et nous rapporterons, de cette recherche, quelques idées de goût et de philosophie, propres à nous dédommager de ces détails chronologiques auxquels il a fallu se livrer.

Retiré depuis longtems du bruit des armes, Xénophon cultivoit en paix les lettres. Sa première étude étoit celle de l'homme. L'histoire, l'expérience, et la réflexion l'éclairoient dans cette science; qui est d'autant plus difficile qu'elle paroît aisée aux observateurs superficiels. Témoin de tous

tous les malheurs de la Grèce, il réfléchissoit combien il avoit vu de gouvernemens populaires, que les intrigues des grands avoient asservis; combien d'aristocraties renversées par la fureur des peuples; et que parmi les tyrans, le petit nombre de ceux qui conservèrent leur puissance usurpée, passoient pour les plus heureux et les plus sages des hommes. Il ne remarquoit point cet esprit indocile, parmi les troupeaux tranquilles, qui paissoient dans les campagnes de Scillus. De tous les animaux (s'écrioit-il) l'homme est le plus difficile à conduire. Mais lorsqu'il se rappelloit l'exemple de Cyrus qui inspiroit l'amour et la terreur à cent nations obéissantes et heureuses; ah! qu'il est aisé (se disoit-il) de gouverner les hommes lorsque la prudence tient les rênes de l'empire. La conclusion étoit peut-être un peu précipitée. Cyrus régnoit sur des peuples accoutumés à porter le joug de la servitude, qui trembloient devant un maître sévère, et qui versoient des larmes de reconnoissance sur la main qui les protégeoit. Cette fierté d'âme qu'inspire la liberté, n'est que trop souvent capricieuse, cruelle et inconstante. L'admiration de Xénophon lui fit naître une curiosité naturelle d'examiner l'histoire de Cyrus, et les institutions par lesquelles il avoit formé un empire; déchu, à la verité, depuis sa mort, mais qui étoit encore la puissance la plus formidable, qui eut jamais régné sur la terre. La Cyropédie est le fruit de ces recherches, et de ces réflexions. " Nous rapporterons les choses que nous avons apprises et celles qu'il nous semble appercevoir." Ces paroles importantes

Xenophon. Cyropæd. l. i. p. 1, 2, Ed. Hutch.

Cyropæd. l. i. p. 3, 6.

L. i. p. 6.

portantes méritent un plus grand développement. Essayons de le leur donner.

Si nous considérons la Cyropédie sous ce point de vue, qui est celui de son auteur, nous sentirons d'abord qu'un philosophe, qui cherche à rendre raison d'un phénomène historique, n'appuyeroit jamais cette explication sur la fable. Une lecture réfléchie de cet ouvrage, est seule capable de nous convaincre, que c'est par une histoire sérieuse, que Xénophon à prétendu remplir cet objet, aussi intéressant pour ses compatriotes.* Dans cette fameuse expédition, dans laquelle notre historien s'immortalisa avec les dix mille Grecs, qu'il ramena victorieux au sein de leur patrie, il avoit parcouru l'empire Persan les armes à la main. Il avoit étudié les loix, les mœurs, et l'histoire de cette nation célèbre; qui ne conservoit de sa première puissance que le nom et l'orgueil. Nous lisons encore le résumé de ces connoissances dans le tableau énergique par lequel il achève la Cyropédie. Les mœurs de la cour d'Artaxerxe y sont partout contrastées avec la discipline ver-

Cyropæd. l. viii. p. 660, &c. Edit. Hutchin.

* Encore un trait: il me seroit facile de les multiplier. L'expédition Arménienne de Cyrus paroît avoir l'air d'un roman; mais un romancier n'auroit jamais remarqué que les articles de la paix que ce prince fit signer aux Arméniens et aux Chaldéens subsistoient encore, et qu'il étoit du devoir du satrape d'Arménie de les faire observer. C'est une attention que Xénophon a souvent, de constater les traits historiques qu'il rapporte par les vestiges qui s'en étoient conservés. On voit ailleurs que les chansons par lesquelles les barbares célébroient les exploits de Cyrus ne lui avoient pas échappé. Sans doute qu'il les avoit souvent entendu dans sa marche avec l'armée Persanne.

Cyropæd. l. iii. p. 202.

Cyropæd. l. i. p. 6.

tueuse

tueuse des compagnons de Cyrus, et la corruption qu'il décrit des meilleures institutions de ce prince, suppose et prouve l'existence de ces institutions; qui sont liées avec l'histoire et le caractère du fondateur.

Un historien qui offenseroit à chaque instant la géographie et la chronologie, mériteroit peu de confiance. C'est un reproche qu'on a souvent fait à Xénophon, et que le grand Freret n'a pas dédaigné d'examiner. Il a prouvé, de la manière la plus victorieuse, que la géographie de la Cyropédie ne diffère de celle qu'on suit communément que parceque son auteur avoit des connoissances plus approfondies, et plus particulières, sur l'état de l'Asie. Il n'en est pas de même de sa chronologie, que M. Freret sacrifie avec justice peut-être, mais avec un peu trop de rigueur. Xénophon n'a point marqué les époques des conquêtes de Cyrus; mais dans la chaleur de sa narration, il semble les avoir rapproché un peu trop les unes des autres. La critique doit respecter les bornes des différens genres; et ne pas exiger d'un ouvrage de goût, cette précision sévère qu'elle s'attend à trouver dans une dissertation chronologique. Hérodote ne seroit pas moins coupable que Xénophon. La révolution de la Médie, le dessein de Crésus d'en tirer vengeance, les ambassades, la guerre, et la prise de Sardès, se succèdent avec une telle rapidité que l'historien semble à peine accorder trois à quatre ans à tous ces événemens, qui en ont rempli une quinzaine. Un censeur un peu indulgent pardonneroit à l'auteur de la Cyropédie, d'avoir

V. ses dissert. sur la Cyropédie dans Mémoires de l'Académie des Belles Lettres. Tom. iv. et xi.

Etudiez Herodot. l. i. c. 37—92.

d'avoir conservé aussi longtems qu'il l'a pu un air de jeunesse au conquérant de l'Asie. A cet age les vertus sont plus aimables, et les sacrifices qu'on leur fait sont d'un plus grand prix.

Je n'ai garde cependant de penser, que Xénophon se soit contenté du rôle d'un historien. Aux yeux d'un philosophe, les faits composent la partie la moins intéressante de l'histoire. C'est la connoissance de l'homme, la morale, et la politique qu'il y trouve, qui la relèvent dans son esprit. Tâchons de suivre cette idée, et de voir jusqu'à quel point elle conduiroit un écrivain, qui ne voit dans les faits particuliers que la preuve de ses principes généraux.

1. Tout homme de génie qui écrit l'histoire, y répand, peut-être sans s'en appercevoir, le caractère de son esprit. A travers leur variété infinie de passion et de situation, ses personnages semblent n'avoir qu'une façon de penser et de sentir; et cette façon est celle de l'auteur. Le génie de Socrate étoit passé dans l'âme de Xénophon: il règne encore dans la Cyropédie, et l'on pourroit croire que le fondateur de l'empire Persan avoit étudié dans l'académie d'Athènes. Il y a appris cette méthode ingénieuse, qui perce jusqu'aux premiers principes; et qui transporte les idées philosophiques dans tous les arts. Ses raisonnemens consistent dans cette suite artificieuse de questions, par laquelle le plus sage des hommes conduisoit ses élèves aux conclusions qu'il vouloit leur inspirer. On y sent tous les agrémens de sa logique, sa simplicité, son élégance, et sa modestie toujours

toujours victorieuse. On y reconnoît, jusqu'à ses défauts, sa marche foible, timide et traînante; peu faite pour les grands mouvemens de l'âme, incapable d'une éloquence vigoureuse, et plus propre à réfuter des sophistes, qu'à animer des soldats. L'ésprit de cette école n'étoit que trop conforme au caractère de Xénophon, qui avoit des talens sublimes, dépourvus des passions fortes qui semblent être leur aliment naturel. Sa composition est grande et régulière, son coloris est doux et agréable, son dessein est pur, mais son expression est foible. Il décrit les passions plus qu'il ne les peint, et il les peint plus qu'il ne les sent. Si Fenelon avoit eu a traiter l'épisode da la guerre d'Arménie, il auroit effacé l'esprit que Xénophon y a mis pour substituer le sentiment.* Dans un moment important et terrible, Cyrus ne se seroit pas amusé à écouter les sophismes du jeune Tigrane, afin de se ménager le plaisir de les réfuter. De l'école de Socrate, Xénophon étoit passé à l'armée. On ne reconnoît que trop le soldat, et le soldat Grec à toutes les plaisanteries grossières, que la licence des camps, et la franchise militaire enfantoient tous les jours; mais qui nous paroissent froides, dégoûtantes, et indignes d'un ouvrage philosophique sur l'histoire. L'écrivain ne pouvoit les rendre au lecteur accompagnées de toutes les circonstances du moment et du caractère, qui leur avoient donné une sorte de chaleur et d'intérêt.

Cyropæd. l. iii. p. 175.

V. Entre autres Cyropæd. l. ii. p. 119, 136.

* Fenelon auroit conservé un trait de cet épisode. Malheur au lecteur à qui il faille l'indiquer!

2. Lors-

2. Lorsqu'il s'agit d'une histoire, dont les variations permettent quelque liberté à la critique, et même à la conjecture; l'historien philosophe choisira parmi les faits contestés, ceux qui s'accordent le mieux avec ses principes, et ses vues. Le désir de les employer, leur donnera même un dégré d'évidence qu'ils n'ont pas; et la logique du cœur ne l'emportera que trop souvent sur celle de l'esprit. Lorsque la chronologie proscrivoit un trait de morale, Plutarque méprisoit la chronologie; et Voltaire est peu difficile sur ses autorités, quand il s'agit de peindre les artifices des prêtres, les bisarreries de la superstition, et les contradictions de l'esprit humain. Il y avoit plusieurs relations de la vie de Cyrus; celle qui se prêtoit davantage aux vues de Xénophon lui parut sans doute la plus vraisemblable.

3. Les histoires les plus particulières laissent beaucoup à désirer au lecteur curieux. Lorsqu'elles décrivent les faits, il souhaiteroit de connoître les causes les plus cachées qui les ont produit. Il voudroit pénétrer dans les conseils, et jusqu'à dans la pensée de leurs auteurs, pour y voir les circonstances qui ont fait éclorre les plus grands desseins, le but qu'ils se proposoient, les obstacles qu'ils ont rencontré, et les arts par lequels il les ont vaincu. Un esprit philosophique se plaît à suppléer tous ces termes intermédiaires; et à tirer du vrai, le vraisemblable et le possible. S'il donne à ses réflexions la forme d'une histoire, il est obligé de prendre un ton plus ferme. Ses hypothèses deviennent des faits, qui semblent découler des faits généraux et avérés.

avérés. Je tâcherai d'éclaircir cette idée, en suivant la marche naturelle de l'esprit de Xénophon, lorsqu'il décrit l'institution de la cavalerie Persanne. Il savoit que le pays des Perses étoit rude et plein de montagnes, que les chevaux y étoient très rares, et que les troupes de cette nation, dans le tems qu'elle entreprit ses conquêtes, n'ont pu consister qu'en infanterie. Il voyoit cependant que déjà sous le règne de Cyrus, leur cavalerie étoit nombreuse et bien disciplinée, que les premiers de la nation ne paroissoient jamais qu'à cheval, et que cet art faisoit un objet des plus importans de l'éducation de leur jeunesse. Sans doute (se disoit-il) leur fondateur, grand capitaine et prince habile, fut l'auteur de cette institution, si nécessaire pour donner à ses troupes, à tous égards, la supériorité sur les autres peuples de l'Asie. Il aura choisi (continua-t-il) un moment favorable à ses desseins. Le lendemain (par exemple) d'une victoire, qui leur avoit livré un camp ennemi rempli d'excellens chevaux, quand les fantassins Persans s'impatientoient de voir la cavalerie des alliés, qui rentroit chargée du butin, qu'elle avoit fait à la poursuite des ennemis, si dans cet instant, Cyrus avoit assemblé les chefs de l'armée, s'il leur avoit mis devant les yeux, leurs besoins, la facilité d'y satisfaire, et les avantages qui en résulteroient; voilà l'époque de la cavalerie Persanne. Xénophon a deviné les circonstances d'un fait, tel qu'il a dû arriver; les conjectures d'un philosophe, qui connoissoit l'histoire, les hommes, et la guerre, sont d'un poids peu

Cyropæd. l. iv. p. 271—280.

L. i. p. 20.

Herodot. l. i. c. 136.

inférieur au témoignage d'un écrivain partial, ou mal-instruit.

Je reconnois en même tems, qu'un homme d'esprit poussera trop loin les conséquences de ses conjectures; et que les vues de ses personnages, s'étendront aussi loin que les siennes. Cyrus sentit qu'il ne pouvoit multiplier ses forces, qu'en changeant la nature de ses armes. Il forma une infanterie, dont les armes pesantes n'étoient redoutables que de près. Il disciplina bientôt cette phalange, par les loix d'une nouvelle tactique, qui réunissoit la légèreté des mouvemens avec la solidité des masses. Je crains que Xénophon, rempli de son objet, ne leur ait prêté tous les raffinemens de la phalange Spartiate, auxquels ces barbares ne parvinrent jamais.

Cyropæd. l. ii. p. 106, &c.

4. L'historien d'un grand homme est presque toujours son ami. Le sculpteur se prosterne devant son ouvrage. Ce raffinement d'amour-propre est aussi connu qu'il paroît singulier. Lorsque l'historien philosophe se propose un système de politique, ou de morale, les exceptions particulières qu'une vérité odieuse lui montre, l'accablent de leur poids importun; il les affoiblit, il les dissimule, il les fait enfin disparoître, pour ne voir que le genre de faits qui convient à son but. On est en droit de supposer cette foiblesse au philosophe. Ce philosophe est homme et écrivain. Mais en s'écartant de la vérité, il la respecte toujours; il ne s'en éloigne qu'à regret; il ne se permet que des erreurs douces, insensibles et nécessaires. Le fondateur

fondateur de l'empire Persan offroit le plus beau modèle des vertus guerrières et politiques. En rassemblant les traits, dont Hérodote et les autres historiens ont composé son portrait; nous y découvrirons un grand homme, qui n'a dû son élévation prodigieuse qu'à lui-même, à son activité, à son éloquence, à sa connoissance profonde de l'art de la guerre; un prince dont la prudence affermit son nouvel empire; et dont la modération lui mérita le titre glorieux de Père de ses sujets. Frappé de ce caractère sublime, Xénophon s'est attaché à développer le plan qu'il a suivi, et à trouver dans toute son histoire, l'art de vaincre et de régner. Cette idée systématique l'a bientôt égaré: elle a fait disparoître des succès de Cyrus le hasard, l'erreur, la foiblesse et les revers. Un juste équilibre s'établit entre chaque événement, et sa cause; et cette cause se retrouve toujours dans les vues exactes et réfléchies de ce héros. Voilà ce qu'on a osé nommer un système vraisemblable. Un homme parfaitement sage et parfaitement heureux seroit un monstre cent fois plus chimérique que ceux d'Ovide. Mais il n'est pas nécessaire d'embrasser cette idée dans toute sa rigueur. Xénophon admiroit avec raison un corps lumineux; l'esprit dans lequel il le considéroit, ne lui permettoit pas d'en observer les tâches.

Herodot. l. i. *passim.* l. iii. c. 89, &c. Diodor. Sicul. in Fragment. Vales. p. 238. Nicol. Damas. in Frag. Val. p. 454.

On a cru que Xénophon a voulu rassembler dans le caractère de Cyrus, les vertus d'un sage, aussi bien que les talens d'un conquérant, et d'un législateur. Hélas! s'il l'eut fait, Xénophon ne seroit que trop bien convaincu de n'avoir composé qu'un

roman. La plûpart des modernes ont adopté cette idée, sur la foi d'un orateur, dont les éloquens ouvrages se ressentent quelquefois d'un travail précipité. Cicéron a dit que sous le nom du règne de Cyrus, Xénophon a voulu décrire celui de la justice. Chacun a répété; sous le nom du règne de Cyrus, Xénophon a voulu décrire celui de la justice. Cet écho s'est perpétué de siècle en siècle;* et le bon Rollin lui-même, cet ennemi juré des vertus payennes, ne parle qu'avec enthousiasme de cette vertu parfaite, qui ne s'est jamais démentie un seul instant. Il paroît prêt à s'écrier, *Sancte Cyre, ora pro nobis.* J'ose cependant m'opposer à sa canonisation sur l'idée qu'une lecture attentive de la Cyropédie m'a donné de son caractère moral.

Cicer. Epist. ad Q. Fratrem. l. i. Ep. 1.

On peut me citer des propos très honnêtes, et des actions vertueuses de ce prince. Je le sens; je l'avoue; je comprends même, comment l'on est ébloui d'un air de modération et de bonté, qui règne dans toute sa conduite. Mais c'est dans le principe de sa conduite qu'il faut chercher le caractère de sa vertu. Cyrus n'avoit point l'âme de Henri IV. dont on n'a jamais lu l'histoire sans attendrissement; de ce prince qui pleuroit le triste sort de ses sujets rebelles, et qui aimoit son peuple, comme les autres rois ont aimé la gloire; jamais le sentiment n'a ému le caractère froid du Persan.

Jamais un *trait* n'est parti de son cœur. La rai-

* Je dois excepter Erasme, qui lisoit les anciens dans un autre esprit que la plûpart des savans. Il a très bien vu que " Xénophon, vafrum quendam, et αγκυλομήτην expressit potius, quam vere prudentem ac salutarem principem."

Erasm. in Vit. B. Hieronymi.

son

son conduisoit toutes ses démarches; mais cette raison n'avoit rien de commun avec celle de Marc Aurèle; qui consultoit la volonté des dieux, la nature de l'homme, et l'ordre de l'univers, et qui préféroit la vertu: la raison de Cyrus n'étoit que la connoissance de ses intétrês. Il étoit juste, humain, et bienfaisant; parceque la justice, l'humanité et la bienfaisance nous attirent cette estime générale, dont il avoit besoin. Voilà la source de toutes ses vertus spécieuses. C'est déjà une vérité importante, que le conquérant et son historien ont enseigné aux princes; que la vertu n'est qu'une politique bien entendue; mais cette politique chancelante doit se démentir dans quelques occasions, et se contenter presque toujours d'un extérieur imposant. Pour examiner celle de Cyrus, je vais le considérer sous ses trois relations différentes, 1^rement^ de vainqueur de l'Asie; 2^ment^ d'allié des Mèdes, et 3^ment^ de général des Persans. Sa conduite envers ses ennemis, ses amis, et ses sujets, ne peut que nous éclairer sur son véritable caractère.

1. La guerre a ses droits comme la paix, qui ne sont pas moins sacrés pour avoir été méconnus ou violés par la plûpart des conquérans. Lorsque le jeune Cyrus prit le commandement de l'armée, son père lui communiqua dans une instruction générale, tout le fruit de ses réflexions, et de son expérience. C'est un chef d'œuvre de raison politique; et je ne connois rien de plus propre à former un général et un homme d'état. Mais on peut lui reprocher d'avoir étendu trop loin les droits de la guerre; ou plutôt de ne leur avoir point donné de

Cyropæd. l. i. p. 66—99.

Cyropæd. l. i. p. 86—96. bornes. " Les devoirs (dit-il) n'existent qu'envers nos amis. L'injustice, le mensonge, la calomnie, sont des arts qu'on ne doit point rougir d'employer contre les ennemis. La chasse est l'image de la guerre; tout moyen est permis qui nous y fait réussir." Je n'ai pas besoin de faire sentir toutes les exceptions, que la philosophie mettroit à cette doctrine générale.

Si nous examinons la conduite de Cyrus, il nous tiendra lieu d'un commentaire aux leçons de son père. Dès sa première jeunesse, je le vois dévoré d'une ambition, qui ne peut s'assouvir que par la conquête de l'Orient. Il nous instruit assez clairement de ses vues, dans ce discours d'inauguration, qu'il tient devant l'élite de la jeunesse Persanne. L. i. p. 61, 62. Il s'étonne de la stupidité de leurs ayeux, qui ont cultivé la vertu sans y trouver leur avantage; " de quel prix seroit-elle, cette inutile vertu; si elle n'offroit pas des récompenses qui distinguent la bravoure de la lâcheté? La vertu, l'éloquence, la science militaire, sont autant de moyens. Nous-mêmes et notre patrie nous allons y trouver la gloire, les richesses, et les honneurs." Ces idées se concilient assez mal avec celle d'une guerre défensive, que Cyrus alloit entreprendre; cependant il ne les perd jamais da vue. Après la première L. iv. p. 290. victoire sur les Assyriens, il sollicite une augmentation de troupes pour exécuter son dessein de réduire l'Asie sous ses loix, et sous celles des Persans. Il ne connoît de paix que la victoire, et ne conçoit jamais que la guerre puisse finir que L. vii. p. 546. par la soumission de tous ses ennemis, qui doivent

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se croire heureux, si le maître légitime de tout ce qu'ils possèdent daigne encore leur en laisser quelque portion. Assis enfin sur les trônes de Sardes et de Babylone, ses vœux ne sont point comblés. Il lève une armée nombreuse, et soumet tout l'Orient, depuis la Syrie et l'Ethiopie, jusqu'à l'Océan. Mille nations entendirent pour la première fois le nom de leur vainqueur, et ses conquêtes furent à peine arrêtées par les obstacles que la nature y opposoit. Telle fut la justice et la modération de Cyrus envers ses ennemis. Montagne l'a très bien apprécié. " Et certes la guerre (dit-il) a beaucoup de privilèges raisonnables au préjudice de la raison;—mais je m'étonne de l'étendue que Xénophon leur donne, et par les propos et par l'exemple de son parfait empereur; auteur de merveilleux poids en telles choses; comme grand capitaine, et philosophe des premiers disciples de Socrate; et ne consens pas à la mesure de sa dispense en tout et partout." La morale relâchée de Xénophon auroit moins étonné Montagne, s'il eut réfléchi que ce philosophe étoit du nombre de ces aventuriers mercénaires, qui vendent leur sang au plus offrant; et qui ne s'informent jamais de la justice du parti qu'ils embrassent. Ce n'est pas d'un colonel Suisse qu'on doive espérer un traité sur le droit des gens.*

Cyropæd. l. viii. p. 644, 645.

Essais de Montagne, l. i. c. 6.

* Cyrus envoye demander de l'argent au Roi des Indiens, prince neutre et indépendant. S'il l'accorde (disoit-il à ses amis) nous lui en devrons de la reconnoissance. S'il le refuse, nous serons en droit de ne consulter que notre avantage, dans notre conduite à son égard. Ce droit me paroît assez plaisant!

Cyropæd. l. iii. p. 205.

Je reconnois cependant avec plaisir, que la politique, et peut-être le caractère de Cyrus, n'avoit rien de la férocité d'un conquérant Tartare. Il exerçoit une clémence qui feroit honneur aux siècles les plus éclairés : il épargnoit le sang des vaincus, et ne portoit point le flambeau dans les villes prises d'assaut. Trop sage pour ruiner ce qu'il regardoit comme son bien; il n'ajouta jamais au courage des ennemis, l'aiguillon puissant du désespoir. Je n'ai pas le loisir de m'arrêter sur cette partie intéressante de son histoire. Il me suffit d'indiquer son traité avec le Roi d'Assyrie, par lequel il exceptoit les cultivateurs des horreurs de la guerre; sa bonté éclairée envers les Egyptiens à la journée de Thymbrée, et sa conduite après la prise de Sardes. Au lieu de permettre à ses soldats de s'enrichir par la destruction de cette capitale, il se contenta d'exiger des citoyens une forte contribution; qu'il versa ensuite parmi les compagnons de sa victoire. Les uns le regardèrent comme un dieu sauveur; les autres comme un bienfaiteur généreux, qui ne laissoit jamais la valeur et la fidélité sans récompense. On peut dire que la formation d'un grand empire n'a jamais coûté si peu à l'humanité.

Cyropæd. l. v. p. 376.

L. vii. p. 486. l. vii. p. 496, &c.

2. Pour juger de la conduite de Cyrus envers Cyaxare et les Mèdes, il est nécessaire de connoître ses relations avec eux. Dans le système de Xénophon, les Persans ne dépendoient point des Mèdes; avec lesquels ils étoient unis par les liens d'une étroite alliance. Cyaxare leur demande un corps de troupes, pour se défendre contre les desseins

L. i. p. 57, &c.

desseins ambitieux de l'Assyrien, leur ennemi commun. Le grand conseil de la nation lui accorda trente mille hommes, dont Cyrus fut nommé général. Ces troupes n'étoient point auxiliaires, ils étoient mercénaires, et ce mot seul nous instruit de toutes les obligations de cette espèce de *servitude imparfaite*. Cyrus devint le soldat de Cyaxare, qui portoit le fardeau de la guerre, et qui devoit en recueillir tout l'avantage. Pendant quelque tems le nouveau général se distingua par son obéissance et sa fidélité. Mais on peut découvrir le germe de l'indépendance, jusque dans son empressement affecté, son refus de prendre une robe Mède, et l'ostentation avec laquelle il étala aux yeux des ambassadeurs Indiens, le contraste du roi et du guerrier. Sa valeur, son humeur populaire, et sa conduite artificieuse, lui donnèrent bientôt un parti dans la cour d'Ecbatane; le roi d'Arménie lui devoit le trône et la vie; et son armée, formée par ses soins, étoit dévouée à sa fortune. Enhardi par ces avantages, il commence à prendre un ton plus libre. C'est à la tête de ses mille capitaines, qu'il va proposer au roi de porter la guerre dans le pays des ennemis. On ne refuse rien à une pareille députation. Les alliés se mettent en marche, ils livrent une bataille, et la gagnent. Cyrus veut profiter de sa victoire. Prêt à suivre l'ennemi à la tête des Persans, il demande au roi la permission d'y ajouter les volontaires Mèdes. L'armée entière part avec lui; et Cyaxare demeure seul, avec un petit nombre de ses gardes. Il envoye un ordre pour rappeller les Mèdes, dont il se croyoit au moins

Cyropæd. l. ii. p. 100, &c. Grot. de Jure Belli et Pacis, l. ii. c. 5. n. 30.

Cyropæd. l. ii. p. 150 —153.

L. iii. p. 212, &c.

moins le maître. Mais Cyrus avoit pris un si grand ascendant sur ces troupes, qui le traitoient déjà de roi, qu'ils résolurent unanimement de ne point abandonner ses drapeaux. Il répondit aussitôt à Cyaxare; à qui il n'avoit encore donné aucune nouvelle de sa situation. Son ton est celui d'un homme, qui sent ses forces et qui méprise son maître. Après avoir exagéré des services, ainsi récompensés, il finit sa lettre par une menace assez mal déguisée: "Ne révoquez point (lui dit-il) ce que vous avez accordé; un semblable procédé changera en ennemis vos amis. N'enseignez point à vos sujets, par vos plaintes déplacées, à vous mépriser. Quant à nous, lorsque nous aurons mis fin à une entreprise utile pour le bien commun, nous tâcherons de nous rendre auprès de votre personne." Sur le champ, il fait partir un ministre fidèle pour lever quarante mille autres Persans, que Cyaxare ne demandoit point, et pour les conduire en Médie. Enfin Cyrus ramena son armée victorieuse d'une expédition dans laquelle il pénétra jusqu'aux portes de Babylone. L'oncle et le neveu se virent, et l'éclaircissement ne se passa point sans difficulté. Cyaxare sentoit son humiliation, et la comparoit tristement avec l'éclat naissant d'un allié qui ne le seroit pas long-tems. La vérité perce à travers l'art de l'écrivain; et chaque lecteur plaint le triste sort de ce monarque, qu'on a voulu rendre méprisable. Il se rend cependant aux sophismes éloquens que Cyrus daigne encore employer; et aux assurances qu'il lui donne qu'il ne faisoit des conquêtes que pour son avantage. Flatté par ses assurances,

Cyropæd. l. iv. p. 295 —297.

L. v. p. 389.

L. v. p. 401.

assurances, et par le respect que Cyrus permit aux Mèdes de lui rendre, il consentit sans peine à tous ses projets. Le roi des Mèdes, avec la troisième partie de l'armée, se chargea de la garde du pays; pendant que le général Persan marchoit contre l'ennemi à la tête du reste. Cyrus ne doit jamais oublier qu'il est le soldat de Cyaxare, ou du moins de la cause commune. Depuis ce moment, je ne vois plus qu'un prince indépendant, qui fonde un empire pour lui-même. Il soumet les deux monarchies de Lydie et d'Assyrie. Partout il agit en maître. Les gouverneurs, les garnisons, les trésors, il s'empare de tout, et régit tout par sa volonté suprême. Pendant qu'il se fait couronner roi de Babylone, sa politesse attentive prépare à Cyaxare un palais, propre à le recevoir, lorsqu'il voudra faire visite à son neveu, dans ses nouveaux états. Ce neveu lui permet même d'achever ses jours sur le trône d'Ecbatane. Il se contente d'épouser sa fille unique, et de recueillir son héritage après sa mort. Tel est le Cyrus de Xénophon. Mais j'ai de la peine à croire, que Cyrus ait gardé jusqu'à ce point les dehors de la modération. Hérodote et Ctesias (je ne parle point de leurs copistes) nous assurent que ce prince prit les armes contre son souverain, et que la victoire transféra l'empire des Mèdes aux Persans. Il n'est guères possible que ces deux historiens se trompent. Le témoignage de Ctesias est celui des archives qu'il avoit consultées, et lorsqu'Hérodote voyagea en Asie, la tradition de ce grand événement étoit gravée dans tous les esprits, disons mieux, dans tous les cœurs. L'orgueil

Cyropæd. l. vi. p. 448.

L. vi. p. 503. 515. L. vii. p. 530.

L. viii. p. 595, &c. L. viii. p. 630.

L. viii. p. 631.

Herodot. l. i. c. 123—130. Ctesias apud Phot. p. 108.

gueil des vainqueurs, et la douleur des vaincus, ne retraçoient que trop fidèlement la révolution, qui avoit mis les uns dans les fers, et les autres sur le trône. Si l'empire ne s'étoit formé que par l'union volontaire des deux nations, leur sort seroit-il dévenu aussi différent? Les Persans, maîtres de l'etat, étoient libres et exempts de tout tribut: la Médie étoit confondue dans la foule des provinces. Les écrivains postérieurs, Strabon et Xénophon lui-même, ont retrouvé des vestiges de cette guerre, des endroits qu'elle avoit rendu célèbres. Il sembleroit que cette flamme civile embrasa tous les pays des bords du Tigre jusqu'au fond de la Perside. L'existence de cette guerre ne me paroît point douteuse. Il en résulteroit que Xénophon a respecté son héros plus que la vérité, et qu'il a effacé un trait d'injustice et de violence, qui auroit déparé la douce politique de Cyrus. L'écrivain n'a pas voulu permettre à l'homme de sortir un instant de son caractère général. Mais en reconnoissant ce silence affecté, ne perdons point de vue nos principes. Essayons jusqu'à quel point une hypothèse naturelle pourroit adoucir sa faute, et rapprocher deux historiens dont on ne voit l'éloignement qu'avec une sorte de regret.

Herod. l. iii. c. 92 et 97.

Strab. Geog. l. xv. p. 730. Xenophon. Anabasis, l. iii. p. 236, 237.

Cyrus n'abusa point de son victoire. Hérodote fait l'éloge de sa clémence, à l'égard d'Astyage. Ctesias y ajoute un mélange assez singulier, mais très naturel, de rigueur et de bonté. Dès qu'il se vit maître d'Agbatane, il met à la torture la famille entière d'Astyage, pour leur arracher l'aveu de

Herod. l. i. c. 130. Ctesias apud Phot. p. 108.

de sa retraite. La générosité de ce prince malheureux, rendit inutile la constance de ses amis. Il sortit de son asyle pour terminer leurs tourmens. Dès cet instant Cyrus s'assura de sa personne; mais le traita toujours avec le respect d'un fils; il épousa même sa fille et se donna par là quelque titre légitime au trône des Mèdes. Je suppose donc qu'il lui laissa le vain titre de Roi, et que se réservant l'autorité souveraine, sous le nom de son général, ou de son premier ministre, il éblouit sans peine un peuple attaché à la race de Déjoce, et qui ne s'appercevoit point qu'il eut changé de maître. La politique de Tamerlan ne seroit pas indigne de Cyrus. Ce prince Tartare étoit maître absolu de l'empire de Zagatai: bientôt il le fut de l'Asie. Un ordre de sa bouche anéantissoit la maison de Jenghiz Khan. Il la respecta, il se contenta des titres modestes de général et d'allié des princes, et par un ménagement adroit pour les préjugés de sa nation, il conserva toujours aux déscendans de leur législateur, les noms sacrés de Khan et de Sultan. Astyage survécut à la prise de Sardes. Il périt alors d'une façon, qui laissoit soupçonner que l'usurpateur étoit l'assassin. Il ne pouvoit mieux se justifier de ce reproche, qu'en plaçant un Cyaxare, fils du défunt, sur le trône prétendu d'Agbatane. Il n'est pas étonnant qu'Hérodote et Ctesias ayent ignoré l'existence de ce fantôme, qui disparoissoit à mesure que l'autorité de Cyrus s'affermissoit; et qu'ils ayent fixé l'époque du règne de ce conquérant par la défaite d'Astyage. Il l'est encore moins, que Xénophon ait profité de la conduite

V. Biblioth. Orient. p. 878. Hist. Geneal. des Tartares. part. v. c. 4. Hist. de Timur Bec par Scherif. edd. in Ali. l. v. c. 49. Emir et Kurkhan.

Ctesias apud Phot. p. 109.

duite politique de son héros, et qu'en suivant son exemple il ait tâché de faire évanouir toutes les traces d'une guerre aussi odieuse. Je ne sais si l'on doit attribuer au dessein, ou au hasard, cette erreur chronologique, sur la mort d'Astyage, qu'assurément il a avancé de plusieurs années : le consentement unanime de l'antiquité me persuade que c'est à Astyage et non à Cyaxare, que Cyrus a arraché le sceptre ; et l'autorité de Ctesias me prouve que c'est la fille d'Astyage qu'il a épousé. Ce déplacement répand quelque confusion sur la Cyropédie, qui présente d'ailleurs un tableau très vraisemblable de l'élévation du prince Persan, jusqu'à l'instant qu'elle jette un voile favorable sur le dénouement de ses intrigues.

Cyropæd. l. i. p. 16.

3. Les douze tribus des Persans, qui montoient à peine au nombre de 120,000 hommes, n'occupoient qu'une portion stérile de la province, à laquelle ils ont donné le nom de Perside.* Lorsqu'on voit une peuplade aussi peu nombreuse subjuguer l'Asie en moins de trente ans ; nous souhaiterions de connoître les causes, qui leur acquirent une supériorité aussi décidée sur les autres nations. C'étoient un gouvernement libre, et une éducation perfectionée ; les deux moyens les plus

V. Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. i. *passim.*

propres

V. Strabon. Geog. l. xv. p. 731, Arrian. India Herodot. l. i. 125. l. ix. ad fin. Xenophon. Cyropæd. l. vi. p. 543.

* On distinguoit dans la Perside, 1. La côte maritime, qui étoit aride, sabloneuse, et brûlée par les chaleurs excessives. 2. La partie tempérée. C'étoit la plus belle plaine du monde. 3. La partie septentrionale, froide, stérile et remplie de montagnes. C'étoit la patrie des Persans. J'ai négligé le roman de la naissance et de l'éducation de Cyrus ; qu' Hérodote a écrit avec autant d'agrémens que de mépris pour la vraisemblance.

propres à élever l'âme, et à former de grands hommes. Xénophon a peut-être trop consulté la législation Spartiate lorsqu'il a composé son tableau vraiment philosophique de celle des Persans; mais la conformité de ses idées avec les observations d'Hérodote, me persuade qu'il a travaillé sur un fond très historique; et que la république Persanne se distinguoit par des loix et des vertus inconnues aux vils troupeaux d'esclaves, qui couvroient le reste de l'Asie. La formation d'un semblable état doit avoir été accompagnée de circonstances singulières, mais nous ignorons jusqu'au nom de ce génie sublime, qui en fut l'auteur. Le jeune Cyrus apprit dans cette école a mépriser la mort et à ne craindre que les loix. Dans toutes ses guerres, il sembloit n'être que le compagnon de cette jeunesse, dont il étoit le premier dans un jour de combat. La raison, l'éloquence, la plaisanterie, des récompenses; voilà les seuls moyens qu'il employoit pour s'assurer l'obéissance d'une armée nombreuse. Ennemi du faste et des plaisirs, il soutenoit par ses leçons et par son exemple, les institutions rigoureuses de sa patrie. Une pareille discipline maîtrisa la fortune. Cyrus se vit enfin assis sur les débris sanglans de tous les trônes de l'Asie.

Cyropæd. l. i. c. 130 —134.

V. Cyropæd. *passim.* à l. i. ad. vii. *inclus.*

La victoire ne l'éblouit point; mais il découvrit dès lors le plan réfléchi d'un gouvernement despotique, qu'il avoit formé depuis longtems. Il débuta par la ruse ordinaire aux ambitieux; en faisant sentir aux grands tous les inconvéniens d'une démocratie, qui les laissoit dans la foule des citoyens.

L. vii. p. 531 —540.

ens. Dès qu'il les vit intéressés dans ses projets, et convaincus qu'il valoit mieux être les esclaves d'un maître, que de la multitude, il changea tout d'un coup de conduite. A son ancienne simplicité, il substitua la parure des Mèdes, qu'il avoit méprisé, et tout le luxe Babylonien. Ses manières populaires et affables avoient fait place à l'orgueil des rois de l'Orient. La jalousie marche a côté du despotisme. Ce guerrier, qui n'avoit jamais connu la crainte, commençoit à se défier des compagnons de ses victoires. Il ne paroissoit plus en public, qu'environné d'une garde de dix mille hommes. Il ne confioit plus sa personne qu'aux eunuques de son palais. Il espéroit que, méprisés de tous les hommes, ils se dévoueroient au maître qui les protégeoit. Cyrus sentoit cependant qu'il devoit chercher ailleurs, un appui solide de son empire. Il rassembla l'élite des Persans, et des alliés; qu'il formoit continuellement aux fatigues de la guerre et de la chasse: toujours exercés sous ses yeux, ils jouissoient des richesses de l'Orient, sans en être corrompus. Aux portes de son palais ils se faisoient une habitude de la bravoure, de la tempérance, mais surtout de l'obéissance, la première des vertus aux yeux de Cyrus. S'ils négligeoient ce service, le roi leur faisoit enlever leurs biens; et leur montra que ses seuls courtisans avoient droit à sa faveur, ou même à sa justice. Les Persans apprirent pour la première fois à l'adorer. Jaloux des hommages de ses sujets, il l'étoit encore de leur amour mutuel. Pendant que ses bienfaits lui assuroient l'attachement

Cyropæd. l. vii. p. 570. L. viii. p. 593, &c.

L. vii. p. 544.

L. vii. p. 541.

L. vii. p. 546, &c.

L. viii. p. 556.

L. viii. p. 561.

L. viii. p. 596.

L. viii. p. 582.

ment de ses guerriers ; il favorisoit parmi eux une division, qui les rendoit moins redoutables. Voilà les principes que Cyrus établit dans son gouvernement, et que chacun de ses satrapes imitoit dans sa province. Tout s'y rapportoit au prince, rien au peuple. Cyropæd. lib. viii. p. 588. L. viii. p. 641.

Ne dissimulons cependant point, que Cyrus respecta toujours la liberté Persanne dans sa source sacrée. Le citoyen Persan jouissoit, au sein de sa patrie, de l'indépendance et de la pauvreté, s'il osoit les préférer aux grandeurs serviles de la cour. Je pense que la Perside se dépeuploit tous les jours. L. viii. p. 634.

Quel fut le genre de mort de ce héros ? Je ne répéterai point son expédition Scythique, et la victoire de Tomyris. Je ne parlerai pas non plus de cette mort douce, tranquille, et digne de Socrate dont la faveur des dieux couronna son bonheur. Hérodote et Xénophon sont entre les mains de tout le monde ; mais on a fait peu d'attention au récit vraisemblable et conciliant de Ctesias. Cyrus avoit pris les armes contre les Derbices, nation barbare, qui erroit dans ces vastes plaines à l'orient de la mer Caspienne. Au plus fort de la mêlée, le cheval de Cyrus, effrayé d'une odeur d'éléphant, qu'il ne connoissoit pas, se renverse avec son maître. Un Indien le blesse avec un javelot. Les Persans l'emportent au camp ; mais découragés par la blessure de leur général, ils sont repoussées avec une perte très considérable. A la nouvelle de cette défaite, Amorges, ami et auxiliaire de Cyrus, accourut à la tête d'une armée de Saques : il se livra Herodot. l. i. c. 201 —214. Cyropæd. lib. viii. p. 646-659. Ctesias, apud Phot. Bibl. p. 189.

une bataille sanglante, mais décisive en faveur des Persans. Cyrus ne survécut à sa blessure que trois jours. Il mourut au milieu de ses amis, après avoir distribué ses états à ses fils, qu'il exhortoit à s'aimer toujours. C'est là, à mon avis, la mort de Cyrus. Chacun des autres historiens n'a voulu voir que la portion qui convenoit à ses vues philosophiques. Hérodote vouloit prouver l'existence d'une puissance toujours jalouse du bonheur des hommes. Xénophon vouloit soutenir jusqu'au dernier moment la fortune de son héros; l'ouvrage et la récompense de sa prudence.

Il a fallu se livrer à une discussion un peu longue, pour apprécier le vrai caractère de Cyrus et de la Cyropédie; qu'on a envisagé d'une manière assez confuse. Elle nous a aidé à démêler la destruction de la dynastie des Mèdes, dont Hérodote nous a conservé l'histoire. Nous y decouvrirons aussi ces rois de Suse, les tristes successeurs de l'empire d'Arbace, que nous avons perdu de vue depuis longtems. Ils vont briller un instant, pour se perdre à jamais dans la nuit de l'oubli.

Xénophon, d'accord avec nos écrivains sacrés, nous représente le petit royaume de Suse comme étant soumis aux loix des Babyloniens. Le prince tributaire qui le gouvernoit, se nommoit Abradate. Héritier des vertus d'Arbace, sans l'être de sa fortune, il souffroit impatiemment l'orgueil d'un maître. Ce maître osa même jetter un œil téméraire sur la Princesse Panthée, son épouse et son amante, dont la vertu le rassuroit autant que sa beauté lui inspiroit d'inquiétudes. Dans le tems qu'Abradate

qu'Abradate étoit parti du camp des Assyriens, pour entamer une négociation avec les Bactriens, la bataille se donne; les Assyriens y sont défaits, et leur camp, rempli de leurs trésors, de leurs femmes, et de leurs enfans, tombe au pouvoir des vainqueurs. Lorsque ceux-ci firent le partage du butin, on réserva Panthée pour Cyrus lui-même. La plus belle femme de l'Asie devoit couronner le premier de ses guerriers. Araspe lui annonça avec un goût vif, les plaisirs qu'il alloit goûter entre ses bras. Il lui fit une description touchante de sa captive, de sa beauté, de sa dignité modeste, et de son désespoir. Cyrus fut insensible aux attraits de la volupté, et aux mouvemens de la pitié. Occupé de ses desseins politiques, il lui répondit froidement, " qu'il ne verroit point cette captive; que ses appas pourroient l'engager à répéter sa visite; et que ses affaires ne lui laissoient pas un moment pour ses plaisirs." Il confia Panthée à la garde d'Araspe. Ce jeune Mède ne la vit point avec indifférence; et essaya vainement d'ébranler une constance fondée sur l'amour et sur la vertu. La séduction fit place aux menaces; et la reine de Suse se vit enfin obligée d'instruire Cyrus de l'infidélité, et de la foiblesse d'Araspe. Ce prince le fit bientôt rougir d'une faute, que la violence de sa passion rendoit presqu'inévitable, et que son repentir effaçoit. Il la lui pardonna, mais cet étalage de clémence se termina dans une sévérité plus raffinée. Cyrus osa charger son ami d'une commission honteuse, qui l'exposoit à une mort cruelle et infame, et qui devoit l'avilir à jamais à

Cyropæd. l. iv. p. 312. l. v. p. 314–322.

L. v. p. 322.

Lib. vi. p. 420.

Lib. vi. p. 423.

ses propres yeux. Araspe passa au camp des Lydiens, et chacun crut qu'il avoit évité par cette désertion, la juste colère de son souverain.

Cyropæd. Lib. vi. p. 426.

Panthée fut trompée comme les autres. Pénétrée des bontés de son vainqueur, elle ne voulut pas qu'il regrettât son ami perfide. Elle écrivit à son époux, qu'elle tenoit de Cyrus sa vie et son honneur; Abradate partit sur le champ, à la tête de deux mille chevaux; et vint se dévouer au service de ce vainqueur bienfaisant. Attentif à toutes ses démarches, il vit que ce général changeoit la forme de ses chariots de guerre, et qu'aux anciens, il substituoit des chariots d'une nouvelle construction, et qui étoient armés de faux tranchantes. Aussitôt il en fit faire cent, sur le même principe. Ce fut à la tête de ce corps de troupes, qu'il menoit l'avant-garde à la bataille de Thymbrée. Panthée l'arma de ses mains, d'une armure d'or massif dont elle lui fit présent; elle l'exhorta à mériter l'estime et les bienfaits de Cyrus, le vit monter sur son char, et s'évanouit. Excité par la gloire, l'amour, et la reconnoissance, Abradate se précipita sur les phalanges Egyptiennes, qui occupoient le centre de l'armée ennemie; mais son impétuosité se brisa contre la fermeté de ces masses profondes. Rangées sur cent de hauteur, elles lui présentèrent par tout, l'ordre serré de leurs longues piques. Le char d'Abradate fut renversé; et les ennemis le percèrent de mille coups. Il y périt avec la plûpart de ses compagnons.

Lib. vi. p. 427.

Lib. vi. p. 428.

Lib. vi. p. 462.

Lib. vi. p. 463–467.

Lib. vii. p. 484.

Lib. vi. p. 456.

Lib. vii. p. 485.

Lib. vii. p. 504–509.

Après les premiers soins de la victoire et la prise de Sardes, Cyrus s'informa du sort d'Abradate.

On

On lui dit, que Panthée avoit retiré son corps de la mêlée; et qu'elle le faisoit ensevelir sur les bords du Pactole. Aussitôt il monte à cheval, pour lui rendre les derniers honneurs. Il la trouve assise à terre, supportant sur ses genoux la tête de son époux, et s'accusant de lui avoir donné la mort. Le prince Persan veut prendre la main de son ami: cette main se sépare du corps auquel les tristes soins de Panthée l'avoient réuni. Attendri par ce spectacle, il lui offra tout ce qui peut soulager sa douleur. Elle l'entend à peine; dévorée de son désespoir elle ne connoît qu'un remède à ses maux. Elle embrasse son époux pour la dernière fois, se frappe, et expire sur son sein. Trois de ses eunuques imitent l'exemple de leur maîtresse. Un même tombeau reçoit ces amans. Le monceau de terre qui leur tenoit lieu de mausolée, se voyoit encore du tems de Xénophon. Leurs noms, en lettres Syriaques, étoient gravés sur une colonne. Elle étoit accompagnée de trois autres colonnes, placées un plus bas, et qui portoient les titres des eunuques. Ils partagoient la gloire de leurs maîtres comme ils avoient partagé leur mort.

Avec Abradate périt la dynastie des Arbacides.* Leur empire a passé, leur nom s'appercevoit à peine dans les ténèbres de l'antiquité. Je n'ose pas me flatter d'avoir porté dans ces ténèbres le flambeau de la critique et de la philosophie.

* On ne sait point s'il laissa d'enfans; mais il est sûr que Cyrus s'empara de ses états, et que Suse devint une de ses capitales.

Lausanne, Janvier 13, 1758.

LES PRINCIPALES ÉPOQUES DE L'HISTOIRE DE LA GRÈCE ET DE L'EGYPTE,

Dans la Nouvelle Chronologie du Chevalier Newton, comparées avec les Chronologies ordinaires.

Newton.		Marsham ou Usserius.	Différence.
1440	Conquête de l'Egypte par les pasteurs Phéniciens, que Newton regarde comme des Cananéens qui fuyoient devant Josué	1643 ou 2184	223 ou 744
1080	Phoroneus civilise les peuples du Péloponnèse et bâtit Argos	1843	763
1080	Cécrops, Egyptien de Sais, arrive en Grèce et fonde le royaume d'Athènes	1582	502
1070	1ere expulsion des pasteurs par Amosis	1132 ou 1824	62 ou 754
1045	Cadmus le Phénicien fonde le royaume de Thèbes; Newton croit que son voyage, aussi bien que celui de quelques autres, étoit une suite de la prise de Sidon par les Edomites qui fuyoient devant Davide	1510	465
1045	Le déluge de Deucalion, où Newton place le commencement des quatre ages	1574	529
1008	Etablissement du conseil des Amphictyons	1522	514
1008	Institution des mystères de Cérès à Eleusis	1399	389
1006	Règne de Minos dans l'Isle de Crête	1432	426

Newton.		Marsham ou Usserius.	Différence.
974	Expédition de Sésostris en Asie. Mais Newton non seulement convient avec Marsham;* mais encore il croit que Sésostris étoit le Bacchus des Grecs et l'Osiris des Egyptiens, et son père le Jupiter Ammon de l'Afrique: au lieu que, suivant Marsham, Osiris étoit le même que Menes ou Mezraim, et Jupiter Hammon que Cham	974 ou 1491	0 ou 517
		2344	1370
964	Danaüs fuyant son frère Sesac ou Danaüs vient à Argos	1511	547
937	Expédition des Argonautes	1245	308
930	2me expulsion des pasteurs par Amenophis		
904	Prise de Troye	1208 ou 1184	304 ou 280
870	Homère et Hésiode fleurissent	944 et 907	74 et 37
825	Retour des Héraclides dans le Péloponnèse	1128	303
794	La migration des Ioniens dans l'Asie mineure	1068	274
790	Pul ou Belus jette les fondemens de l'empire d'Assyrie sur les ruines de celui d'Egypte	790 ou 1267	0 ou 477
776	La 1re Olympiade d'Iphitus	876	100
708	Lycurgue donne des loix à Sparte	884	176
652	1ere guerre de Messène	743	91
627	Fondation de Rome	754	127
562	Solon donne des loix à Athènes	595	33
529	Mort de Cyrus	529	0

* Pour confondre Sésostris avec Sesac.

Lausanne, Janvier 23, 1758.

REMARQUES CRITIQUES SUR LE NOUVEAU SYSTÊME DE CHRONOLOGIE DU CHEVALIER NEWTON.

Le nom de Newton réveille l'idée d'un génie profond, lumineux, et original. Son systême de chronologie suffiroit seul pour lui assurer l'immortalité. Il le composa pour satisfaire à la noble curiosité d'une princesse, qui avoit l'honneur d'être de ses amies, et qui en étoit digne.

> Magnum reginæ sed enim miseratus amorem
> Dædalus, ipse dolos tecti ambagesque resolvit
> Cæca regens filo vestigia. (1)

(1) Virgil. Æneid. l. vi. v. 28.

L'expérience et l'astronomie, voilà le fil de M. Newton. De ces deux principes simples, combinés avec les monumens les plus pures de l'antiquité, il avu naître une foule de conséquences les plus singulières. Ses résultats diffèrent de ceux de ses prédécesseurs, souvent de plusieurs siècles, presque toujours d'un grand nombre d'années. Ce seroit peu connoître les hommes, de croire qu'ils ayent facilement renoncé à leurs anciennes idées. Ce systême a été vigoureusement attaqué en Angleterre (2) et en France. (3) Je vais faire quelques remarques sur les principaux points de ce systême, mais des remarques telles que les put dicter le simple amour de la vérité : je me contredirai peut-être : ici je paroîtrai ardent défenseur du systême, là armé pour sa ruine. Je peserai indifféremment toutes

(2) Par M. Bedford, M. Shuckford, &c.

(3) Par M. Freret, le P. Souciet, &c.

toutes les raisons qui se présenteront, quelle que soit leur origine et quel que soit leur but. Pour de jugement n'en attendez point. Auguste ne trouvoit que trois hommes qui pouvoient être candidats pour l'empire. L'un y aspiroit sans le mériter, un second le méritoit sans y aspirer. Un seul réunissoit les talens à l'ambition.(4) Il en est de même ici. Il faut connoître peu et la trempe de ces matières, et celle de son esprit, pour précipiter sa décision. Dans les sciences où nous n'avons que la simple probabilité pour guide, la vérité ne se trouve que par la comparaison de toutes les circonstances qui peuvent se rapporter à l'objet qu'on examine, et dont beaucoup en paroissent d'abord fort éloignées. Quel travail assez grand pour rassembler toutes ces circonstances? Quelle main assez délicate pour les peser avec impartialité? Je commencerai par montrer les points de vue les plus favorables de ce nouveau systême, et quelques unes des principales raisons qui peuvent l'appuyer, après quoi j'exposerai avec la même franchise mes doutes et mes objections.

(4) Tacit. Annal. i. c. 13.

I. Un synchronisme des plus connus des gens de goût et des plus combattus des savans, c'est celui de Didon et Enée. Un poëte aussi distingué par ses connoissances que par ses talens, les avoit fait contemporains, quoique les chronologistes les éloignent l'un de l'autre de plus de 300 ans. On sent assez que l'envie de rapprocher les fondateurs de Rome et de Carthage pouvoit avoir tenté le poëte, mais on ne conçoit pas comment, de tant de critiques que les quatre siècles suivans ont produit, aucun

aucun ne se soit apperçu d'une licence extraordinaire, et que Macrobe ait été le premier à la reprocher à Virgile. Dans le nouveau système, Virgile n'en mérite point. Troye fut prise l'an 904 avant J. C. Didon acheva de bâtir Carthage l'an 884, (5) Enée et Didon furent bien contemporains, et quoique peut-être ils ne se soient jamais vus, encore moins aimés, il y a bien de la différence entre se servir des privilèges de son art et attribuer des actions à des personnages qui ne les ont jamais fait, mais qui auroient pu les faire, et renverser tout l'ordre des tems pour produire des situations frappantes; entre faire voyager Henry IV. en Angleterre (6) et ménager une entrevue entre le Duc de Guise et la Pucelle d'Orléans. Les Romains ont bien suivi la chronologie technique pour leur propre histoire; mais puisqu'ils s'en sont écartés dans un article aussi essentiel, il est naturel de croire que les archives de Carthage leur ont fourni des mémoires opposés à ceux des Grecs et que ces derniers ignoroient. La fameuse scène de Plaute (7) prouve que la langue Punique étoit assez commune à Rome pour leur faciliter l'usage de ces monumens, et l'exemple de Saluste (8) fait voir combien ils étoient disposés d'en profiter.

(5) Newton, Chronol. Reform. Traduct. et Edit. Castillon. c. i. p. 50.

(6) Comme Voltaire, dans son Henriade.

(7) Plaut. Pœnul. act. v. sc. 1.

(8) Salust. Bell. Jugurth. c. 17.

II. La tradition ancienne de l'Italie donnoit Pythagore pour maître à Numa. La chronologie ordinaire met entr'eux un siècle d'intervalle, et les écrivains suivans ont mieux aimé suivre cette chronologie que la tradition. (9) Newton la rétablit, cet tradition. Numa monta sur le trône en 610 au gré du nouveau système. Mais quoi qu'en dise M. Freret,

(9) Cicer. Disputat. Tuscul. l. iv. c. 1. Tit. Liv. l. 1. c. 19.

M. Freret, (10) l'époque la plus incontestable de la vie de Pythagore, c'est l'observation qu'il fit de la planète Vénus en 612. (11) L'imagination seroit fâchée de perdre ce synchronisme: elle aime à envisager le législateur aux pieds du philosophe, et à retrouver dans le génie et l'expérience de ce grand maître le germe de ces institutions qui ont rendu le peuple Romain maître de tous les peuples. La raison n'ose l'abandonner; sans son secours elle auroit trop de peine à rendre raison d'une conformité de doctrine aussi singulière que celle de ces deux grands hommes. Cette conformité brille dans plusieurs institutions Romaines, (12) mais encore mieux dans ces livres de Numa qu'on déterra plusieurs siècles après la mort de ce prince, et qui contenoient la philosophie Pythagoricienne. (13) Elle n'oseroit jamais prétendre que Numa dans sa campagne Sabine, sans livres, sans communication, et sans voyager, se soit rencontré avec Pythagore dans tout ce que la philosophie a de plus sublime. Plus les dogmes de ce dernier étoient abstrus, éloignés de la route commune, plus ce phénomène devient difficile à expliquer.

(10) Dans une Dissert. dans tome xiv. des Mém. de l'Acad. des Belles Lettres.

(11) Plin. Hist. Natur. l. iii. c. 8.

(12) Telle que la figure ronde du Temple de Vesta prise pour la terre.

(13) Plin. Hist. Natur. l. xiii. c. 13. Tit. Liv. Hist. l. xl. c. 129. Valer. Maxim. l. 1. c. 1. n. 8.

III. Quiconque a lu ce qui nous reste sur l'histoire ancienne de l'Egypte n'a vu qu'un chaos composé d'élémens qui se détruisent les uns les autres. Si cet homme s'est trouvé quelque talent, il a essayé de le débrouiller, mais pour peu qu'il ait eu de bonne-foi, il a reconnu bientôt la vanité de ses efforts. Cependant dans ces déserts on avoit, mais en petit nombre, quelques indices qui paroissent devoir

devoir guider le voyageur avec sureté. En voici deux qui regardent le tems de Sésostris, époque de la grandeur Egyptienne. L'un lie l'histoire d'Egypte avec celle de la Grèce, en nous assurant que le Sésostris des Egyptiens étoit l'Egyptus des Grecs, et son frère Armais le même que Danaüs. (14) L'autre regarde les affaires des Hébreux. Toutes les circonstances concourent à nous engager à ne point séparer Sésostris, conquérant d'Asie, d'avec Sesac qui pilla Jérusalem du tems de Rehoboam. L'autorité de Josèphe y met le sceau. (15) Ces deux synchronismes ont partagé les savans. Suivant leurs goûts différens, les uns (16) se sont attachés au premier, les autres (17) ont bâti leur chronologie Egyptienne avec le secours de ce dernier. Le système de M. Newton adopte ces deux époques à la fois, les fait rencontrer au même tems, et réconcilie tous ces savans en litige, en profitant de ce que leurs différens systêmes peuvent fournir de solide.

(14) Joseph. contra Apeon. l. i. p. 1092.

(15) Joseph. Antiquitat. Judaic. l. viii. c. 4.

(16) Comme Usserius, Cumberland, Bedford, &c.

(17) Comme Marsham, Shuckford, &c.

IV. Rien de plus célèbre parmi les poëtes, c'est à dire parmi les historiens de l'antiquité, que les quatre ages du genre humain, qu'on distinguoit par les noms des métaux. (18) Les savans de nos jours, y ont trouvé, les uns des chimères poëtiques, les autres des vestiges de l'histoire que les Hébreux nous ont laissé des premiers siècles. Rien de plus forcé et de plus vague que tout cela. Rien de plus naturel ni de plus précis que les idées de M. Newton. Ces quatre siècles sont les quatre générations, ou les cent quarante ans entre l'arrivée de Cadmus en Grèce et la prise de Troye, pendant lesquelles la Grèce a perdu les mœurs à mesure qu'elle

(18) Vid. Poetas Græcos et Latinos fere passim, præsertim autem Ovid. Metamorph. l. i. v. 89, &c.

qu'elle a reçu les arts de l'Egypte et de la Phénicie.(19)

(19) Newton's Chron. Reform. c. i. p. 116.

V. Le Bacchus des Grecs, disons mieux des Egyptiens, n'est plus une personne allégorique ni même un prince dont l'époque se perd dans l'obscurité des tems, et dont la plûpart des actions doivent s'expliquer en les rapportant à ses attributs;(20) c'est un prince qui civilisa l'orient, répandit les arts de nécessité et d'agrément dans toute l'étendue de ses conquêtes, qui poussa jusqu'aux Indes, souffrit beaucoup de la part du Roi de Thrace, et dont il faut placer l'époque, comme les Grecs ont fait, une génération ou deux après Cadmus.

(20) Banier, Mythologie et Fables, t. ii. 266.

Voilà quelques avantages du nouveau système. Peut-être on ajouteroit facilement plusieurs autres. Avant que de passer aux endroits foibles, remarquons trois choses.

I. On est d'abord révolté de la hardiesse de M. Newton. On est surpris de voir un Anglois deux mille ans après que les Grecs avoient réglé leur chronologie, venir accuser les Acusilaus, les Ephores, les Eratosthenes, les Apollodores, &c. d'avoir ignoré les premiers élémens de la chronologie de leur patrie. Mais dissipons l'illusion; ce n'est point des témoins qu'il rejette, c'est des critiques dont il détruit les supputations. Ils avoient formé leurs calculs long-tems après l'événement, et ils s'étoient servis d'un principe erroné en les formant.(21) M. Newton lui en substitue un autre. Peut-être leurs raisons valent-elles mieux que les siennes, mais ce sera leurs raisons qui vaudront mieux et non

(21) Ils faisoient les règnes égaux aux générations.

non point leur autorité. Je me retracterois cependant si je voyois la nécrologie originale des prêtresses d'Amycles, dont nous parle M. Freret, et que M. l'Abbé Fourmont doit avoir apporté en France.(22) Mon éloignement de Paris me laisse ignorer si le voyage de ce savant est dévenu public.

(22) Mémoires de l'Acad. des Belles Lettres, t. x. p. 471.

II. Ne pourroit-on pas substituer à la fameuse division des tems de Varron, une autre qui auroit au moins cet avantage qu'on en sentiroit d'abord les raisons? La voici; le tems inconnu sera celui pendant lequel les Grecs n'ont point eu de lettres, ou jusqu'à l'arrivée de Cadmus. La tradition peut conserver les principaux événemens, rarement les circonstances, et presque jamais les dates. Le tems fabuleux s'étendra jusqu'à la mort de Cyrus. Les Grecs pendant cet espace ont eu des écrivains et des monumens, mais point d'historiens. Les prêtres et les poëtes corrompirent la religion qui n'étoit que l'histoire des premiers siècles. Le tems historique commence avec les premiers historiens, Cadmus de Milète, Hécatée, et Hérodote.(23)

(23) Joseph. contra Apeon. l. i. p. 1038. Newton's Chron. Reform. c. i. p. 37. Suidas in voce Ἀξεσίλαος.

III. Quand je parle de cet esprit original qui brille dans l'ouvrage de Newton, je ne prétends parler que des deux premiers chapitres. Les autres, où il veut régler l'histoire des Assyriens, des Babyloniens, des Mèdes, et des Perses, n'est plus la même chose. Ce n'est pas qu'on n'y trouve bien des remarques curieuses. Mais l'âme de Newton étoit faite pour fonder et pour détruire des empires et non pour éplucher des détails minutieux. Je pense même que peu de lecteurs se rendront à la transposition de Cyaxare et d'Astyage; et que beaucoup

beaucoup souhaiteront qu'il eut cité quelquefois le Chevalier Marsham.(24)

Je vais à présent proposer mes objections. Elles ne serviront peut-être pas à éclaircir la question, mais elles pourront toujours faire sentir combien elle est difficile à éclaircir.

I. Je disois que M. Newton s'est servi de l'expérience pour élever son nouveau système. Voici comment il raisonnoit. Les Grecs ont formé leur chronologie en donnant à leurs rois les uns avec les autres 35 à 40 ans de règne. Or l'expérience fait voir que ce nombre est beaucoup trop grand. Les rois d'Angleterre, de France, et presque tous les autres qui ont régné dans les tems vraiment historiques, n'ont régné qu'environ dix-huit à vingt ans chacun. Il faut donc rabattre environ la moitié de la durée qu'on attribue à leur histoire; (25) ou pour parler plus exactement, il faut faire cette réduction dans la proportion de quatre à sept. (26) Il n'y auroit rien à mordre dans ce raisonnement; il faudroit d'abord lui accorder qu'il vaut mieux consulter la nature que les hommes, s'il étoit question d'une suite de rois qui eut régné dans tout autre tems que dans ces siècles reculés. Mais le cas est un peu différent, et les supputations de Newton ne suffisent point ici. 1. Si on doit ajouter quelque foi aux monumens les plus respectables, la vie des hommes, et par conséquent leurs règnes, étoit beaucoup plus longue que la nôtre. Suivant la chronologie ordinaire, Phoronée étoit contemporain de Jacob, Cécrops de Moyse, et Cadmus et Danaüs de Josué. Les Hébreux

(24) Marsham, Canon Chronic. Secul. xvii. p. 509, &c.

(25) Newton, Chron. Reform. l. 1. p. 52.

(26) Idem. c. 1. p. 87.

Hébreux de ce tems là approchèrent presque toujours des cent ans et souvent les passoient. Au dire d'Ephore les anciens rois d'Arcadie vivoient trois cens ans; c'est beaucoup, quand ce ne seroit que des années lunaires. (27) La nature paroît même avoir observé une certaine gradation en réduisant la vie de l'homme au niveau d'aujourdhui. Homère reconnoît une grande différence entre les héros du siège de Troye et les hommes de son tems, et quoiqu'il parle proprement de la force du corps, il est à croire que la nature ne se bornoit pas là. (28) Ce n'est proprement que du tems de Solon que la vie ordinaire des hommes étoit fixée à 70 ans. (29) Or on sent d'abord le peu d'équité du procédé de M. Newton. C'est juger des hommes sur des loix toutes différentes de celles qu'ils ont suivies. 2. Non seulement la nature avoit très bien pourvu à la conservation de ces princes, mais le genre de vie qu'ils menoient étoit propre à leur assurer une toute autre durée que celle de nos rois. La vie de ceux-ci est toute propre à les conduire bientôt au tombeau; les plaisirs les plus recherchés mènent peu à peu le fainéant. Les fatigues les plus excessives détruisent dans peu le héros. Ainsi nos princes sont ordinairement ceux de leur royaume qui vivent le moins. En voici un exemple pris sur un assez grand nombre. Les trente rois de France de la troisième race ont vécu 1427 ans en tout. Ce n'est que 47½ pour la vie de chaque roi. Que le sort de leurs sujets est différent! Voyons combien une trentaine de gens de lettres, dont la vie étoit simple,

(27) Heidegger. Hist. Sacr. Patriarch. Exercitat. xiv. c. i. &c. Joseph. Antiquitat. Judaic. l. 1. c. iv.

(28) Οἷοι νῦν βροτοὶ εἰσι répété souvent dans l'Iliade.

(29) Herodot. l. i. c. 14.

simple, quoique les travaux fussent grands, l'ont emporté sur eux à cet égard. Prenons les trente premiers de la liste que M. de Voltaire a mis à la fin de son siècle de Louis XIV. A mettre leurs vies à la suite les unes des autres la somme sera de 1919 ans, qui en font presque 64 pour la vie de chaque savant. Or la vie des princes Grecs étoit très différente de celle des nôtres, on ne se tromperoit pas même en assurant qu'elle étoit encore plus amie de l'homme que celle des gens de lettres. Peu de travaux, encore moins de luxe. La petitesse de leurs états ne leur laissoit que la décision de ce petit nombre de disputes qui doivent s'élever parmi un peuple simple et sans richesse, et le commandement de ces armées qui faisoient des guerres, ou plutôt des incursions, dans le pays de leurs voisins. Aussi la plûpart sont morts dans un age fort avancé entre les bras de leurs sujets. Vous ne voyez pas une seule minorité dans la liste des rois d'Athènes, et seulement deux dans celle des rois de Sparte.

II. On a de la peine à se prêter au nouveau systême au sujet des rois d'Egypte qui ont reçu l'apothéose, Ammon, Osiris, &c. Peut-on se persuader qu'ils n'ont été connus en Egypte que cinq cens ans avant Hérodote, du tems de qui les prêtres avoient reculé les règnes de leurs dieux de plus de quinze mille ans, et avoient couvert leur histoire d'un voile allégorique, sans que des mémoires de familles, sans que des généalogies des compagnons de Sésostris y apportassent le moindre obstacle, et cela dans un tems où la connoissance

des lettres fournissoit des moyens de transmettre les événemens à la postérité tout autrement sûrs et précis que les hiéroglyphes?(30) M. Newton paroît n'avoir été sur ses gardes contre la vanité des Egyptiens que pour mieux se laisser éblouir par celle des Grecs. Ce peuple, dont l'orgueil sur son origine n'étoit égalé que par son ignorance, ne pouvant par s'élever au niveau des Egyptiens, rabaissoit ceux-ci au sien, et tâchoient de faire croire premièrement que les dieux Egyptiens étoient descendus de ses héros;(31) ensuite, par une fable un peu moins grossière, qu'ils en étoient contemporains. On pourroit même dans ces fables trouver de quoi ébranler le nouveau système. Cécrops de Sais en Egypte apporta en Grèce le culte de Minerve(32) adorée depuis long tems en Egypte. Cécrops aborda en Attique 1080 ans avant J. C. suivant M. Newton, mais Minerve ou Myrine n'étoit, suivant ce même M. Newton, que cette reine des Amazones, qui en 974 accompagna Osiris dans ses expéditions.(33) Mars et Neptune plaidèrent devant l'Aréopage sous le règne de Cranaus.(34) Je ne conclus rien de cette fable, sinon que sous le règne de ce prince les personnes et le culte de Neptune et de Mars étoient déjà connus dans la Grèce; mais cette conclusion n'est pas compatible avec les principes de M. Newton, puisque Mars et Neptune, autrement appellés Osiris et Typhon, ne devinrent fameux que près de cent ans après le règne de Cranaus. (35)

(30) Thaut inventa les lettres sous Osiris.

(31) V. fabulam Iûs vel Isidis apud Ovid. Metamorph. l. i. v. 383, &c.

(32) Mytholog. et Fables de Banier, tom. iii. p. 37.

(33) Newton, Chron. Reform, c. ii. p. 137.

(34) Chronic. Par. Epoch. ii.

(35) Newton, Chron. Reform, p. 18, et c. ii. p. 161.

III. J'ai dit, il y a un moment, que le synchronisme de Danaüs et d'Egyptus avec Sesac, lève de grandes

grandes difficultés ; mais il faut avouer aussi qu'il en fait naître d'autres non moins considérables. Il faut l'acheter par le bouleversement total de la généalogie des rois d'Argos. Abas, le père d'Acrisius et le bisayeul de Persée, qu'on a toujours regardé comme fils de Lynceus et petit-neveu de Danaüs, se trouvera beaucoup plus ancien que celui-ci, d'une famille très différente, et le même qu'un autre Abas qui vint s'établir dans l'isle d'Eubée. Il n'y a personne peut-être qui ajoute moins de foi que moi aux généalogies du tems fabuleux ; mais ceux qui veulent les prendre pour règle le plus souvent, et qui essayent d'en tirer des preuves victorieuses, ne doivent pas les fouler aux pieds, sur-tout lorsqu'il est question d'une des généalogies les plus anciennes, et les plus illustres de la Grèce, dont par conséquent la succession a dû se conserver avec plus de pureté que les autres. Le savant M. Freret a fort bien senti combien le système de Newton étoit foible de ce côté là.(36)

IV. Homère et Hésiode ont vécu 400 ans avant Hérodote. Cet historien le dit lui-même,(37) la Chronique de Paros en tombe d'accord, et M. Newton se félicite de se rencontrer avec le père de l'histoire.(38) Ils vécurent donc environ l'an 870 avant J. C. Mais cette époque ne tombe, suivant M. Newton, que 34 ans après la prise de Troye. Or à qui persuadera-t-il qu'Homère (car je ne dis rien d'Hésiode) n'ait vécu qu'une génération après ce fameux événement? S'il y en a quelqu'un, qu'il écoute un ancien auteur qui l'a réfuté d'avance avec autant de solidité que d'élégance. " Hic

(36) Mémoires de l'Acad. des Belles Lettres, tom. x. p. 137.

(37) Herodot. Histor. l. xi. p. 124.

(38) Newton. Chron. Reform, p. 24.

longius à temporibus belli quod composuit Troici, quam quidam rentur, abfuit: nam ante annos nongentos quinquaginta floruit, intra mille natus est, quo nomine non est mirandum quòd sæpe illud usurpat Οἷοι νῦν βροτοί εἰσι,(39) hoc enim ut hominum ita sæculorum notatur differentia."(40) On est sûr de plus que dans quelque endroit des colonies que naquit Homère, il y naquit après l'établissement des Grecs dans ce pays là. Or la première migration qui se fit de la Grèce dans l'Asie mineure, savoir celle des Eoliens, ne se fit que quinze ans après le retour des Héraclides,(41) ou en 810 suivant les principes de M. Newton.

(39) Usserius a suppléé ces mots par conjecture.
(40) Vell. Pater. Hist. Rom. l. i. c. 6.
(41) Idem. l. i. c. 4. Mesiriac sur les Epitres d'Ovide, tom. ii. p. 363.

V. Parmi ces premiers Grecs qui civilisèrent l'Italie, Evandre tient un rang distingué. Il apporta dans ce pays la connoissance des lettres, et quantité d'arts utiles.(42) On l'en récompensa en reconnoissant sa mère Carmenta pour une divinité.(43) Cet Evandre vint en Italie 60 ans avant la guerre Troyenne, suivant Denys de Halicarnasse,(44) ou 39 ans suivant M. Newton.(45) Hercule fut l'hôte de cet Evandre; ce fut chez lui qu' après avoir défait Cacus, il abolit les sacrifices humains qu' Œnotrus, fils de Lycaon, avoit apporté en Italie.(46) Newton croit qu'il est question de l'Hercule Egyptien, et rapporte cette action à Sésostris qui revint en Egypte par les Gaules et l'Italie après avoir défait les fils de Geryon en Espagne vers l'an 1008. Cette conjecture se confirme par la coutume reconnue des rois d'Egypte depuis l'expulsion des pasteurs, d'abolir partout ces sacrifices abominables; mais comment peut-on

(42) Tacit. Annal. xi. c. 7. Tit. Liv. Hist. Rom. l. i. c. 7. Vir. Æneid. l. viii. v. 313.
(43) Rosin Antiquit. Roman. l. xi. p. 228.
(44) Diony. Halicarn. l. i. p. 13.
(45) Newton, Chron. Reform. p. 19.
(46) Dionys. Halicarn. l. i. p. 16.

la

la concilier avec la chronologie, puisqu' Evandre ne vint en Italie que 65 ou du moins que 44 ans après Sésostris? Au reste cette remarque ne porte point autant sur le corps du système que les quatre premières. Peut-être même, qu'on y répondroit facilement par un léger changement.

J'allois finir; mais une réflexion s'est d'abord offerte à mon esprit; je me rappellois avec combien d'art M. Hooke avoit voulu régler l'histoire Romaine sur les principes de Newton, et combien d'argumens spécieux il avoit apporté pour faire voir que les sept rois de Rome n'avoient régné que 119 ans au lieu des 244 qu'on leur donne ordinairement. (47) J'ai voulu faire le même essai sur l'histoire des Latins, et montrer au moins que des auteurs anciens paroissoient appuyer à cet égard le nouveau système.

(47) Journal. Brittan. tom. vii. art. 1.

Virgile met dans la bouche de Jupiter une magnifique prédiction de la future grandeur des Romains. En parlant de leurs ancêtres les Troyens, il dit qu' Enée sera toujours victorieux pendant trois ans,

Tertia dum Latio regnantem viderit æstas,
Ternaque transierint Rutulis hiberna subactis.(48)

(48) Virgil. Æneid. l. i. c. 265.

Qu' ensuite Ascanius fondera Albe, (trente ans après l'arrivée d'Enée en Italie,) et que cette ville sera le siège de l'empire pendant trois cens ans,

Hic jam tercentum totos regnabitur annos
Gente sub Hectoreâ.(49)

(49) Idem. l. i. v. 272.

Arrêtons-nous: Albe fut donc détruite, suivant

Virgile, 330 ans après l'arrivée d'Enée en Italie, ou 337 ans après la prise de Troye, puisque selon ce même Virgile, Ænée erra sept ans, avant que d'arriver à la terre promise ;

(50) Virgil. Æneid. l. i. v. 755.

——— nam te jam septima portat
Omnibus errantem terris et fluctibus æstas.(50)

Mais suivant les chronologies ordinaires Virgile auroit fait ici une bévue singulière, puisqu'elles disent qu'Albe fut détruite vers le milieu du règne de Tullus Hostilius, environ cent ans après la fondation de Rome, époque qui tombe 432 ans après la prise de Troye. Une différence de 232 ans sur cinq à six siècles n'est pas à mépriser. Le système de Newton est aussi favorable à Virgile que les autres lui sont contraires. 337 ans après la destruction de Troye nous conduisent à l'année 567 avant J. C. époque qui coincide bien avec le règne d'Hostilius: car ce prince étoit le troisième successeur de Romulus dont nous fixons l'époque à l'an 627. (51) Il y a même quelque chose de plus précis. Plutarque nous a conservé l'ancienne tradition sur le tems de Numa, lorsqu'il dit qu'on déterra les livres de Numa 400 ans après sa mort. On les déterra en 181 ; donc il mourut en 581, et son successeur pouvoit bien régner encore en 567. Qui est-ce qui peut lire ce morceau de Virgile, sans sentir le dessein et l'art du poëte, qui dans le tems même qu'il conduit Ænée chez Didon, répond à ses critiques de la seule manière que la rapidité de sa marche, et la grandeur de son sujet pouvoit lui permettre, en leur faisant sentir qu'il suivoit un

(51) Newton, Chron. Reform. c. i. p. 92.

système

système de chronologie (que Newton n'a fait que rétablir) où ce synchronisme d'Ænée et de Didon n'étoit plus une licence poëtique?

Virgile n'est pas le seul qui révoque en doute la chronologie vulgaire des rois de Latium. Justin en réduit la durée à trois cens ans. "Albam longam condidit quæ trecentis annis caput regni fuit."(52) L'autorité de Justin sera peu de chose si l'on veut, mais celle de Trogue Pompée, qu'il ne fait qu'abréger, sera toujours regardé comme du plus grand poids. Les anciens mettoient cet historien dans la classe des Tacites, des Tite Lives, et des Sallustes.(53) Tite Live lui-même, ce père de l'histoire Romaine, qui fait paroître quelquefois tant d'attachement pour la chronologie ordinaire,(54) et qui la prenoit pour sa règle invariable dans les tems qui ont suivis la fondation de Rome, paroît y ajouter peu de foi pour les siècles antérieurs. Rien de plus naturel à un historien Romain que de marquer la durée du règne de chaque roi Latin dont il rapporte le nom.(55) Il se tait sur cet article. Rien de plus nécessaire que de marquer au moins l'intervalle entre la prise de Troye et le règne de Romulus. Il ne le fait point. Bien plus, parlant de la destruction d'Albe, il dit qu'elle suivit de quatre cens ans sa fondation.(56) Albe (je l'ai déjà dit) fut détruite par les Romains environ cent ans après la fondation de Rome suivant la chronologie de Tite Live. Cet auteur ne diffère pas de beaucoup de Virgile, ce qui est déjà d'un grand poids, mais il ne se rencontre pas précisément avec lui, ce qui est bien davantage.

(52) Justin. l. xliii. c. 1.

(53) Fl. Vopisc. in proem. Aureliani vita.

(54) Tit. Liv. l. i. c. 18. et alibi passim.

(55) Tit. Liv. l. i. c. 3.

(56) Tit. Liv. l. i. c. 29.

Quelqu'un qui voudra comparer ma citation de Virgile avec le texte de cet auteur, trouvera peut-être que je l'ai tronqué, et que la suite fait bien voir qu'il faut entendre ces 300 ans de l'intervalle entre la fondation de Rome et celle d'Albe, et non entre la fondation de cette dernière ville et sa ruine. Quiconque me fait cette difficulté, je le prierai de peser ces deux réponses, et de choisir entr'elles.

I. Que la licence d'un poëte dispensoit bien Virgile de cette exactitude gênante. Il suit plutôt l'ordre des choses que celui des tems, et il pensoit qu'il n'étoit permis qu'à l'annaliste d'interrompre son discours par une parenthèse, pour apprendre à son lecteur que, quoique les rois d'Albe ayent bien régné en tout 300 ans, néanmoins il faut compter 60 de ces ans depuis la fondation de Rome. Y a-t-il quelqu'un d'assez peu de goût pour en blâmer Virgile? S'il y en a qu'ils sachent qu'ils blâment du plus au moins tous les grands poëtes. " Quos hîc noster auctores habet, quorum æmulari exoptat negligentiam, potius quam istorum obscuram diligentiam.(57)

(57)Terent. Prolog. Andræ,v.19 &c.

II. Qu'en avouant que Virgile s'est tenu dans les bornes qu'on lui prescrit, on peut le défendre en disant qu'il n'a voulu parler que des années Albanes de dix mois et de 304 jours seulement. (58) Romulus les introduisit à Rome mais Numa les abolit. Virgile peut avoir trouvé ces époques dans des monumens Latins ou Romains qui conservoient le vieux calendrier. Les premiers 37 ans jusqu'à la fondation de Rome se réduisent à 31, et les 300 suivans

(58) Pitisc. Lexic. Ant. Roman. sub voce Annus Albanus. Rosin. Antiq. Rom. l. iv. c. 1. p. 327.

suivans à environ 249, en tout 280. Or la prise de Troye tombe en 904, suivant Newton. 280 ans nous conduisent jusqu'à l'an 624, époque qui ne diffère que de deux ou trois ans de celle de la fondation de Rome selon la nouvelle chronologie.

Quand l'ouvrage posthume de M. Freret paroîtra, on peut espérer de voir éclaircir des matières que je n'ai qu'effleuré. Les questions en litige auront reçu tout le dégré de lumière dont elles sont susceptibles, par les combats de ces deux grands hommes.

Lausanne, 20 Fevrier, 1758.

EXTRAIT DE TROIS MÉMOIRES DE M. L'ABBÉ DE LA BLETERIE SUR LA SUCCESSION DE L'EMPIRE ROMAIN ET D'UN SUR LE PRÉNOM D'AUGUSTE.

V. les Mémoires de l'Académie des Belles Lettres, tome xix. *p.* 357—447, *avec des Remarques Critiques.*

Ce sont de vrais modèles dans ce genre que les Mémoires de M. l'Abbé de la Bleterie. Porter un esprit de netteté dans les ténèbres de l'antiquité suffit pour l'homme de lettres qui veut s'instruire ; joncher des fleurs sur les épines de la science, arrête le bel esprit qui ne cherche qu'à s'amuser. Réunir l'utile à l'agréable; voilà tout ce que le lecteur le plus difficile peut demander: qu'il le demande hardiment à M. de la Bleterie. Il pourra peut-être lui reprocher

reprocher quelques détails, mais s'il a du goût, il les lui pardonnera avec plaisir, et s'il connoît la nature de ces discussions, il sentira qu'on ne pouvoit guères les éviter.

Notre auteur croit que l'empire a toujours été électif sans avoir jamais été ni patrimonial ni héréditaire; que le sénat conjointement avec le peuple avoit déféré l'empire à Auguste et à Tibère, et que par l'abolition des Comices sous ce dernier, le sénat se trouvoit seul dépositaire du droit d'élire ses souverains. Pour établir sa thèse d'une façon incontestable, il se propose de parcourir les élections de tous les empereurs. Mais les trois mémoires que j'abrège ne remplissent qu'une petite partie de ce vaste objet. Voici les preuves principales qu'elle lui fournit.

I. Nous ne voyons nulle part une stipulation telle qu'il en auroit fallu pour dépouiller le peuple Romain des droits de se donner des maîtres. Nous connoissons en détail toutes les dignités, tous les titres dont la politique, la flatterie, la reconnoissance avoient comblé Octavien. Bien loin que chacun de ses dignités fût héréditaire, sous la république, elles n'étoient pas même perpétuelles. On sent combien leur l'assemblage donnoit d'éclat à celui qui en étoit revêtu; mais pouvoit-il les dénaturer au point de les rendre le patrimoine d'une seule famille? Tout ce qu'une longue prescription pourroit faire, ce seroit de rendre l'empire héréditaire de fait. Mais si le fait et le droit se confondent aux yeux du politique, ils sont bien différens à ceux du jurisconsulte.

II. On

II. On connoît la politique d'Auguste. On sait avec combien d'art il présentoit toujours aux Romains l'esclavage sous l'image de la liberté. Premier citoyen, homme de la nation il n'avoit accepté la commission de rétablir l'ordre, que pour s'en démettre lorsque son ouvrage seroit achevé. Un prince de ce caractère auroit-il jamais fait sentir aux Romains que de souverains du monde ils étoient dévenus esclaves d'une famille de chevaliers, sans avoir même conservé le pouvoir de choisir leurs tyrans? Auroit-il accepté un droit qui le rendoit plus odieux sans le rendre plus puissant?

III. Les faits viennent appuyer les raisonnemens. L'an 727 Auguste fit mine de vouloir rendre la liberté aux Romains. Mais il se rendit enfin aux instances du sénat qui chérissoit sa servitude. Ce fut alors que se fit la célèbre division des provinces. Auguste ne voulut recevoir l'empire que pour dix ans; et sous son règne le peuple Romain élut cinq fois son prince, quoiqu'à la vérité il choisit toujours la même personne. Croira-t-on qu'un pouvoir ait été héréditaire qui n'étoit pas même perpétuel?

IV. Le commencement de l'histoire impériale n'offre qu'une suite de comédies dont la plaisanterie étoit encore rehaussée par la gravité qui s'y mêloit. Tibère est déjà reconnu pour empereur par les armées et par les provinces. Il entre au sénat, il y joue le rôle de particulier. Le sénat le prie de se charger du gouvernement de l'empire. Il allègue sa vieillesse, il refuse, il capitule, il cède. Dans un état héréditaire auroit-il jamais pris ce rôle?

rôle? Il auroit pu paroître vouloir abdiquer, mais il eût avoué qu'il régnoit. Le sénat auroit-il jamais avoué que la république étoit sans chef?—Non—l'équité, de concert avec la flatterie, auroit fait valoir les principes du droit public, les droits de Tibère, ceux de Drusus, et de Germanicus. La force rendoit hommage aux loix. Tibère, maître de vingt-cinq légions, craignoit de paroître empereur avant que d'avoir obtenu l'aveu du sénat.

Il faut voir dans notre auteur lui-même, avec combien de précision, il répond aux objections. En voici les deux principales, 1. Que le sénat avoit rendu l'empire héréditaire dans la famille de Jules César. 2. Que Tibère en disposa par son testament. J'aurai cependant la hardiesse d'en proposer quelques autres, après avoir posé un principe qui me paroît incontestable: c'est que le témoignage d'un historien contemporain est d'une toute autre autorité dans ces matières que les inductions que nous autres François pouvons tirer des faits qui se rencontrent dans leurs écrits. La raison en est claire. C'est que nous ne voyons l'histoire de ces tems qu'en gros, au lieu qu'ils la voyoient en détail: et c'est de ce détail que tout dépend dans des discussions aussi délicates que celles-ci. Le spectacle de l'établissement de l'empire se montroit tout entier à leurs yeux. Tout leur en rappelloit, la constitution, les actes du sénat, les sermens de fidélité, les exemples dont ils étoient témoins. A peine nous en est-il parvenu quelques foibles rayons de lumières. Or je vais faire voir que Suétone, Tacite, et Dion croyoient l'empire

l'empire héréditaire, au moins dans les commencemens.

I. Voici de quelle façon le premier de ces écrivains s'exprime au sujet de l'Empereur Titus. " Fratrem insidiari sibi non desinentem, sed pene ex professo sollicitantem exercitus, meditantem fugam, nec occidere neque seponere ac ne in honore quidem minori habere sustinuit: sed ut a primo imperii die *consortem successoremque testari perseveravit.*(1) Un prince qui pouvoit disposer de ses états comme de son patrimoine auroit fait un présent magnifique à son frère. Une telle déclaration dans un état héréditaire lui rendoit justice. Mais dans une monarchie élective elle renferme un outrage, une violation des droits du peuple, dont j'ai peine à croire Titus capable. L'ami du genre humain l'étoit sûrement aussi des loix qui y maintiennent l'ordre, et qui en resserrent les nœuds.

(1) Sueton. l. viii. in Tito, c. 9.

II. Ecoutons parler Tacite ou plutôt l'Empereur Galba; c'est de l'adoption de Pison qu'il délibère avec ses amis. Après avoir formé des vœux impuissans pour le rétablissement de la liberté, " Sub Tiberio et Claudio et Caio unius familiæ quasi hereditas fuimus, loco libertatis erit quod eligi cœpimus."(2) Qui est-ce qui ne reconnoît pas deux propositions dans ce passage? l'une que sous Tibère, Caligula, et Claude, l'empire avoit été héréditaire, l'autre que Galba fut le premier qui songea à le rendre électif. J'entrevois quantité d'entorses qu'un homme d'esprit peut donner à ce passage; mais qu'il se souvienne qu'il est de Tacite, c'est à dire de l'écrivain dont tous les faits sont exacts,

(2) Tacit. Hist. l. i. c. 16.

exacts, toutes les idées profondes, et toutes les expressions précises.

III. Dion est le dernier dont je citerai le témoignage. Cet historien dit que Brittannicus avoit un droit incontestable à l'empire comme fils de Claude, et que si Néron y pouvoit prétendre, c'étoit comme fils adoptif de ce même Claude.(3) Ce texte n'a pas besoin de commentaire. Je sais au reste que rien n'est plus commode, ni en même tems plus incommode, que l'autorité de Dion: nous est il favorable?—c'est un homme du monde et du cabinet qui posséda les plus grandes dignités de l'empire, et qui employa vingt-deux ans à écrire son histoire. (4) Nous condamne-t-il?—c'est un ennemi de toute liberté et de toute vertu, âme anti-républicaine, anti-romaine, et remplie des préjugés d'un Grec Asiatique.(5) Qu'on décide une fois pour tout de son dégré de poids, mais que ce ne soit pas le besoin du système qui en décide.

(3) Dion. Hist. Rom. l. lxi. p. 687.

(4) Œuvres de la Mothe le Vayer, tom. i. p. 324.

(5) Idem. De la Bleterie; Mém. de l'Acad. des Belles. Lettres, tom. xix. p. 369.

En attendant que M. de la Bleterie éclaircisse ces difficultés, tenons nous toujours à son système. Il est clair, plausible, et bien lié. Si c'est une erreur, c'est une de ces erreurs qui éclairent l'esprit en le trompant. En le supposant prouvé je vais hasarder quelques idées sur la part qu'avoient les soldats au choix des empereurs. J'entends de la part qu'ils y avoient conjointement avec le sénat, et de l'aveu de ce même sénat; car il seroit aussi ridicule de considérer tant de princes massacrés, l'empire même mis à l'enchère, comme des actes de pouvoir légitime de la part de la milice, qu'il le seroit de régler nos notions des droits des empereurs

reurs sur les excès d'un Néron. Je trouve que le sénat revêtissoit le nouveau prince de ses titres, et que les armées confirmoient son choix par leur consentement. Etablissons le fait, et cherchons en les raisons.

La grande âme de César en imposoit aux soldats. La politique délicate d'Auguste les contenoit dans leurs devoirs. Ils détestoient et ils craignoient Tibère.(6) Ils aimoient dans Caius, la mémoire de Germanicus et de Drusus. (7) D'ailleurs Auguste, qui forma les cohortes prétoriennes, les éloignoit toujours de Rome.(8) Tibère les y rassembla dans un camp.(9) Ils devinrent redoutables, et ils sentirent qu'ils l'étoient. Caius, après avoir vécu en monstre, périt en tyran. Aussitôt les soldats déterrent Claude dans le palais. Il demande la vie, on lui offre l'empire. Le mot de liberté rassemble le sénat; il croit être dans le siècle des Scipions, il commande; il se souvient qu'il est dans celui des Césars, il supplie; les députés du sénat allèguent l'autorité des loix,*(10) Claude ne se prévaut que de celle des armes. Celle-ci l'emporte, et Claude est empereur. Cependant jusqu'ici les soldats ne font valoir d'autres droits que celui des brigands, mais nous allons voir que dans peu de tems l'usage s'érige en droit, et que, pour parler avec Tacite, " Morem accommodari prout conducat, et fore hoc quoque in his quæ mox usurpentur."(11)

(6) V. Tacit. Annal i. præsert. c. 42.
(7) Sueton. l. iv. c. 13.
(8) Idem. l. ii. c. 49.
(9) Tacit. Annal. iv. c. 2.

(10) Joseph. Antiq. Jud. l. xix. p. 669. Dion. Hist. Rom. l. lx. p. 662. Sueton. l. v. c. 10.

(11) Tacit. Annal. xii. c. 6.

* Οἱ διδάξειαν μὴ δεῖν ἐπὶ καθέξει τῆς ἀρχῆς, βιάζεσθαι, παραχωρεῖν δὲ τῇ συγκλήτῳ. Ce sont là les paroles de Josephe.

A la

A la première vacance du trône, on voit Néron, qui y monta. Il harangue le sénat le lendemain de son élection. Il parle avec plaisir de l'autorité du sénat, mais il y joint le consentement des soldats. " De auctoritate patrum, et consensu militum præfatus."(12) On sent assez la conséquence de cette expression* quand on réfléchit, qu'elle se trouve dans une harangue d'appareil, et qui se fit devant le sénat même.

(12) Tacit. Annal. xiii. c. 4.

Je ne me propose pas de parcourir toute l'histoire Romaine pour y chercher des preuves de ma thèse. Cependant je ne puis pas me dispenser de parler de la singulière contestation entre l'armée et le sénat après la mort de l'Empereur Aurélien.(13) On y voit deux corps assez modérés pour se céder leurs droits respectifs, assez avoués dans leurs prétensions pour pouvoir le faire avec bienséance.

(13) V. Vopisc. in Vit. Tacit.

Quand l'origine et les prétextes de ce droit se déroberoient à notre vue, nous ne devrions pas en être surpris. Quiconque est maître des armes l'est à la fin de tout. Mais ici nous n'avons pas besoin de cette maxime. Les soldats pouvoient fonder leur droit sur des raisons aussi spécieuses qu'elles étoient peut-être peu solides.

I. Ils représentoient en quelque sorte le peuple Romain. Les Comices ne subsistoient plus, le peuple de la ville ne demandoit que du pain et des spectacles.(14) Autrefois toute la nation étoit sol-

(14) Vide Tacit. præ. Hist. l. i. c. 4.

* Il semble que l'expression *consensus militum* devint la formule ordinaire, du moins Pison s'en servit aussi en parlant de son adoption par Galba.

dats,

dats, et toute la nation élisoit ses chefs; sous les empereurs la partie la plus choisie l'étoit, et cette partie sembloit avoir succédé aux droits du tout, et devoir concourir avec le sénat dans l'élection de ses princes. Par cette raison, les prétoriens habitans de Rome croyoient y avoir plus de droit que les légionnaires, qui n'étoient que citoyens Romains, et que ceux-ci en excluoient tout à fait les auxiliaires. (15.)

(15) Voyez Du Bos, Hist. Crit. de la Mon. Fran. tom. i. p. 60.

II. Sous la république, les soldats, dans de certaines occasions, avoient élu leurs chefs: témoin le brave Martius. (16) Il est vrai que cette élection passoit pour illégitime. (17) Mais dans des usages qui favorisent nos prétensions nous nous souvenons de la pratique, et nous oublions sa condamnation.

(16) Tit. Liv. Hist. l. xxv. c. 37.

(17) Idem, l. xxvi. c. 2.

III. L'équivoque du mot d'*Imperator* leur fournissoit une nouvelle raison; je crois même que c'est celle qui a eu le plus de poids. Les soldats conféroient le titre d'*Imperator*, *imperatorem salutabant*, comme auparavant, (18) mais ce mot avoit bien changé de signification. Sous la république il n'étoit que le titre d'un général vainqueur, sous l'empire il avoit ajouté à son ancien sens un autre bien plus relevé, c'étoit le nom de la première dignité de l'état; la personne qui l'avoit reçu dévenoit généralissime absolu de toutes les armées. (19) Nouvel exemple de l'attachement des hommes aux noms, et de leur négligence pour les idées qu'ils renferment.

(18) Vide Pitisc. Lex. Antiq. sub voce Imper.

(19) Dion, Hist. Rom. l. xliii. p. 235.

Il faut (suivant M. de la Bleterie) considérer le titre d'Auguste sous trois points de vue différens.

1. Pour Octavien, c'étoit un titre personnel; comme *Pius, Magnus, Felix.* Les Romains lui reconnoissoient par-là quelque chose supérieure à l'homme, qui tenoit de la divinité. 2. Pour Tibère, pour Livie, pour Caius, c'étoit un nom de famille. 3. Il devint un titre de dignité sous les empereurs suivans. Cependant il conservoit toujours quelques marques de son origine personnelle. C'étoit le seul titre que gardoient les princes qui avoient abdiqués. C'étoit le seul qu'on communiquoit aux femmes des empereurs.

REMARQUES CRITIQUES SUR LE NOMBRE DES HABITANS DANS LA CITÉ DES SYBARITES.

Boileau apprit à Racine l'art de rimer difficilement. Je voudrois que M. Wallace m'eût l'obligation de lui avoir appris à croire difficilement. Il en auroit assez besoin. Les trois cens mille combattans de Sybaris ne lui font aucune peine. Quel Pyrrhonien que ce M. Hume! La seule incrédibilité du nombre le lui fait rejetter.* Entrons cependant dans la pensée de ce M. Hume, et faisons voir que le territoire de Sybaris n'a jamais pu être peuplé à ce point là. La littérature ne comporte guères les démonstrations. Quel bonheur pour nous, si nous en trouvions!

* Vide Wallace upon the Numbers of Mankind, p. 303.

Cro-

Crotone, l'ennemie de Sybaris, en étoit éloignée d'environ deux cens stades du côté du midi.* Ces deux cens stades sont donc la plus grande étendue possible de la cité de Sybaris. Héracléé, sujette aux Tarentins, l'empêchoit de s'étendre beaucoup plus loin vers le septentrion.† La mer qui baignoit ses murs formoit sa frontière orientale, et l'on n'a qu'à jetter les yeux sur la carte pour voir combien l'Italie, rétrécie elle-même, lui fournissoit peu de conquêtes occidentales. Pour mettre les Sybarites à leur aise, accordons-leur un cercle dont le rayon soit de deux cens stades.

Le stade Grec est composé de six cens pieds. Or, comme le pied Grec est au pied de roi en raison de 23 à 24,‡ 600 pieds nous donnent 575 pieds de roi. Le rayon du cercle en a 155,000, et par les opérations ordinaires, la circonférence 974,286, et l'espace circonscrit par le cercle contiendra 37,997,154,000 pieds quarrés. 28,800 pieds quarrés des Romains, ou 24,365 pieds de roi formoient le *jugerum*. Ce cercle contenoit 1,559,498 *jugera*.

Du tems de la fondation de Rome deux jugera suffisoient pour l'entretien d'une famille§ composée de sept personnes.‖ Le territoire de Sybaris, cultivé de la même manière, en auroit pu nourrir

* Strabon, l. vi. p. 404.

† Voyez Mazochii Comment. in Tub. Heraclêens. ap. Journal des Savans, Novembre, 1758, p. 16.

‡ Eisenschid. de Ponderibus et Mensur. Veterum, p. 110.

§ Plin. Hist. Natural. l. xviii. c. 2.

‖ Wallace, page 119.

5,458,243. Malheureusement les récits de Diodore et de Strabon* nous obligent d'en trouver presqu'une fois autant. Trois cens mille hommes se mirent en campagne contre ceux de Crotone. C'étoit tout au plus la moitié des Sybarites en état de porter les armes. Ceux-ci étoient au nombre de 600,000; toutes les personnes libres de 2,400,000, et tous les habitans de 9,600,000: comptant la proportion des esclaves aux maîtres comme trois à un.

L'on sentira assez combien toutes les suppositions ont été faites favorables aux Sybarites. J'ai supposé tout leur territoire cultivé, villes, déserts, rivières, tout a été supprimé. Je n'ai point fait attention au luxe et à la mollesse des Sybarites. Je ne leur ai pas donné plus d'esclaves qu' à ces Romains dont les consuls eux-mêmes bêchoient la terre. Je leur ai supposé la même simplicité, la même patience, la même assiduité au travail qu'à ces pâtres qui s'exerçoient à conquérir l'univers.

Que sera-ce encore si le fondement de cette supposition est ruineux, si les Romains eux-mêmes ne pouvoient pas nourrir une famille du crû de deux *jugera?* On exagère avec tant de plaisir. Les Romains sont-ils pauvres?—deux jugera entretiennent une famille. Sont-ils riches?—leurs bains couvrent des provinces. Mais venons à quelque chose de plus précis. Du tems de la simplicité Grecque et Romaine, un *chœnix* par jour, ou quatre *modii* à peu près par mois, nourrissoient une personne. C'étoit l'étroit nécessaire. On le don-

* Diodor. l. xii. c. 9. Strab. l. vi. p. 404.

noit

noit aux esclaves.* Or quel étoit le produit d'un jugerum? Cicéron nous l'apprend de la campagne de Leontium; dix *medimni*, les bonnes années,—huit, année commune.† Mais cette campagne, distinguée par sa fertilité, ‡ ne doit point servir de modèle pour toutes les autres. Si nous leur accordons, aux unes portant les autres, cinq *medimni*, ce sera beaucoup. Il en faut encore déduire un *medimnus* d'ensemencement, reste à quatre medimni à vingt-quatre modii. Deux jugera ne suffisent donc qu'à l'entretien d'une seule personne; et le territoire de Sybaris, en supposant les deux tiers cultivés, pouvoit en nourrir cinq cens vingt mille, pas la seizième partie de ceux que Diodore, Strabon, et M. Wallace y ont placés. Je ne déciderai pas s'il les nourissoit en effet.

Votre raisonnement seroit juste, me dira-t-on, si les Sybarites ne se nourissoient que du produit de leurs terres. Mais il faisoient venir du grain de chez l'étranger. Cette ressource est commode. Elle garantit les Sybarites de la disette, et leurs panégyristes des objections. Il faut cependant prendre garde de ne pas l'employer trop souvent,

* V. Hortensius de Re Frumentaria apud Ciceron. Olivet. Tom. iv. p. 605.

† Cicero in Verr. Actio II. l. iii. c. 47. In jugere Leontini agri, medimnum fere tritici, perpetuâ et æquabili satione, ager efficit, cum octavo, bene ut agatur; ut omnes Dii adjuvent cum decimo.

‡ Cicero, in Verr. Actio II. l. iii. c. 18.

Quod caput est rei frumentariæ, campus Leontinus, cujus antea species erat, ut cum obsitum vidisses, annonæ caritatem non vererere.

de peur de faire entrer du bled dans tous les pays sans en faire sortir d'aucun. Les importations de cette espèce ne se peuvent faire que chez des peuples riches et commerçans. Les exportations annoncent à coup sûr une contrée moins peuplée qu'elle ne pourroit l'être; et si la fertilité du terroir, ou l'art des habitans n'y suppléent en partie, un pays assez dégarni d'habitans. Cependant, selon les admirateurs des anciens, les environs de Sybaris, la Grèce, l'Italie, la Sicile, l'Afrique regorgeoient alors de monde.

Mais que les Sybarites ayent fait venir du grain, leur commerce n'a pas sûrement surpassé celui d'Athènes, le siège de l'empire et des arts. Celui-ci n'alloit qu'à 1,600,000 medimni tout au plus, peut-être à la moitié seulement.* 200,000 personnes ont pu subsister de ce commerce, et l'on pourroit trouver dans la cité de Sybaris 720,000 âmes; la douzième partie du nombre requis.

Puisque deux auteurs estimés ont pu convenir d'un fait impossible, que la population de l'antiquité nous devient suspecte! Il est si peu de faits appuyés sur des autorités aussi bonnes. En tout, hormis la religion, il vaut mieux ne pas croire assez, que de croire trop.

* Wallace, p. 291.

DU-

DU GOUVERNEMENT FÉODAL, SURTOUT EN FRANCE.

La terre (disoit le Jupiter d'Homère) est suspendue dans les airs, par une chaine d'or; seul je soutiens ce poids immense. L'effort réuni des dieux ne sauroit me l'arracher. Cette chaine d'or c'est le systême féodal, mais il s'en falloit bien que son chef put tenir le même langage. Homer. Iliad. © 19-27.

Des milliers de légistes ont commenté tous les détails minutieux de ce systême. Depuis un siècle, et surtout en France, on a voulu rechercher son origine et ses principes. Les paradoxes hardis du Comte de Boulainvilliers, et les sophismes adroits de l'Abbé Du Bos sont assez connus. Le Président de Montesquieu, toujours brillant et toujours profond, y a porté ses vues systématiques et philosophiques. L'Abbé de Mably vient de nous donner sur cette matière un ouvrage utile et bien écrit.* L'esprit juste et méthodique emprunte les conjectures du génie, et lui rend des critiques. Instruit par Mably, on lit Montesquieu avec plus de fruit et de sureté; l'on marche sans s'égarer à la lueur de ses éclairs. Ces hommes célèbres ont ouvert la carrière; je les suis en tremblant.

N'obscurcissons point nos idées sous prétexte

* V. Le Comte de Boulainvilliers sur l'ancien gouvernement de la France; l'Abbé du Bos, Histoire Critique de l'Etablissement de la Monarchie Françoise; l'Esprit des Loix, livres xxx et xxxi; Observations sur l'Histoire de France de l'Abbé de Mably, &c. &c.

de les simplifier. Le système féodal, assemblage monstrueux de tant de parties, que le tems et le hasard ont réunies, nous offre un objet très compliqué; pour l'étudier il faut le décomposer.

J'examine la France au commencement du douzième siècle, lorsque le gouvernement féodal avoit acquis un peu de tranquillité sans rien perdre de sa vigueur, j'y vois, 1. Une hiérarchie presqu'infinie, qui ne laisse à son chef qu'un vain fantôme de pré-éminence, et dont chaque membre, à la fois suzerain et vassal, exerce tous les droits de la puissance publique, en démembrant l'état. 2. La foi et l'hommage, seuls liens de ce grand corps. 3. Le service militaire que chaque vassal doit à son seigneur pour le fonds qu'il reconnoît tenir de sa bonté. 4. Des millions de paysans enchaînés à la terre qu'ils cultivent.

I. Foi et hommage.

Les anciens Germains respectoient la naissance, mais ils n'obéissoient qu'au mérite; et ne connoissoient de mérite que la valeur. Leurs chefs, aussi barbares qu'eux, sentirent cependant cette vérité, et ils appellèrent de bonne heure les mœurs au secours des loix. Rois, ils présidoient à peine dans ce champ de Mars toujours couvert d'orages; guerriers, ils surent rassembler autour d'eux une troupe de jeunes guerriers qui leur juroient un dévouement sans bornes parcequ'il étoit volontaire. Ils étoient craints et respectés à proportion du nombre et de la bravoure de cette escorte, dans laquelle la noblesse la plus illustre du pays ne rougissoit point de s'inscrire. La foi, l'amitié, l'amour de la gloire, la honte de survivre à leur chef;

Tacit. de Moribus Germanor.

L'Esprit des Loix, xxx. 3.

chef; voilà les liens des compagnons. Ce chef leur devoit sa protection, son exemple aux combats, et des dons grossiers et militaires, des repas, des armes, et des chevaux de bataille. Dans ce tableau énergique que Tacite nous a tracé des mœurs des Germains, je crois qu'il faut principalement entendre les peuples Sicambres, plus voisins de l'empire que la ligue Suève. Cette confédération Sicambrique se renouvella dans le troisième siècle, sous le nom de François. L'institution de ces compagnons d'armes, qui arrachoit l'élite de la jeunesse à la patrie pour la consacrer au prince, auroit dû faire trembler la république pour sa liberté. Mais les François étoient déjà légers et inconséquens; et l'amour de l'indépendance étoit gravée dans tous les cœurs. Cet esprit, plus fort que les loix, arrêtoit également les uns et les autres, et les empêchoient de former des projets tyranniques, d'y consentir, ou de les craindre. Mais l'on peut deviner, (et j'ose même l'assurer,) que ces associations militaires et domestiques n'entroient point dans l'ordre politique de la nation. Elles avoient leur grade dans la maison du prince, sans en avoir dans l'assemblée des citoyens. Le champ de Mars nommoit les chefs des communautés et les juges des cantons. Je pense que les vassaux avoient droit d'y prétendre, mais ce droit général, fondé sur leur qualité de François, ne devoit point exclurre les autres François leurs compatriotes.

Je passe rapidement sur les objets connus. Pourquoi rappeller la décadence de l'empire et les conquêtes

conquêtes des François? Les rois s'agrandirent avec la nation. Les vassaux partagèrent la fortune de leur seigneur, désormais en état de leur prodiguer les richesses des vaincus. Du tems de Tacite les nations Germaniques avoient plusieurs chefs qui partageoient les cœurs et le service de la jeunesse, et qui s'inspiroient mutuellement une crainte salutaire pour l'état. Le tems, les révolutions, et l'avantage commun avoient enfin réuni chaque nation sous les drapeaux d'un seul général qui devint bientôt l'unique Roi. On sait d'ailleurs que la liberté s'affermit dans les révoltes et se perd dans les conquêtes.

Mably, l. 1. c. 3, 4, et 6.

On eût dit que les François ne formoient qu'une société de brigands, qui ne se connoissent plus après le partage du butin. Ils parurent dans les Gaules, envahirent tout et se dispersèrent. Chaque citoyen exerçoit à son gré sa tyrannie sur les vaincus, et assouvissoit sa vengeance contre ses concitoyens. Les champs de Mars ne s'assembloient plus, et le roi, par cette dissolution de la république, étoit dévenu la seule autorité légitime. C'est depuis cette époque que les vassaux, connus sous les noms de *Leudes*, d'*Antrustions* et de *Fidèles*, paroissent revêtus d'une noblesse personnelle révérée des peuples, et reconnue par les loix. Le roi ne leur distribuoit plus que des terres considérables qu'on nommoit bénéfices. Conjointement avec les évêques, ils composoient le grand conseil de l'état, qui s'assembloit quelquefois, mais dont la politique adroite imitoit bien mal la liberté guerrière des champs de Mars. Le prince choi-

sissoit

sissoit lui-même les juges et les centeniers des villages, mais ces villages étoient dévenues des provinces, et leurs chefs portoient les noms de ducs et de comtes. Je vois sans surprise que le prince les prenoit toujours parmi ces hommes fidèles que ses bienfaits et leur serment de fidélité sembloient consacrer à son service.

Mais les tyrans n'ont jamais d'amis, et le prix de la séduction mérite peu de reconnoissances. Ces Leudes, dévenus courtisans depuis que les enfans de Clotaire I. ne paroissoient plus à la tête des armées, ne songèrent qu'à assurer leur état aux dépens de leur bienfaiteur. Les bénéfices étoient amovibles ; bientôt ils les rendirent perpétuels et enfin héréditaires. Le traité d'Andely autorisa cette aristocratie héréditaire qui s'établissoit au milieu de l'état. Il fut confirmé par Clotaire II. et scellé du sang de la malheureuse Brunehaut. C'est de cette assemblée de Paris en 615 qu'on peut dater l'humiliation des rois de la première race.

L'Esprit du Loix, xxxi. 1, 2.

Mably, l. 1. c. 5, 6.

C'est aussi à la succession héréditaire des bénéfices qu'on peut fixer l'origine de la noblesse Françoise comme un ordre de l'état. Assurément il y avoit déjà des familles distinguées dans l'ordre civil et dans l'esprit de la nation.* Les autres François s'empressèrent à donner leurs alleux pour les recevoir érigés en bénéfices, et pour partager les avantages attachés à ce grade, dont la possession d'un bénéfice paroissoit le caractère distinctif bien

* Parmi les Grecs et les Romains il y avoit une noblesse très réelle, respectée de la nation, mais ignorée des loix.

plus

plus que la prestation du serment. Je pense même que les bénéficiers avoient su profiter de ce changement dans les idées, pour s'attribuer une prétension exclusive aux grandes dignités. Une équivoque de mots a suffi pour changer peu à peu la face de la terre.

Les bénéficiers, dévenus seigneurs, s'affranchirent facilement du nom même de reconnoissance; mais l'idée subsista dans la nation, se développa avec le système des fiefs, imagina l'hommage lorsque le serment de fidélité étoit dévenu général, et imposa au seigneur et au vassal un système de devoirs pur, généreux et réciproque.

II. Service Militaire.

V. entr'autres l'Hist. d'Ecosse de Robertson et celle d'Angleterre par Hume.

La foule des historiens nous ont tracé le plan général de l'institution des fiefs avec une simplicité satisfaisante à l'esprit, et qui évite les difficultés en évitant les détails. Les barbares (disent-ils) qui envahirent les provinces de l'empire songèrent aux moyens les plus propres à conserver ce qu'ils avoient acquis. Ils partagèrent les terres des vaincus, le général prit pour lui un domaine considérable. Les commandans des principaux corps en reçurent aussi, à condition de le servir dans ses guerres. Ceux-ci à leur tour s'assurèrent par une semblable distribution de la fidélité des soldats. Les terres tenoient lieu de solde, et l'armée subsistoit toujours cantonnée dans le pays, et prête à se rassembler au premier signal de ses officiers.

Quand cette institution seroit plutôt le résultat des faits que le fruit de l'imagination, elle surprendroit le philosophe qui seroit forcé de l'adopter. Une subordination aussi régulière dans une nation qui

ne

ne cherchoit qu'à jouir d'une indépendance personnelle, et qui daignoit à peine faire des loix générales ! Une armée qui ne recevoit point de solde, et qui se fait donner des terres au lieu de cette solde; des vues aussi réfléchies dans une société de brigands ! Un chef, le premier de ses pairs, qui distribue les récompenses de l'état, et qui les reprend à son gré !

Rappellons-nous encore que le service militaire chez les nations nombreuses et policées, est animé par un esprit bien différent de celui que règne chez les peuples libres, pauvres, et guerriers. Ce n'est que chez les premiers qu'on est obligé de choisir parmi les citoyens un ordre permanent de soldats, et d'entretenir par des récompenses une ardeur toujours prête à s'éteindre. L'homme civilisé craint les périls et les fatigues, l'homme sauvage les recherche. Chez les barbares tout est soldat; l'amour de la patrie, celle de la gloire, le plaisir d'assouvir sa férocité, et l'espérance du butin—voilà ses chefs et ses loix. Il rejetteroit avec mépris une indigne exemption du service; et sa femme, ses enfans, ses foyers domestiques, il ne les défend que parcequ'ils lui sont chers. Tel est l'esprit qui s'est répandu du nord au midi, depuis les frontières de la Chine jusqu'au fond de l'Afrique. Il a dû s'affoiblir par la mollesse du climat, les mélanges des nations, et les révolutions des états; mais quelle nation de barbares a prévu des inconvéniens qui ne se feroient sentir qu'à leur postérité, et un système de mœurs éloigné de toutes leurs idées ?

Je combine l'expérience avec le raisonnement. J'ouvre

J'ouvre les codes de ces peuples qui renversèrent l'empire. Dans les uns il est question d'un partage des terres des vaincus.* Les autres n'en font pas mention,† mais tous, sans exception, se taisent sur ce service militaire imposé à leurs propriétaires; service qui auroit dû reparoître à chaque instant dans les loix de ces peuples de guerriers. J'ouvre leurs annales, je ne vois que des hommes libres qui suivent les drapeaux d'un roi, d'un duc, ou d'un comte. Enfin j'apperçois l'aurore de la nouvelle institution, j'en fixe la date, je marque ses progrès. Je la vois sortir de la terre, cette plante foible et tardive. L'arbre s'élève. Il couvre l'Europe entière de son ombre.

Dans l'intervalle du quinzième siècle au huitième, les barbares (je parle surtout des François) étoient dévenus plus corrompus sans être plus civilisés. Leur humeur guerrière avoit perdu de sa vigueur, et leur gouvernement civil étoit rude et informe; lorsque les Arabes passèrent les Pyrennées et sembloient leur préparer le sort des Visigoths. Le goût n'appelloit plus les François à leurs drapeaux; la patrie n'étoit qu'un vain nom, et la nécessité de se défendre agissoit avec moins d'efficace que l'espérance d'acquérir. La France étoit perdue, mais Charles Martel la gouvernoit. Ce grand homme (que son intérêt personnel éclairoit peut-être sur celui de l'état) institua une milice consacrée au service de la monarchie. Il dépouilla le clergé de la plus grande partie de ces terres qu'il devoit à ses artifices et à la

Mably, l. i. c. 6. L'Esprit des Loix, xxxi. 14, 15.

* Les Visigoths, et les Bourguignons.

† Les Allemanni, les François, les Lombards, &c.

dévotion

dévotion des François; et les distribua à ses capitaines. Il se crut autorisé sans doute à employer les trésors de la religion, à la défense de cette même religion contre les plus cruels de ses ennemis.

Les premiers monumens de cette institution célèbre sont perdus; mais au défaut des diplomes de Charles Martel, nous pouvons puiser dans les annales du tems et dans les capitulaires des rois Carlovingiens, une idée assez sûre de la nature de ces nouveaux bénéfices, et des obligations des bénéficiers. On y voit clairement que, 1. Au lieu de cette reconnoissance vague dont les anciens vassaux s'étoient si facilement dispensés, Charles Martel leur imposa des devoirs précis, de s'attacher à la personne du prince, de le servir dans le palais, et de le suivre dans ses guerres; qu'on exigeoit sérieusement ces devoirs, et que le vassal négligent ou infidèle perdoit son fief,* par une sentence autant plus à craindre qu'elle étoit revêtue de toutes les formalités de la justice. 2. Il ne s'agissoit plus de choisir quelques braves, prêts à mourir avec leur prince. Ce maire politique vouloit donner un parti à sa maison et une armée à l'état. Chaque vassal étoit à la foi soldat et capitaine. Sa troupe, plus ou moins nombreuse, marchoit sous sa bannière, et remplissoit à son égard les mêmes devoirs que le prince attendoit de lui. Aussi ce n'est que

* Selon l'Abbé de Mably on n'a connu le mot de fief que sous Charles le Simple. M. Muratori pense qu'on s'en est très peu servi avant l'an 1000.—V. Mably, l. ii. c. 1. rem. 1. et Muratori, sopra le Antichite Italiane. Dissert. xi.

sous Pepin et Charlemagne que nous trouvons la première mention des arrière-vassaux. Dans la suite cette chaine s'étendit presqu'à l'infini. 3. Pour mettre les grands vassaux en état de soudoyer ces troupes, il falloit leur donner des terres considérables, des maisons, des métairies, et des seigneuries. Je vois dans les capitulaires des bénéfices de 200 maisons, Louis le Débonnaire donne au fils de l'impératrice Judith un fief dans la haute Bavière de 4000 manoirs, 48,000 arpens. Je cherche vainement dans les diplomes le nombre de soldats que chaque vassal devoit fournir. J'en conclus qu'un rapport général, qui nous est inconnu, fixoit une proportion entre l'étendue du fief et le service qu'il devoit. Ce rapport seroit-il différent de celui que Guillaume, duc de Normandie, établit en Angleterre lorsqu'il porta dans ce pays tout le système féodal? Chaque fief de quatre *hides* de terre (de 4 à 500 arpens) devoit entretenir un chevalier, c'est à dire un gendarme bien monté, armé de toutes pièces, et suivi de son écuyer et de trois à quatre soldats. On peut remarquer que le service militaire simple et général dans les premiers tems, ne pouvoit donner que des fantassins. La cavalerie exigeoit trop de soins et de frais. Elle convenoit mieux aux seigneurs des fiefs et à leurs vassaux. L'expérience s'accorde avec les conjectures: l'infanterie, seule force des armées Françoises sous la première race, s'affoiblit déjà sous Pepin, et disparut sous les successeurs de Charlemagne.

V. Hume's Hist. of England, vol. i. p. 145 and 407.

V. Herault, Abrégé Chron.

Les institutions conformes au génie et aux besoins d'un siècle s'établissent sans peine et s'étendent

dent avec rapidité. Les règlemens de la maison et de l'armée du Maire du palais devinrent bientôt le code politique de l'Europe. Pepin donna plus de consistence au système des fiefs, qui prit dès lors de fortes racines dans le royaume des François, c'est à dire dans la France, la Suisse, les Pays Bas, et dans une grande partie de l'Allemagne. Il se répandit avec les conquêtes de Charlemagne jusqu'aux frontières de la Pologne et de la Transilvanie, jusqu'à Beneventum dans le fond de l'Italie, et en Espagne jusqu'à l'Ebre. Les rois de Navarre et d'Arragon en firent la loi commune de tous ces états chrétiens qui s'élvèrent sur les débris des Arabes. Les Normands l'adoptèrent en Neustrie, et le portèrent avec leurs armes victorieuses en Angleterre, en Irlande, en Naples, et en Sicile. Les Croisés l'établirent aux rives du Bosphore, du Jourdain, et de l'Euphrate. Les royaumes du Nord imitèrent leurs voisins dès qu'ils les connurent. Ils reçurent les fiefs avec le christianisme et les arts.

III. Hiérarchie politique.

Charles Martel avoit suivi la politique de Septime Sévère. Sa situation étoit la même, et leurs caractères avoient beaucoup de rapport. Il ne ménageoit que ses soldats, à qui il permettoit tout, à qui il prodiguoit tout, et qu'il regardoit comme l'unique appui d'un trône usurpé. Il humilioit la noblesse, dépouilloit le clergé, opprimoit le peuple, et gouvernoit impunément d'un sceptre de fer une nation libre. Mais il nourrissoit en secret une bête féroce, terrible à ses ennemis, redoutable à son maitre. Ces grands vassaux, possesseurs des plus belles terres du royaume, juges et capitaines des

hommes qui les cultivoient, suivis d'une maison militaire qui oublia bientôt la source première de leurs bienfaits, étoient peu faits pour respecter les loix, dès qu'ils pouvoient les violer impunément. Charlemagne lutta vainement contre son siècle. Ce grand homme, qui sentit comme Pierre I. qu'il n'étoit qu'un barbare, trouva dans son génie tout ce que le Russe chercha dans l'Europe civilisée. Les arts se réveillèrent à sa voix. Il fit respecter aux François les loix qu'il respectoit lui-même. Il rendit au clergé sa discipline et sa dignité, il essaya de soulager et de ranimer un peuple abruti par ses malheurs. Il contemploit avec plaisir la face d'une nation libre réunie enfin dans ses diettes générales. Je crois démêler qu'il prévoyoit tous les dangers de la milice féodale. Dans le tems même qu'il régloit ses droits et ses devoirs, il lui opposoit ces troupes d'hommes libres qui marchoient sous les étendards de leur comté. Il tâchoit de les rendre à la fois plus utiles et plus respectables. L'autorité de ses loix, et plus encore celle de son génie, tenoit tout immobile pendant se vie. Pour assurer la tranquillité de ses peuples, il se vit obligé de troubler celle de ses voisins. Des troupes toujours en campagne et toujours victorieuses connoissent rarement la sédition.

V. Mably, l. ii. c. 2. 3.

L'Esprit des Loix, xxxi. 18. 19.

De tous les empires, celui des Romains s'est élevé le plus lentement et s'est soutenu le plus longtems. Voilà à la fois la cause et l'effet. Chaque province subjuguée étoit déjà préparée à se perdre dans le nom Romain. Les autres monarchies se sont établies et se sont affoiblies avec la même

même rapidité. La vie de leur fondateur a marqué la période de leur grandeur, souvent celle de leur existence. Les conquêtes peuvent rassembler cent nations diverses, le tems seul et les loix peuvent les unir; et cette harmonie, cette correspondance des parties éloignées d'un vaste empire exigeoit des lumières et des institutions que le siècle de Charlemagne ne pouvoit ni imaginer ni supporter. Ce prince se fit sur le gouvernement de ses royaumes un système différent de celui de ses prédécesseurs. Il supprima ces ducs puissans qui administroient des provinces fort étendues, pour les partager chacune en plusieurs cantons, régis par autant de comtes; ceux-ci ne recevoient d'ordre que du souverain lui-même, ou de ses ministres, qui parcouroient l'empire pour tenir les états de chaque légation. Il se rappelloit sans doute que les maires d'Austrasie, de Bourgogne, et de Neustrie, avoient accablé le trône des Mesovingiens sous le poids de leur puissance. Mais sa nouvelle institution perdit l'état pour ne prolonger que de quelques instans l'existence foible et précaire de ses descendans. Sous ses indignes successeurs le champ de Mars n'offroit plus que l'image d'une démocratie tumultueuse. Tous ces comtés s'excitoient mutuellement à mépriser une autorité trop foible pour étouffer une hydre qui renaissoit sous leur pas. Peu redoutables par leur nombre et le peu d'étendue de leurs juridictions, personne ne songeoit à usurper l'empire, chacun à le démembrer, à s'attribuer tous les droits régaliens dans le canton auquel il bornoit son ambition, et à les faire

passer à sa postérité. Ce ne fut qu'en Allemagne, que l'Empereur laissa subsister les ducs des Saxons, Bavarois, &c. qui gouvernoient sous ses auspices des nations entières. Ces sujets formidables rejettèrent bientôt des princes indignes de régner sur eux, mais ils respectèrent les droits d'un trône sur lequel chacun d'eux espéroit de monter un jour. Voilà ce qui conserva dans la Germanie l'idée d'un corps politique, dans le tems même qu'elle sembloit se perdre parmi les François.

Partout les gouverneurs vouloient se faire souverains; partout les vassaux cherchoient à se rendre indépendans. De ce conflit il auroit pu résulter un équilibre capable de soutenir encore cet empire chancelant. Mais tout tendoit à réunir les intérêts des deux systêmes, et à confondre même les personnes. 1. A l'exemple du souverain, les comtes se firent bientôt des vassaux qui ne dépendoient que d'eux, et à qui ils distribuoient quelque partie de leur domaine. 2. On leur permit de conférer les bénéfices publics. 3. Chaque vassal (peut-être même chaque homme libre) pouvoit se choisir un seigneur; dès lors le prince n'eut plus ni sujets ni vassaux. Dans ces tems d'anarchie tout le monde préféroit un gouverneur puissant à un monarque foible et éloigné. Charles le Chauve accorda bientôt l'hérédité des fiefs. Bientôt il donna cette vaine ombre d'autorité qui lui restoit encore. Il confirma aux comtes la possession héréditaire de leurs états. Toutes les parties de la monarchie se plièrent à ce nouveau systême. Les idées féodales dominèrent dans cette révolution.

L'Esprit des Loix, xxxi. 24.

Mably, l. ii. c. 5. 6.

tion. Le roi devint suzerain, et les comtes n'étoient plus que des fiefs. L'idée d'un hommage ne s'effaça jamais, et cette idée conserva les débris de la monarchie. Un petit nombre de seigneurs se déroba à cette nouvelle forme, osa se dire souverain, et pendant quelque tems ne rélevoit de Dieu et de leur épée. Un plus grand nombre de gentilshommes, qui possédoient des terres en roture, vivoient au milieu d'une patrie qui leur sembloit étrangère, et se défendoient à peine contre des seigneurs qui ne connoissoient guères de milieu entre le vassal et le serf.

L'empire porta dans son sein ces principes de destruction. La discorde des enfans de Louis le Débonnaire les développa de bonne-heure, et les courses des Normands leur donnèrent une nouvelle force. Les barbares, qui menaçoient et qui ravagoient à la fois l'Europe entière, détachoient (pour ainsi dire) chaque partie du corps politique pour fixer son attention sur ses propres malheurs. Des villes presque ruinées, des monastères brûlés, des campagnes désolées, étoient ouvertes à ces brigands domestiques plus cruels encore, qui opprimoient sans peine quelques malheureux échappés au carnage. Des forteresses s'élevoient partout, et ces forteresses devinrent bientôt les asyles de la tyrannie.

Les derniers successeurs de Charlemagne, tristes spectateurs de tous ces malheurs, conservoient à peine l'indigne honneur de consacrer des usurpations et de prêter leur nom aux attentats d'un vassal puissant qui daignoit l'employer. Ce nom

étoit encore respectable à la nation, et la foiblesse de Charles le Simple et de Louis d'Outremer détachoit le respect des François de la personne du roi pour le fixer au trône. Le clergé riche, mais sans force, conservoit le dépôt de la tradition; il rappelloit aux grands qu'un roi étoit le premier magistrat de son peuple; qu'en braves guerriers ils devoient de la reconnoissance au suzerain dont ils tenoient leurs fiefs; et qu'il étoit de leur intérêt de conserver à la monarchie un chef, et d'en réunir les forces contre ses ennemis communs. Ce corps nombreux de prêtres, répandu dans toutes les provinces de l'état, tenoit partout le même langage, et luttoit contre cette anarchie dont il étoit la première victime. Ses écrits, ses sermons, les décrets de ses conciles, ne travailloient qu'à adoucir la férocité des seigneurs, et à donner quelques bornes à leur indépendance. On peut voir qu'ils ne travailloient point sans fruit, par l'esprit qui subsistoit en France sous l'imbécile Charles le Simple. Rollo, chef des Normands, se fit céder une grande province. Mais ce payen vainqueur des François sentit que sa souveraineté indépendante révolteroit un peuple qu'il vouloit se concilier. Il se mit à genoux devant ce phantôme dont il avoit ébranlé le trône, et lui jura sans peine un hommage qu'il étoit maître de violer à son gré. Ce grand exemple, qui multiplioit ceux de la révolte, fortifia la théorie de la vassalité, et lorsque Hugue Capet unit un grand fief à la couronne, elle étoit reconnue de la nation entière. Les grands vassaux se soumettoient à suivre le suzerain dans les guerres qui

V. l'Hist. Eccl. du Neuvième et Dixième siècle dans Fleury.

Hist. de France du P. Daniel, t. ii. p. 214—224.

qui intéressoient le bien commun de son fief. Dans quelques circonstances ils lui faisoient des dons gratuits. Ils composoient sa cour de judicature, et cette cour décidoit souverainement de tout ce qui regardoit les devoirs, l'honneur, et la dignité de cette pairie. Les services qu'ils rendoient au roi ils les exigeoient de leurs barons, qui y assujettissoient à leur tour les gentilshommes et seigneurs particuliers; et ce poids, dont la vélocité s'augmentoit dans sa chute, accabloit enfin le peuple sous le joug de tous les ordres de l'état. Mably, l. iii. c. 2, 3.

IV. Esclavage du peuple.

On a toujours cherché à rassembler les membres épars du système féodal, et à les rapporter à une cause unique et générale. Les barbares, (dit-on,) qui ont brisé la tyrannie des empereurs, ont apporté à la fois la liberté et la servitude. Leur orgueil les a persuadé qu'ils étoient seuls dignes d'être libres, et les malheureux habitans des provinces ont échangé l'esclavage politique contre l'esclavage civil.

Mais ne se souvient-on plus de la fière aristocratie des Gaulois, où la puissance des nobles n'étoit balancée que par la puissance ecclésiastique? A-t-on oublié que le peuple n'y étoit rien, et qu'une partie nombreuse de la nation obéissoit à des maîtres qui exerçoient sur elle tous les droits d'un maître sur ses esclaves? Ne connoît-on plus ces troupeaux sans nombre de malheureux qui cultivoient dans les fers les terres des Romains, et qui laissoient à peine des habitans libres à l'Italie? Cet usage a dû passer les Alpes avec les richesses et le luxe, et s'accroître dans une province frontière qui profitoit

de toutes les défaites des barbares. Lorsque le Bourguignon et le Romain ont fait ce fameux partage qui respire l'équité bien plus que la violence, avec les terres ils ont partagé les serfs qui les cultivoient.

V. L'Esprit des Loix, xxx. 9.

Les Germains traînoient avec eux des prisonniers dévenus esclaves par le droit de la guerre; chaque chef en a beaucoup trouvé sur les domaines où il s'est établi. Il aura régi cet empire domestique selon les maximes de sa nation; souvent des actes de cruauté et de violence; jamais un système suivi de tyrannie. Il aura abandonné à ses serfs une partie des fruits de ses champs, et content de subsister sans travail il n'aura point demandé à s'enrichir: les besoins du barbare sont simples et en petit nombre; ceux de l'homme corrompu sont sans bornes. L'anarchie de l'état sous la décadence des deux premières races multiplia le nombre des serfs. Les uns dépouillés de tout achetoient leur pain aux dépens de la liberté; les autres, menacés par la violence, se donnoient un maître pour y trouver un protecteur plus puissant que les loix, et la marche lente du tems, ramenant les mêmes causes que César avoit apperçues, ramenoit aussi les mêmes effets.

Tacit. de Mor. German.

Mably, l. iii. c. 1. Muratori. Dissert. xiv. et xv. Cæsar. de Bell. Gall. vi. 14.

Tant de servitudes volontaires ou forcées ont bientôt fait naître plusieurs classes différentes parmi les hommes qui reconnoissoient un même seigneur. Des contrats, ou des coutumes, fixèrent bientôt leur état, leurs devoirs, et leurs droits. Je passe sous silence plusieurs nuances que nous distinguons à peine, pour m'arrêter à la différence reconnue du serf

serf et du vilain. Les droits du second dépendoient moins du caprice du seigneur; sa personne étoit plus sacrée, et ses enfans pouvoient sortir de leur misère, et monter à des grades supérieurs. Le vilain étoit le dernier des hommes, le serf étoit une bête de somme qui différoit peu, dans l'esprit de son maître, du bœuf son compagnon de travail.

Le maître devint bientôt juge. Intéressé à maintenir la police sur ses terres, à prévenir tous les désordres qui pouvoient survenir parmi des milliers de rustres, que leur misère rendoit encore plus féroces, il étoit peu disposé à céder au magistrat de la province l'intendance de sa famille. Ses prétensions sembloient raisonnables. Bientôt les loix les autorisèrent, et il étendoit tous les jours les droits de sa terre sous l'ombre de sa juridiction domestique. Voilà l'origine la plus naturelle des justices seigneuriales qui sont connus en France depuis le commencement du septième siècle.

On peut croire, et on le sait, qu'un grand nombre de ces malheureux qui fuyoient la violence se réfugièrent au pied des autels, et que St. Martin ou St. Denys leur parurent des maîtres dont la protection étoit assurée, et le service doux et honorable. Les églises avoient étendu partout le nombre de leurs serfs et la juridiction de leurs terres. Lorsque Charles Martel dépouilla les ecclésiastiques, ces serfs et cette juridiction passèrent entre les mains de ses vassaux, et la justice devint un des caractères les plus essentiels d'un fief.

Conclusion.

Je m'arrête: j'ai considéré le système féodal, l'hiérarchie politique, la foi et l'hommage, le service

service militaire, et l'esclavage du peuple. Ce fleuve rapide, grossi de mille eaux étrangères, inondoit encore l'Europe dans le douzième siècle.

J'entrevois une nouvelle carrière plus vaste et plus utile encore : la décadence de ce système, et ceux qui se sont élevés sur ses débris, sa chute rapide et terrible en Italie, son dépérissement lent et tranquille en Angleterre et en France, et la solidité qu'il s'est procuré en Allemagne.

Rappellons seulement quelques idées de la politique des rois de France depuis Louis le Gros, jusqu'à Charles VII. Les barons étoient puissans parcequ'ils possédoient seuls toutes les richesses, l'autorité et les forces de l'état. A la richesse des terres les rois ont opposé celles du commerce et des arts ; ils ont suscité des tribunaux civils et ecclésiastiques contre les justices seigneuriales. Enfin ils ont remplacé par des troupes réglées la milice féodale.

RELATION DES NOCES DE CHARLES DUC DE BOURGOGNE, AVEC LA PRINCESSE MARGUERITE, SŒUR D'EDOUARD IV. ROI D'ANGLETERRE.

On doit une sorte de reconnoissance aux historiens qui nous ont conservé les détails souvent minutieux, mais qui nous peignent les mœurs d'un siècle, son goût pour les arts, et le genre et l'étendue de son commerce. Il y a plus de variété

variété et souvent plus d'instruction dans ces objets que dans la relation d'une bataille, ou d'un traité de paix.

Olivier de la Marche nous a laissé une description fort détaillée des fêtes qui se donnèrent à l'occasion de ces noces, dans lesquelles Charles étala toutes la pompe et toute l'étiquette de la maison de Bourgogne. Olivier en étoit parfaitement instruit. Il étoit alors premier maître d'hôtel du duc; c'est à son bon ami et confrère Gilles du Mas, premier maître d'hôtel du Duc de Bretagne, qu'il adresse sa relation dont je choisirai les traits qui me paroissent les plus curieux.

Après une longue négociation dans laquelle le Roi d'Angleterre et le Duc de Bourgogne ne sacrifièrent qu'avec beaucoup de peine leur inclination à leur politique, ils conclurent enfin un traité d'alliance et de commerce, et le confirmèrent par le mariage de Charles avec la sœur d'Edouard. 1467.

La Princesse Marguerite arriva au port de l'Ecluse auprès de Bruges, le 25 Juin, 1468. Pendant les huit jours qu'elle y passa, elle reçut les visites du duc son époux futur, de la Duchesse douarière, de la Princesse Marie, et des principaux personnages de la cour. Lorsque tout fut préparé pour sa réception, elle partit de l'Ecluse. Le duc alla au devant d'elle jusqu'à Dam, petite ville sur le chemin de Bruges, où il l'épousa, après quoi il retira dans son hôtel, et *croy que tandis que les autres cérémonies se firent, il fit provision de dormir, comme s'il eust à faire aucun guet ou escouade pour la nuict avenir.* La princesse continua sa route et 1468.

fit

fit son entrée solemnelle dans Bruges. Elle avoit amené un cortège nombreux de la cour d'Angleterre: on y voyoit la Duchesse de Norfolk, l'Evêque de Winchester, le Lord Scales, frère de la Reine d'Angleterre, et sa femme; quarante ou cinquante dames et demoiselles; quatre-vingt à cent gentilshommes; et plus de dix-huit cens personnes de leur suite: la cour nombreuse du Duc de Bourgogne, les gens d'église qui portoient les reliques, et les magistrats de la ville augmentèrent l'éclat de cette procession, qui étala encore un genre de magnificence propre à la première ville commerçante de l'Europe, c'étoient les compagnies de négocians étrangers qui renchérissoient les unes sur les autres par la richesse de leurs équipages, les Vénétiens, les Génois, les Florentins, et les villes Hanséatiques. Marguerite étoit portée dans une litière qu'accompagnoient à pied les premiers seigneurs des deux cours. De ses dames les unes étoient montées sur des haquenées blanches; les autres la suivoient dans cinq chariots. La procession finit à l'hôtel du Duc de Bourgogne.

Pendant les dix jours que durèrent les fêtes, on ne vit à Bruges qu'un enchainement de luxe et de plaisir. Les *banquets* et les tournois sont ce qui nous intéresse le plus.

Je passe sous silence la maison ouverte que le duc tint pendant tout ce tems là avec une magnificence digne des plus grands rois. Des fontaines de vin couloient dans les rues, les étrangers étoient servis en vaisselle d'argent à sept tables différentes, dont les seigneurs de la cour leur faisoient les honneurs.

neurs. Plus de six cens personnes travailloient dans les différens offices du palais.*

On avoit élevé une très grande salle de bois, tendue d'une belle tapisserie en soie et en or qui représentoit l'histoire des Argonautes; sujet que l'ordre de la toison d'or mettoit fort à la mode à la cour de Bourgogne. Elle étoit éclairée par un grand nombre de candélabres de bois peints en blanc, mais surtout par deux grands chandeliers suspendus vers les deux bouts de la salle. C'étoient des châteaux placés sur des rochers et des montagnes, parmi les sentiers desquelles on voyoit des hommes et des bêtes, qui montoient ou qui descendoient. Le fond étoit composé de sept miroirs qui renvoyoient l'image de tout ce qui se passoit dans la salle. Ces chandeliers étoient l'ouvrage d'un chanoine de Lisle; qui y avoit ménagé au-dedans une place pour le machiniste qui faisoit tourner le chandelier en faisant sortir du château des dragons qui vomissoient des flammes. Le buffet étoit dressé en forme de losange au milieu de la salle. La riche vaisselle d'or et d'argent enrichie de pierreries y étoit disposée avec goût. Elle passoit le poids de soixante mille marcs. La grande table, qui occupoit en forme de potence le fond da la salle, étoit toujours couverte de trois services magnifiques, dont la décoration présentoit des coups d'œil aussi variés qu'agréables. Au premier souper l'on y vit trente

* A la cuisine 300; à la saulserie 80; à l'eschansonerie et panneterie, pour chacune 60; à l'espicerie quinze; et généralement tous les offices étoient fort fournis de gens.

vaisseaux

vaisseaux qui représentoient autant de seigneuries de la maison de Bourgogne, et qui en portoient les armoiries. Ils étoient enrichis de peinture et de dorure; leur cordages étoient d'or et leurs bannières de soye. Quatre chaloupes, qui portoient le fruit et les épiceries, accompagnoient chacun des vaisseaux; trente gros pâtés en forme de châteaux, annonçoient le même nombre de grandes villes qui obéissoient au Duc Charles. Une autre fois la table représentoit un camp composé d'un grand nombre de pavillons et de tentes qui couvroient tous les plats; ou bien un jardin dont les arbres, les fruits, et les feuilles, étoient travaillés très artistement.

CRITICAL RESEARCHES CONCERNING THE TITLE OF CHARLES VIII. TO THE CROWN OF NAPLES.*

Uncertainty of the rights of succession.

NATURAL and civil law has, each of them, its principle; but by what maxim shall we regulate the succession to states? The rules of private succession cannot apply to them, their object being so

* 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.

different.

different. Public agreements are rarely sufficiently determinate; treaties are liable to chicane; examples are wanting; and each party rejects those examples which are not favourable to his cause.

Quarrels of the houses of Anjou and Arragon.

The kingdom of Naples, and Europe itself, were often distracted by the quarrels between the houses of Anjou and Arragon. Victory remained long doubtful. I am going to examine by which of the contending parties it was merited. The contest is at an end. In the treaties of Madrid and of Cambray, the house of France solemnly renounced its pretensions; and even Father Daniel* was not obliged to maintain them.

The Emperor Frederic II. was lawful King of Naples.

Let us first discover some proposition acknowledged by both parties. Before the council of Lyons, the Emperor Frederic II. was lawful king of Naples; regarded as such by the pope his liege lord or superior, by his own subjects, and by all the princes of Europe. Through his mother he inherited all the rights of the Norman family. The Greek emperors, who would have been his only competitors, were no more.

The family of Arragon descended from him. Their rights.

Ferdinand, whose title was called in question by Charles VIII. descended from the house of Arragon. He asserted the right of inheritance. Peter I. of Arragon, his ancestor, had married Constance, the daughter of Mainfroy, the grandchild of the Emperor Frederic II. and the sole heiress of the house of Swabia: a title incontrovertible, had it

* V. la Grande Histoire du P. Daniel, tome v. p. 196, et p. 259.

been

been pure; but Ferdinand's blood was defiled by two bastardies, that of Mainfroy, and his own.

Reasons why bastards are deprived of the right of succession.

The institution of marriage is necessary in civilised countries. Hereditary property in land implies the appropriation of women: since the best means of transmitting property is by proximity of blood; which must therefore be ascertained by marriage, the public engagement of one man with one woman, whose children are regarded as his successors. Whoever violates this law ought to be punished in his descendant, whose birth being an outrage to society, he cannot be considered as its child, nor participate in the property of which it secures the succession. Such are the laws which reason has dictated to all nations. Manners, often more powerful than laws, here corroborate and confirm them; condemning to perpetual ignominy the unhappy bastard, whose father must ever be uncertain, and who knows his mother only by her crime: a cruel, but salutary punishment, since on it depend the chastity of women, the education of children, and the peace of the community. If then both laws and manners declare bastards incapable of inheriting private estates, on what principle ought they to succeed to kingdoms? The title of a sovereign cannot be too clear, nor his birth too much respected.

Their disgrace in the public opinion.

They cannot succeed to kingdoms.

Laws are deaf to every voice but that of justice and the public good. But it belongs to princes to judge, according to circumstances, whether they ought to soften, or rigorously to enforce the laws. When the repentance of his mother, or his own merit,

merit, have efficaciously pleaded for an illegitimate son, the clemency of a prince may remove the stain from his birth, and thus restore him to society and his rights.

Difficulties concerning the right of legitimation.

But in applying this maxim to the house of Arragon a multitude of difficulties occur, of which it is impossible not to feel the force. 1. By what means is legitimation by a prince to be ascertained? Ferdinand was legitimated by a solemn act; but I know not whether that was the case with Mainfroy: his father indeed bequeathed to him the principality of Salerno, and even the inheritance of the kingdom. It remains to determine, whether a prince, entitled to perform an act of favour and mercy, actually does so by conferring an office of dignity, which cannot be enjoyed unless the act of mercy has previously been obtained; that is to say, whether the substance ought to prevail over the form, or the form over the substance.* 2. Can a prince legitimate his own children? Being sub-

Can a prince legitimate his children,

* 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.†

† Voyez Rapin, Hist. d'Angleterre, tome vii. page 122; et Hume, History of the Stuarts, vol. i. page 74. Howell's Letters, vol. i. s. 1, letter iv.

ject to the laws, he cannot violate them without being amenable to justice; though the public good requires that his person should not be liable to punishment. But, in the supposed case, his violation of the laws may be punished in the persons of those who are most dear to him; it cannot surely be said, that he is obliged to submit to a punishment which his own pardon can forgive. 3. Does this legitimation extend to the right of succession to the crown?* 4. Do legitimated children recover completely the rights of lawful offspring, and of the nearest heirs to the crown; or rather, ought they not to be the last in the order of succession after all the collateral branches? It is not fit that we should be bountiful before we have been just. Even Lewis XIV. when he trampled on the rights of the nation, still respected those of the princes of the blood.

and call them to the succession, before collateral heirs?

This last question is extremely important. Alphonzo, the father of Ferdinand, left a brother named John, who succeeded to him in the kingdom of Arragon. John did not indeed dispute his nephew's right of succession to the kingdom of Naples, but could *his* renunciation bind his posterity? This is a question, with the decision of which we shall not now meddle, since it was formerly the occasion of so many disputes.†

John the uncle of Ferdinand.

Can a prince renounce for his posterity?

* This question depends on the same principles with that of adoption, which I shall shortly examine.

† 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.

These

These reflections create just suspicions concerning the title of the house of Arragon, particularly of Ferdinand: but in the ages of iron when this contest arose, the prevalent customs of the times were more favourable to their claim. In those ages, as wicked as they were ignorant, princes disgraced themselves by a life of profligacy; and when they had not any legitimate children, their barons were easily prevailed on to acknowledge the rights of their *bastards*. How could the barons despise an appellation which they often prided themselves in bearing,* or disavow a right which was often their own? A partisan of the house of Anjou could not attack the title of his rivals, without challenging the rights of the kings of England, Castile, and Portugal.† In matters merely conventional, examples are more powerful than principles. Amidst the light of the XVIIIth century, the pretensions of the house of Arragon may appear extremely unjustifiable; but might have worn a very different aspect during the ignorance of the XVth.

In the middle ages, bastards often inherited crowns;

in England, Castile, and Portugal.

I am not sensible of omitting any of the arguments either for or against the title of that house. Mainfroy indeed usurped the crown, to the preju-

Mainfroy's posterity not usurpers, though he himself was one.

* 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.

† 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.

dice of his nephew Conradin; but as Conradin died childless, Mainfroy's crime was merely personal, and extended not to his posterity.

The rights of Charles VIII.

The rights of Charles VIII. were far more complicated. The deposition of Frederick II. by the pope, and the investiture of Naples granted by him to Charles I. formed the title of the first house of Anjou. The adoption of Lewis of Anjou by queen Joan transmitted this title to the second branch, from which Charles VIII. received it by the testament of Charles, the last count of Provence, and titular king of Naples. These are the three links of the chain, which must be separately examined.

The deposition of Frederick II. by the pope. A. D. 1245.

The deposition of Frederick II. by pope Innocent IV. stirred up Europe against that unhappy prince. The multitude commenced a salutary severity, which did not spare even sovereigns themselves, when they became the enemies of the church. A very few only condemned the pope's sentence, not as unjust, but as too harsh: they thought that his holiness took away crowns with too little ceremony, but they acknowledged that he had the right of taking them away.*

Principles of philosophy.

Sound philosophy would teach us to smile at this pretended right, had it not been productive of too melancholy consequences. The most numerous portion of every community determines the

* 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.

prevailing

prevailing religion: the sovereign establishes ministers to practise its rules, and to teach its precepts to the people: the sovereign also regulates its functions, hierarchy, and appointments; ecclesiastics being not less subject to his authority than judges and soldiers. But without recurring to principles which would not be universally admitted, the maxims of the Gallican church afford a sufficient answer to those transalpine pretensions. According to these maxims, the church, it is true, is not bound in obedience to the state; but neither has the former any controul over the latter. They are two independent, but allied, powers; which ought always to contribute their mutual assistance, without ever infringing their reciprocal rights. The pope can no more depose the emperor, than the emperor can pass decisions of faith. Excommunication is of a nature entirely spiritual; and the person excommunicated, though no longer a Christian, ceases not to be a father, a master, or a king. The emperor Frederick II. was not less king of Naples after the council of Lyons than before; and whatever was done on the supposition that he and his family were divested of the rights of sovereignty, was completely null.

The church subject to the state.

Maxims of the Gallican church.

The clergy's authority entirely spiritual.

The pope cannot depose a sovereign.

But if Innocent could not, as sovereign pontiff, depose Frederick; yet, as lord paramount of the kingdom of Naples, he could deprive a rebellious vassal of his fief. This right is far more specious. The Norman conquerors, through devotion or policy, had consented to hold their Italian possessions as fiefs of the Holy See; which conferred their investiture

The pope could depose Frederick, as his lord paramount.

vestiture on those princes, and on the Swabian emperors, their successors.

Answers of Frederick's partisans.

Yet in examining this right of sovereignty by the principles of the feudal law, I know not whether Frederick's partisans needed to have given up the cause. They might have said, 1. It belonged to the pope to show by his conduct, whether he really acted as lord paramount. Is it by a solemn excommunication, in a general council of bishops, and by absolving subjects from their oaths of fidelity, that a superior condemns his vassal? In such condemnations is it usual to join with the crime of felony, the accusations of perfidy, sacrilege, and heresy? An assembly of peers, and of all the great vassals of the Holy See, with a king of England at their head, was the only tribunal to which Frederick was amenable; and felony was the only crime of which that tribunal could take cognizance. But in the council of Lyons, Innocent IV. appears under no other character than that of sovereign pontiff. 2. Never did any court of justice less deserve the name. It heard neither the accusation nor the defence; and refused to grant to the person accused the smallest delay, although his ministers, entrusted with full powers, hastened to Lyons. Sentence was pronounced before their arrival; a sentence founded neither on acknowledged law, nor on judicial evidence, but on a pretended notoriety of facts, vague reports, and public rumours. 3. The substance was not less defective than the form. Frederick had not deserved to be stripped of his fief. Though a vassal of

1. Innocent acted merely in his character of pope.

2. The sentence was irregular,

3. and unjust.

Duties of a vassal.

of the Holy See, he was not its subject. The vassal of a great fief reigned over it with absolute sovereignty; owing nothing to his paramount but homage, military service, and the negative duty of not bearing arms against his liege lord. These duties, besides, were defined so loosely, that it was difficult to convict him of their violation. If his superior refused to do him justice, he might assert it by force of arms; and his own immediate vassals were bound to follow him into the field against a prince, of whom they were themselves the rear-vassals.* By still stronger cogency of reason, the vassal, when attacked by his lord, was entitled to defend himself by arms. But the pope surely was the aggressor; if this appellation could be merited by excommunicating Frederick, by offering his states to all the princes of Europe, and by openly exciting the revolt of his subjects in the Milanese, Ravenna, and the Trevisan march. 4. If the pope could at pleasure assume the character of sovereign pontiff, or of prince paramount of the kingdom of Naples, Frederick also was justified in using the same right of option between his titles. As king of the two Sicilies, he held of the court of Rome; but as emperor of the Romans, he was subject to God only; and in a quarrel between the church and empire about Sardinia, he had not any account to give of the employment of his arms. He was even entitled, consistently with his duty, to make

Frederick had only defended himself.

4. Frederick, though a vassal of the pope, could make war on him, as emperor.

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

use of the forces of Naples itself, when that kingdom was not the object of dispute. These distinctions appear to be too subtle; and even contradictory. They may really be so; but they are deducible from that work of barbarism and chance, the feudal system, which admitted that a sovereign might be the vassal of his own subject. Without supposing this, let it be explained, how the kings of England since William I. to Edward III. could levy war against France. As dukes of Normandy or Aquitaine, they were vassals of that kingdom; yet these wars were acknowledged as lawful, since in the treaties of peace which followed them, there is not any mention of pardon or amnesty.

Example of the kings of England dukes of Normandy.

On the justness of Frederick's deposition depends that of the investiture of Charles of Anjou. The kingdom of Naples was then indeed possessed by an usurper; but if Conradin could not lose his title by the crime of his grandfather, the authority of the pontiff could not be lawfully exerted but in restoring his inheritance to that young prince. 2. Charles acquired the kingdom of Naples, and left it to his posterity. He was ancestor, the fourth in ascent, to Joan, so well known by her infamous debaucheries. This princess, when ready to be overwhelmed by the arms of her cousin Charles de la Paix, and dissatisfied with her nearest relations, applied for assistance to Lewis Duke of Anjou, brother to Charles V. king of France; and by letters patent, dated from the castle of Oeuf at Naples, the 29th June, 1380, adopted him for her

The investiture of Charles of Anjou dependant on the deposition of Frederick in 1265.

son,

son, and appointed him heir to all her possessions.*

May I be permitted, however, to inquire, whether an European prince is entitled to make so fair a present; and whether he enjoys the right of choosing for himself a son and a successor? The name of king is universally used; but in different countries it is taken in very different acceptations. Among the natives of the East, a king is the vicegerent of Heaven, invested with despotic power over the lives and properties of his subjects. Under such governments a king can dispose of his people for the same reason that a shepherd can dispose of his flock. They are his property. But there are other nations, more deserving the name of men, who see in a sovereign nothing more than the first magistrate, appointed by the people for the purpose of promoting public happiness, and responsible to the people for his administration. Such a magistrate cannot transfer to another, a power with which he is entrusted only for his own life. At his demise, this power, if the government be elective, returns to the people; if the government be hereditary, the same power devolves on the nearest heir, according to the law of the land; and should the royal family be extinct, the people would resume all their rights. These maxims, surely, prevailed among the northern nations, who founded

Can a prince give away his dominions?

An Asiatic despot may. Why?

A European prince cannot.

* 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.

almost

almost all the kingdoms of Europe. Observe the steps by which they rendered their kings, though always subject to the laws, hereditary. These kings were originally only temporary and occasional chiefs. By degrees they came to hold their offices for life. Gratitude confined the sphere of election to some distinguished family; the son commonly succeeded to the father, but the solemnity of an election was still requisite; silence and obedience were finally thought to imply the consent of the nation; which always, however, resumed to itself the right of changing the order of succession, when the public good demanded an alteration.

These princes became hereditary by degrees.

I perceive a glimpse of this liberty even among people languishing in the vilest servitude. The monarchs of the East, who name their successors, must choose him from the royal family; and their subjects would not obey a stranger, though invested with authority by their late king. They have a confused perception that the law ought to be above the prince. Yet (for I am in search only of the truth) it may be observed on the other side, that the authority of European princes has been acknowledged to extend to the power of transferring their dominions. Charles II. of Spain, believing himself entitled to appoint his successor, named Philip of Bourbon. France accepted the testament; Spain submitted to it, and the allies felt the necessity of calling its authenticity in question. Without acknowledging a power of this kind in princes, I know not how we can justify

The power of transferring kingdoms among the most slavish nations.

Yet the nations of Europe seem to acknowledge this power.

The testament of Charles II. of Spain.

The authority of treaties of cession.

tify those treaties, in which a king transfers, not to a kinsman or friend, but to a stranger or enemy, the obedience of a portion of his subjects. The public law of Europe considers those subjects as rebels, when they refuse to submit to their new prince. The famous distinction between domain and frontier, when examined to the bottom, will be found to contain more sound than sense.

Testament of René and Charles IV. of Anjou.

3. By the adoption of Joan I. the second branch of the house of Anjou obtained only the county of Provence. After contending with the eldest branch of their family about the crown of Naples, they found themselves unable to defend it against the house of Arragon. They fled into France, making from thence various expeditions that were unsuccessful. René, the grandson of Lewis I. had no other choice to make than that of Charles his brother's son, or that of René of Vaudemont, duke of Lorraine, the son of his daughter. He preferred the former; and this Charles, titular king of Naples, and count of Provence, dying without children, bequeathed all his rights to Lewis XI. king of France, and father of Charles VIII.

Charles VIII. their heir.

An attentive perusal of a chapter of Philip Comines (Mem. L. viii. c. 1.) suggests the following propositions, which appear to me incontestible. 1. René of Anjou appointed his nephew Charles, and Charles appointed Lewis XI. heirs to all their rights. 2. The king of France acknowledged that these princes were not entitled to alter the order of succession by their testaments. 3. Lewis XI. and Charles VIII. took possession of Provence only

René duke of Lorraine, his pretensions to the crown of Naples.

only because it was a male fief; and that the male line being extinct, René of Vaudemont could not have any legitimate claim. 4. Instead of disputing the title of the duke of Lorraine to the kingdom of Naples, where the Salique law was unknown, the court of France ordered its ambassadors to espouse his cause, and permitted him to lead his company of an hundred lances in the expedition against that country. 5. A discovery is made of ancient testaments of Charles I. and other princes of the house of Anjou, by which they irrevocably unite the kingdom of Naples and the county of Provence; but the authenticity of these testaments was never clearly ascertained. 6. Charles VIII. concluded, that because he was count of Provence by the testament of Charles IV. of Anjou, failing his male issue, he therefore also became lawful king of Naples. From this time, there was no longer any mention of the rights of the duke of Lorraine. Yet this duke, so much despised, might surely have asked, since the two states were to be subject to the same law of succession, why the county ought to serve as a rule for the kingdom, rather than the kingdom for the county? Would it not have been more consistent with justice to reject the Salique law in ascertaining the succession to Provence, because that law was unknown in Naples, than to introduce a new law at Naples because it was admitted in Provence?

The court of France at first acknowledges their.

The subsequent dispute founded on old testaments.

Whether the Salique law ought to have been rejected in Provence, or introduced at Naples.

Maxim of Father Daniel

But we need only adopt a maxim of Father Daniel, to terminate the controversy at once. The

duke

duke of Lorraine had not force to maintain his right; the king of France had; and this force entitled him to a preference. Yet I know not whether we can justly adopt a maxim, which may be thus expressed in general terms. "If a lawful heir cannot maintain his pretensions, they become of course extinct; and the next person in the order of succession may assume his place, assert and obtain the inheritance for himself and his posterity." explained.

Such are the principal titles of the houses of Anjou and Arragon to the crown of Naples. It belongs to the reader to pronounce sentence; after first casting his eye on some other rights of both parties, too weak or uncertain to merit a long discussion. Other titles of both houses.

1. The house of France might assert that by the pope's investiture of Charles I. the rights of that prince devolved to the family of Anjou. I pretend not to decide. The monk who prepared that act with scholastic formality, succeeded so well in perplexing it, that I cannot perceive whether those rights returned thereby to the pope, or descended to the family of Bourbon or to that of Valois. The act of investiture of Charles I.

2. The right of conquest, an odious right, fit only to make illustrious criminals; which alternately favoured both parties. Right of conquest.

3. The right of adoption by queen Joan II. But as she successively adopted Lewis of Anjou and Alphonzo of Arragon, the one of those quantities, to speak in the language of algebra, destroys the other. Right of adoption by queen Joan II.

4. The

Right of possession.

4. The right of possession. The house of Arragon enjoyed it sixty years. Yet the house of Anjou had never relinquished its pretensions; but, on the contrary, seized every opportunity of asserting them.

Title arising from the people's consent.

6. The consent of the subjects, the fairest of all titles. The princes of the house of Arragon might allege the universal obedience paid to their authority; but, according to the opposite party, the cruelties exercised by that house, and the murmurs of the people, clearly proved their obedience to be involuntary.

The only title not liable to objection.

The right of conquest is only made for wild beasts. The laws of succession, though well contrived in themselves, are destitute of fixed principles. The only title not liable to objection, is the consenting voice of a free people.

AN ACCOUNT OF A LETTER ADDRESSED TO COCCHI, BY CHEVALIER L. G. ARETINO,

Respecting some Transactions in the Cisalpine Gallic War, A. U. C. 529.

Florence, 5th August, 1764.

I HAVE been reading a little work, intitled, *A Critical Letter of the Chevalier Lorenzo Guazzesi Aretino, to Doctor Anthony Cocchi, Physician and Antiquary of his Catholic Majesty; respecting some*

some transactions in the Cisalpine Gallic War, in the year of Rome 529; Arezzo, 1752; *in* 12*mo. 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, valour, 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,

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 Ufens; 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

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 entrusted with the defence of Tuscany. Atilius, the other consul, had sailed to Sardinia, with a view of conquering the barbarians of that island.

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,* 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.† 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,

* Littera Crit. p. 37. † Id. p. 39.

we shall find the villages of Lucignana and Sinalunga situated at a convenient distance.* The Romans had occupied an excellent camp; and the barbarians, notwithstanding their impetuosity, thought it wiser to withdraw them from it by stratagem, 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 Æmilius, who by forced marches had passed the Appennines. 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 rout. These difficulties are increased when we follow the Gauls to Fæsulæ and to the

* Littera Crit. p. 54.

foot

foot of the Appennines; and as it 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

* V. particularly Littera Crit. p. 41—58.

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

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;* 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

* Littera Crit. p. 77—87.

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 explained, 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

* Littera Crit. p. 59—64.

timber

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?

AN EXAMINATION OF MALLET'S INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF DENMARK.

July 14, 1764.]—I read *Mr. Mallet's Introduction to the History of Denmark*, with *a Translation of the Edda*, the sacred book of the ancient Celts. We have now half a dozen of bibles, if we include our own. A valuable work might be written, giving a philosophical picture of religions, their genius, reasonings and influence on the manners, government, philosophy, and poetry of their respective votaries. Mr. Mallet is a man of sense and

candour; he has carefully examined his subject, but treats it with more perspicuity than elegance. His great principle, that the religion of Odin formed that character of the northern nations, whose effects are still perceptible among ourselves, is judicious, in many respects well founded, and perfectly well illustrated. He makes excellent observations on the populousness of the North; tending to shew that the numerous swarms which issued from it in ancient times do not prove it to have been more populous than it is at present. The Edda supplied him with copious materials on the subject of religion and morals. In treating of government, he has not a voucher equally authentic, and is obliged to have recourse to Tacitus and analogy. These guides are not always to be trusted. Tacitus indeed comprehended Scandinavia under the name of Germany; but in his general description of the Germanic institutions, he had chiefly in view the nations with which he was best acquainted, those situate near the Rhine and the Danube. Besides, it is not certain that the religion of Odin is as old as the time of Tacitus. When that historian takes it for a truth certain and incontrovertible, that the Germans were indigenous, and that the purity of their blood was never corrupted by any foreign admixture, there is some difficulty in conceiving how he could be ignorant that a great Scythian colony had conquered Scandinavia one hundred and fifty years before his own times. I would rather suppose with Dalin, that Odin's migration happened in the

reign

reign of Trajan. That conqueror's design must have been greatly facilitated by the weakness of the Cimbri, and the slavery of the Sinones, sufficiently indicated in Tacitus. This æra tends to shew that the poverty of human invention, as well as the policy of prophets, always obliges them to enrich new religions at the expense of the old, and to mould them conformably to the national character. A religion inculcating the fear of death would have met with a very unfavourable reception among the Celts. The genius of Odin's superstition and morals prevailed among the Cimbri, who were long anterior to that legislator; and among the Celtiberians, who probably never heard of his name. As to the country from which the author of the Edda came, I would adopt the common tradition which fixes his ancient seat in the neighbourhood of the Tanais and the Palus Mæotis. I am not frightened at the greatness of the distance. Great journies are accomplished by savage nations; and their scanty geographical knowledge is often extended by accident. A Scythian of the tribe of Asæ, taken prisoner by his neighbours, may have passed through successive masters to the shore of the Baltic. At his return, he would describe the advantageous situation of the country, and the facility with which its conquest might be effected. Odin (we must suppose him a man of genius) would perceive, that the nations bordering on the empire were less ignorant, and more warlike, than those removed at a greater distance; and that the leader of a small tribe, who

wished

wished to found a great kingdom, must march against the northern extremity. The intermediate nations would gladly deliver themselves from a dangerous invader by granting to him a free passage; a favour which, in an age little skilled in the art of fortification, is of small importance; and which the heroical sincerity of barbarians seldom permitted them to abuse. The courses of the great rivers must have much facilitated his journey. He would sail up the Tanais and the Volga, to descend with the stream of the Dina to the neighbourhood of Riga. The sources of those rivers are not widely distant from each other; and when the land was less elevated by seventy-eight feet than it is at present, there may have been communications, now lost, between neighbouring seas. Odin established his worship in Scandinavia. Thence it spread among the northern nations of Germany called Saxons, by whom it was carried into England in the fifth century. In those countries only, I think, we ought to look for it: Mr. Mallet's system supposes it too extensive. I do not find in the Edda that Odin the conqueror of the North, and the priest of a god also named Odin, wished ever to pass himself for a divinity; nor that the Scandinavians ever worshipped deified men; a worship much rarer than is commonly imagined. Odin the conqueror boasted of being a magician; a pretension altogether inconsistent with that of his divinity.

July 16.]—I did not wish to proceed with Mr. Mallet's large history, which followed his introduction;

tion; this would have diverted me too much from my present pursuits; but I could not deny myself the pleasure of reading a detached part, relative to the conversion of Scandinavia, in order to see the downfall of Odin's superstition, of which I had beheld the establishment, and examined the principles. This subject is treated dryly, and without taste. An important question occurs, why the inhabitants of the North should have so obstinately rejected Christianity, while their countrymen established in the empire embraced it with the utmost readiness. Mr. Mallet will answer, that the latter consisted only of unsteady young men who had left their native country before they were thoroughly confirmed in the prejudices of their ancestors. Yet he well knows that several of those migrations were made by communities at large; and that the young men were accompanied by men far advanced in years, whose hearts and principles were no longer susceptible of change; by women whose weakness and timidity render them peculiarly prone to superstition; as well as by bards, priests, and prophetesses, who combated the new worship by every weapon that either custom, fear, or honour could supply. This explanation, therefore, will not answer the purpose. Neither do I think it probable that the leaders of the Barbarians embraced Christianity through policy, and ventured to provoke the conquerors, in order to ingratiate themselves with the conquered, whom they despised. Besides, those leaders of the Vandals and Burgundians embraced Arianism. Policy would

would not have taught them to adopt the sentiments of the smallest portion of their subjects. I believe the true reason for the difference arose merely from this circumstance, that the one class left their country, whereas the other remained at home. I speak not here of the Saxons, who knew Christianity only by baptism and punishment; and whose love of liberty rejected that religion as a badge of the imperious laws imposed by Charlemagne. I have in view only those nations among whom Christianity appeared not as a conqueror or persecutor, but as a supplicant. All religions depend in some degree on local circumstances. The least superstitious Christian would feel more devotion on Mount Calvary than in London. Among learned nations reading and reflection, and among the nations of the East a natural warmth of fancy, supply, in some measure, the real presence of objects, and give to them in all times and in all places a mental existence. But mental representations are too subtile to make an impression on the phlegmatic insensibility of Scandinavians; and a missionary must have combated their faith with great disadvantage in their native country. The temple of Upsal in which they had purchased the favour of Odin by thousands of human victims; those rocks which the ancient Scaldi had covered with Runic characters, the more venerable because unintelligible; those mounts which religion had raised to the glory of their ancestors, and by which they hoped that their own would be perpetuated:—all these

these objects kept possession of their minds, because they were continually striking their senses. But the nations of Germany, when transported into southern countries, lost hold of the firmest foundation of their faith. Temples, altars, tombs, and consecrated places were all on the side of a new religion, which naturally insinuated itself into the void of credulity left craving in their minds. They first wondered, and then believed. The changes produced by a new climate in their modes of life, and in the education of their children, tended to estrange them from a superstition better adapted to the banks of the Elbe than to those of the Tagus, and to forests than to cities. A barbarian, who had tasted the wine of Falernum, would not feel much desire of intoxicating himself with hydromel at Odin's festival; and when he panted under an African sun, a hell open to the north wind would not greatly excite his terror. His understanding would be improved, and his heart softened, in his perpetual intercourse with the vanquished; and every cause would concur to make him quit a mode of worship founded on ignorance and barbarism, and to substitute in its stead a religion connected with a science which he began to relish, and inculcating the virtues of humanity which he began to value. He was besides surrounded by a nation of missionaries, whose zeal was animated by a personal interest in the conversion of their masters, that those fierce tigers might be confined in the chains of religion. Bishops, priests, and women, who mingled caresses with con-

controversy, were sedulous to convert the princes and great men, whose example was easily followed by that of the careless multitude. Such means of conversion are far more efficacious than those with which a few Benedictines are furnished, who travel into the woods of Sweden to preach patience, humility, and faith to numerous bands of pirates. These warriors either massacred the priests, or spared them through mere contempt. An apparent exception to this theory tends really to confirm it: the Saxons, who settled in England, were not converted till one hundred and fifty years after their establishment in that country. This happened, because they drove the ancient inhabitants into Wales; because the climate of England was not widely different from their own; and because this kingdom was the least polished of all the Roman provinces. But the same causes operated on the Saxons, though more slowly; and when they began to enjoy tranquillity at home, they readily embraced Christianity as taught them by the Roman missionaries.

A Protestant would also observe, that the Christianity of the tenth century is of far more difficult digestion than that of the fifth. It certainly is so to a man who reasons.

IN-

INTRODUCTION À L'HISTOIRE GÉNÉRALE DE LA RÉPUBLIQUE DES SUISSES.

Chapitre I.

Etat de l'Allemagne et de la Suisse—La Maison d'Autriche —La Noblesse—Le Clergé—Les Villes libres—Les trois Cantons populaires—Ambition d'Albert I.—Tyrannie de ses Gouverneurs—Conjuration—Soulèvement des Suisses—Mort d'Albert I.—Henri VII.—Fréderic d'Autriche et Louis de Bavière—Bataille de Morgarten —Alliance perpétuelle des trois Cantons—Fondation du Corps Helvétique.

La Suisse est située au milieu de l'Europe, entre la France, l'Italie, et l'Allemagne. Sa largeur, depuis Basle jusqu'au mont St. Bernard, est d'environ quarante-deux lieues, et sa plus grande étendue de Genève jusqu'au lac de Constance ne surpasse point soixante-dix lieues. Toute la partie méridionale et orientale de cette province est couverte par la masse énorme des Alpes, et compose le sommet de cette chaine de montagnes qui s'étend de la mer Adriatique jusqu'à la Méditerranée. C'est dans le sein de ces montagnes que les eaux du ciel se sont creusées mille réservoirs inépuisables, dont les canaux vont porter l'abondance jusques dans les extrémités de l'Europe. D'un côté, le Rhin,

Rhin, qui sort du pied du mont St. Godard, embrasse dans les replis de son cours tranquille une grande partie du contour de la Suisse qu'il sépare aujourdhui de l'Allemagne. Sorti du lac de Constance il reçoit le tribut de l'Aar, de la Reuss, et du Limmat, qui se réunissent après avoir arrosé l'intérieur des terres. Il se tourne enfin du côté du Nord, et se perd dans les sables de la Hollande. Au midi le Rhone se précipite avec fureur de la même montagne, et court, à travers le lac de Genève, joindre sous les murs de Lyon ses eaux rapides aux eaux lentes de la Saône. Les Alpes s'abaissant insensiblement forment des côteaux moins ingrats, fertilisés par des mains libres et industrieuses. Ces montagnes se relèvent enfin de nouveau pour former cette chaine qui s'étend sous le nom de Jura depuis le Rhone jusqu'au Rhin, et qui sert de rempart à la Suisse contre la Bourgogne.

Vers la fin du treizième siècle, la Suisse étoit encore une province de l'empire d'Allemagne. Ce grand corps sortoit de l'anarchie, et sa constitution politique prenoit dès lors la forme singulière qu'elle a conservée jusqu'à nos jours. L'autorité impériale fut la victime d'une révolution que les événemens préparoient depuis longtems. Fréderic II. étoit digne d'un autre siècle et d'un sort plus heureux, mais il combattit avec plus de constance que de bonheur contre l'ambition des grands, le fanatisme des peuples, et la politique de la cour de Rome. Les villes Italiennes, devenues riches de leur commerce, et fières de leurs richesses, se rangeoient

geoient avec ardeur sous l'étendard des pontifes qui étoit pour eux celui de la liberté. Pendant que l'empereur poursuivoit en Italie un fantôme de puissance qui lui échappoit toujours; les princes d'Allemagne brisèrent les foibles liens qui les attachoient encore à leur souverain, usurpèrent ses droits, ses domaines, et ses revenus; et s'arrogèrent dans leurs provinces respectives une autorité indépendante et héréditaire. La mort de Fréderic mit le comble aux désordres publics; et l'empire sembla rentrer dans cet état de nature, dans lequel chacun, libre du frein des loix, est l'ennemi de son semblable.

Après un interrègne de vingt-cinq ans les electeurs* cédèrent avec répugnance au cri de la nation qui leur demandoit un chef. Ils s'assemblèrent enfin à Francfort, et ce fut Rodolphe, Comte de Habsbourg, qui réunit les suffrages d'une assemblée dont il méritoit l'estime et dont il n'excitoit point la jalousie. Ses vertus justifièrent leur choix. Son administration, à la fois douce et ferme, rendit bientôt la paix à l'empire, et la vigueur aux loix. Il ne se laissa jamais séduire par la vaine ambition de faire valoir sur l'Italie les droits d'un empire Romain qui n'existoit plus. Il respecta toujours les droits et même les usurpations des princes, et

1272.

Struv. Corpus Hist. German. p. 513. Guilliman. Habsburgica, l. vi. c. iv.

* Les empereurs étoient anciennement choisis par le corps entier de la noblesse Allemande. Vers ce tems-ci les sept grands officiers de la maison impériale, qui avoient toujours eu une part distinguée dans les élections, commençoient à y prétendre un droit exclusif. La prétension leur réussit et fut enfin confirmée par la bulle d'or.

préféra sagement son repos et celui de la patrie, aux prétensions ambitieuses d'une dignité, qui alloit peut-être passer en des mains étrangères. Il borna tous ses projets à l'établissement de sa maison : les empereurs conservoient encore le droit de conférer de nouveau l'investiture des fiefs toutes les fois qu'ils étoient dévolus à l'empire. Les malheurs de ce siècle offrirent à Rodolphe les plus heureuses occasions pour exercer ce droit en faveur de ses enfans. Lorsqu'il eut affermi son autorité par dix ans de victoire, il assembla tous les ordres de l'état dans la diette d'Augsbourg ; sous les yeux de cette assemblée, Albert et Rodolphe,* ses deux fils, reçurent de leur père les duchés d'Autriche et de Suabe ; deux provinces qui n'avoient plus de maître depuis la mort de Fréderic et de Conradin, que leur malheureux destin avoit conduits à Naples pour y périr sur un échafaud. Ces jeunes princes étoient les derniers rejetons des anciennes maisons de Suabe et d'Autriche.

V. Struvii Syntagma Hist. Germanicæ, p. 525. not. 90.

Giannone, Hist. Civile di Napoli, tom. ii. p. 537.

Le duché d'Autriche étoit un des plus beaux fiefs de l'empire. Ses plaines fertiles étoient couvertes d'un peuple nombreux, accoutumé aux armes par les guerres continuelles qu'il avoit à soutenir contre les Hongrois et les Bohémiens. La libéralité de Fréderic Barberousse avoit affranchi les souverains d'Autriche de tous les devoirs onéreux d'un membre de l'empire ; pendant qu'ils en conservoient les honneurs et tous les avantages.

Æneæ Sylvii. Hist. Frederic. III. p. 2, &c. Edit. Boecleri.

Diplom. ad calcem Æneæ Sylv. p. 1.

* Le Duc Rodolphe mourut avant son père.

Le

Le duché de Suabe ou d'Allemannie étoit d'une grande étendue ; puisqu'il comprenoit les pays dans lesquels les anciens Allemans s'étoient établis ; le cercle de Suabe, l'Alsace, et la plus grande partie de la Suisse. Ses ducs donnèrent souvent la couronne impériale, et la portèrent eux-mêmes pendant plus d'un siècle. L'Empereur Philippe de Suabe acheta le premier la fidélité de ses vassaux au prix de ses droits et de ses domaines qu'il leur abandonnoit. Fréderic II. se vit attaqué par une foule d'ennemis qui vouloient mériter le ciel en déchirant le patrimoine d'un tyran condamné par l'église. Le parti des pontifes se croyoit en droit de lui tout arracher ; ses amis se contentoient de lui tout demander. L'interrègne anéantit les débris de l'autorité des ducs de Suabe ; et lorsque les fils de Rodolphe furent revêtus de ce vain titre, ils ne reçurent qu'un domaine difficile à retrouver et une souveraineté qu'on ne reconnoissoit plus. Une seule circonstance rendoit cet établissement d'un grand prix aux yeux des comtes de Habsbourg. Ils y étoient situés au sein de leur patrie. Vers le concours de l'Aar et de la Reuss, s'élevoit un ancien château bâti sur les masures de Vindonisse plus ancienne encore.* Par la foible lueur qui

Guilliman. de Rebus Helveticis, l. i. c. 8.

Struv. Syntagma Hist. Germ. p. 433.

Guilliman. de Reb. Helvet. l iii. Simler, de Republic. Helvet. l. i.

V. Guillimanni Habsburgica.

* Une assez petite enceinte contient des monumens de tous les siècles. On peut tracer encore les ruines de Vindonisse, ville Romaine, ruinée au quatrième siècle par les Allemans contre lesquels elle avoit servi de rempart. Elle étoit le siège de la vingt-unième légion, et des premiers évêques de Constance. Un peu plus loin le donjon de Habsbourg nous offre l'image de la tyrannie féodale

V. Guilliman. de Rebus Helvetiorum, l. i. c. iii. Etat et Délices de la Suisse. tom. ii. p. 174-186.

qui éclaire ces tems ténébreux, on peut y découvrir les ayeux de Rodolphe vers le commencement du onzième siècle, et suivre sans interruption les progrès d'une noblesse qui se démontre par les preuves ordinaires, par les croisades, les tournois, les brigandages, et les fondations pieuses. Au bien de ses pères,* Rodolphe avoit ajouté le riche héritage de sa mère, fille unique du dernier des anciens comtes de Kybourg. Un domaine qui s'étendoit sur la plus belle partie de la Suisse, l'éclat de la dignité impériale, et des conjonctures heureuses lui permirent d'espérer qu'il pourroit un jour faire reconnoître les loix de la maison d'Autriche depuis le lac de Constance jusqu'à celui de Genève.† Trente

Guilliman. Habsburgica, l. vi. c. 4.

féodale et le berceau de vingt empereurs. Les débris encore plus considérables de l'abbaye de Konigsfeld nous montrent les trophées abattus de la superstition. Enfin la petite ville de Bruck, qui termine le paysage, nous présente dans son industrie et sa propreté un objet de comparaison assez favorable au siècle dans lequel nous vivons.

V. Tschudi, p. i. p. 222.

* Rodolphe possédoit cinq des plus beaux comtés de la haute Allemagne; savoir, ceux de Habsbourg, de Kybourg, de Lentzbourg, de Bade, et de Frobourg, avec les villes de Bremgarten, Mellingen, Siersée et Sempach; celles de Zoffinguen, Arau et Bruck dans l'Argew, les villes de Winterthur, de Frowenfeld, et de Diessenhofen dans la Turgovie, avec les pays de Gastern et de Zug, et beaucoup d'autres bourgs et villages. Le comté de Bade et le canton de Zug ont toujours conservé leurs anciennes limites; l'Argew et la Turgovie sont assez connues. Il est difficile de désigner avec clarté les autres territoires qui sont engloutis dans les cantons de Zurich et de Lucerne dont ils comprenoient presque tout le plat pays.

V. Guilliman. de Rebus Helvetiorum, l. ii. iii.

† Les Allemands et les Bourguignons partagèrent la Suisse, depuis le cinquième siècle, en deux portions assez inégales, mais qui

Trente ans d'intrigues et de combats lui avoient développé cette variété confuse de mœurs, d'intérêts, et de préjugés, qu'on n'éprouve que parmi les peuples libres ; et lui avoient enseigné l'art de les ramener toujours à un seul point qu'il ne perdoit jamais de vue. Il conserva sur le trône impérial l'humble simplicité de son premier état. Maître des esprits, il les subjuguoit également par l'amour et par la terreur ; et son ambition artificieuse étoit d'autant plus redoutable qu'elle ne se montroit jamais que sous les dehors de la franchise et de la modération. La conquête importante qu'il méditoit ne pouvoit être le fruit que du tems et de la patience. L'Empereur Rodolphe ne travailla point sans succès ; la mort enfin l'obligea de laisser à son fils Albert ses desseins imparfaits, son exemple, et ses maximes. Mais la politique dépend moins de la raison que du caractère. De celui de son père, Albert n'avoit hérité que l'ambition et la valeur. Un naturel dur et féroce, qui se développa en lui dès sa plus tendre jeunesse, effraya tous les électeurs et donna la préférence à son rival Adolphe, comte de Nassau ; mais la conduite imprudente du nouvel

V. la Chronique de Jean de Winterthur, auteur presque contemporain, p. 7—11.

1291

V. Struv. Syntagma Hist. Germ. p. 536-544.

qui furent toujours distinguées par les loix et le langage ; la Reuss et ensuite l'Aar marquoient leurs frontières. L'Allemannie fit toujours partie du royaume d'Austrasie, et ensuite de l'empire. La Bourgogne Transjurane, (c'est ainsi qu'elle se nommoit,) conquise par les François, eut ensuite ses rois particuliers, dont le dernier le laissa par testament à l'Empereur Conrad le Salique en 1032. Les ducs de Zeringen la gouvernèrent longtems au nom de l'empire. Dans l'anarchie qui suivit la mort de Berchtold V. dernier duc de Zeringen, ces divisions de la Suisse commençoient insensiblement à se confondre.

De Watteville, Hist. de la Confédération Helvet. tom. i. p. 18.

1032.

1218.

empereur les fit bientôt repentir du choix qu'ils venoient de faire. Albert sut profiter du mécontentement général pour soulever toute l'Allemagne contre un prince qu'elle méprisoit. Une guerre civile décida de leurs droits, et le malheureux Adolphe périt par la main du duc d'Autriche qui fut reconnu par toute l'empire pour son souverain légitime. Mais il apporta sur le trône l'orgueil d'un vainqueur et tous les préjugés d'un chef de parti, et sa conduite se ressentit souvent de l'influence de ces passions.

Une noblesse aussi nombreuse qu'indépendante formoit le premier obstacle aux desseins ambitieux de Rodolphe et de son fils. Cinquante comtes, cent cinquante barons, et près de mille gentilshommes, écrasoient du poids de leurs châteaux la terre qui les portoit, et ils se faisoient tous une gloire de ne relever que de l'empire et de leur épée. Il étoit plus aisé de flatter que de dompter l'orgueil de cet ordre guerrier, tour à tour esclave et rival de ses princes, mais toujours ennemi du peuple, des loix, et de la liberté.* Les ducs d'Autriche se plaisoient à le rassembler souvent à leur cour dans des tournois brillans, à adoucir la grossièreté de ses mœurs par les institutions vertueuses de la chevalerie, à le conduire aux combats et à la victoire.† Comblés d'honneurs et de richesses, ces fiers

Leu, Dictionnaire Historique de la Suisse, au mot *Adel.*

V. Tschudi, Leu, Guilliman. Simler, Chronic. Joan. Vitoduran. &c.

* Je dois bientôt parler d'une exception rare et peut-être unique à cette maxime générale.

† Dès son berceau la maison d'Autriche a adopté la maxime des tyrans, de gagner les militaires et de mépriser le peuple. Werner, évêque de Strasbourg, avoit donné, vers l'an 1026, une somme très

Guilliman. Habsburgica, l. iv. c. 3.

fiers gentilshommes revoyoient enfin leurs foyers domestiques; pleins d'attachement pour leur bienfaiteur, et de mépris pour leur triste indépendance, dont les avantages ne subsistoient que par le malheur public. Les châteaux étoient les asyles de l'injustice, et le commerce étoit interrompu par un brigandage honteux. Rodolphe et son fils arrêtèrent bientôt ce désordre par la destruction d'un grand nombre des forteresses des plus coupables. Tout l'empire applaudit à leur punition, et l'autorité des ducs d'Autriche se confondoit avec celle des loix. Tout fléchit sous leur joug, et se reconnut vassal de la maison de Habsbourg, à l'exception d'un très petit nombre de comtes parmi lesquels nous devons distinguer les comtes de Savoye, qui s'étoient rendus maîtres du pays de Vaud, et qui jettoient dans le silence les fondemens de leur grandeur future.

Les Mémoires sur la Chevalerie par M. de St. Palaye.

L'ordre ecclésiastique avoit plus acquis par la politique que la noblesse n'avoit arraché par la violence. Les évêques de Basle et de Constance étoient au rang des plus grands princes; plusieurs abbés leur cédoient à peine, et la Suisse étoit remplie de maisons religieuses sur lesquelles la sainte

très considérable à son frère Ratbot pour construire le château de Habsbourg. Lorsqu'il le visita peu de tems après il se montra peu content de la diligence de son frère. Attendez, lui dit Ratbot, à demain. Le lendemain matin, l'évêque vit avec effroi une troupe nombreuse et armée qui entouroit le château. Cette troupe, lui dit son frère, est composée de toute la noblesse des environs que mes largesses ont attaché à notre maison. Voilà les fortifications que vous désiriez. En connoissez vous de plus fortes?

profusion des fidèles avoit versé les biens de la terre. Ces ecclésiastiques méprisoient tous les arts auxquels leurs prédécesseurs avoient dû leur grandeur; et le peuple ne les distinguoit des laïques que par la supériorité de leur faste et de leur orgueil. Il auroit été cependant dangereux de les dépouiller de ces biens consacrés par la superstition, s'ils n'avoient pas eux-mêmes consenti à les remettre aux ducs d'Autriche. Les uns leur vendirent le patrimoine de l'église pour enrichir leurs familles aux dépens de l'ordre. Les autres les reçurent pour maîtres sous le nom d'Avoués ou Ministres.* L'évêque de Basle, l'abbé de St. Gall et l'abbesse de Zurich, eurent cependant le courage de résister aux menaces et aux insinuations de Rodolphe et de son fils.

Si l'église possédoit des richesses immenses, l'histoire, qui juge les hommes sans faveur et sans malignité, doit avouer que leur source n'a pas toujours été impure, et que leur emploi a souvent été utile aux hommes. Dans le tems qu'une noblesse

V. Muratori, Dissertationi sopra le Antichità Italiane, lvi—lxxiv.

* Pour se former une idée des causes de la grandeur ecclésiastique et de sa décadence, j'ose renvoyer mes lecteurs aux dissertations du savant Muratori sur les Antiquités Italiennes. Ils y trouveront une érudition profonde, une bonne critique, et une sage hardiesse. Il a écrit pour l'Italie, mais ses grands principes et même la plûpart de ses détails sont communs à tous les pays qui ont composé l'empire de Charlemagne. Il sembleroit que dans ces siècles barbares deux passions opposées régnoient à la fois: l'une de tout donner à l'église; et l'autre de lui tout arracher. Le même homme éprouvoit souvent toutes les deux; et la vieillesse n'étoit occupée qu'à restituer les sacrilèges de la jeunesse.

barbare

barbare ne se livroit qu'aux travaux destructeurs de la guerre et de la chasse, le flambeau sacré des arts se conservoit entre les mains des prêtres. Des terres considérables, quelquefois des provinces entières, devenoient la récompense de leurs arts pieux, mais c'étoient, pour la plûpart, des marais à dessécher, des forêts à défricher, des déserts qu'il falloit cultiver. La terre changea bientôt de face; des milliers d'esclaves qui fuyoient de toutes parts la tyrannie de leurs maîtres, se réfugioient au pied des autels et se consacroient eux et leur postérité au service du saint, protecteur de l'église. Des communautés nombreuses se formoient autour de ces églises. On vit naître des citoyens, des loix, et des remparts. La plûpart des villes de l'Allemagne et de la Suisse n'ont point d'autre origine. L'humanité dirai-je, ou la politique, de leurs maîtres les affranchit bientôt de la servitude à laquelle elles s'étoient condamnées, et l'industrie, qui marche à la suite de la liberté, leur fournit le moyen de se racheter des devoirs les plus onéreux. Leurs privilèges n'étoient point les mêmes. Les unes, décorées du titre imposant de villes impériales, paroissoient libres et souveraines. Les autres dépendoient presqu'en tout de leur évêque ou de leur abbé; mais elles avoient toutes un conseil qui rendoit la justice, et une bannière qui rassembloit la bourgeoisie lorsqu'elle vouloit prendre les armes. Convaincues des avantages de leur situation, plusieurs de ces communautés avoient stipulé que leur prince ne les céderoit jamais à de nouveaux maîtres; mais cette condition n'empêcha point l'abbé de Murbach

bach de vendre à l'Empereur Albert la ville de Lucerne ; et ce fut au mépris de ses sermens que l'abbesse de Seckingen reçut ce prince et ses descendans pour ses avoués perpétuels dans le pays de Glaris. Basle, Zurich, Soleure, St. Gall, Schaffhausen, et plusieurs autres villes de la Suisse, ne subirent point le même joug. Elles en furent sauvées par leurs propres forces ou par la fidélité des prélats qui les gouvernoient.

1179. 1191. Les deux villes de Berne et de Fribourg jouissoient d'une liberté encore plus entière, et dont l'origine commune remontoit à leur fondateur Berchtold V. duc de Zeringen. Ce prince, dans le dessein de s'en faire un rempart contre la noblesse de ses états, leur donna une situation avantageuse, des privilèges sans bornes, et une constitution toute militaire. Il mourut après leur avoir recommandé de s'aimer toujours et de ne jamais pardonner à ces barons qui avoient fait périr la maison de leur bienfaiteur. Fribourg, la moins puissante des deux villes, oublia bientôt un conseil aussi dangereux, et chercha le repos et la sureté dans la soumission à la maison d'Autriche. Berne soutint son indépendance avec plus de fermeté, se choisit plus d'une fois des protecteurs, mais ne voulut jamais de maître, s'exerça aux vertus militaires et politiques, remporta des victoires sur les seigneurs qui l'entouroient, osa résister même à l'Empereur Rodolphe, et vit échouer au pied de ses remparts la fortune de ce monarque.

Leu, Dictionnaire Historique, aux mots *Berne* et *Fribourg*. Guilliman. de Reb. Helvetiorum, l. iii. c. 8 et 9. Simler de Repub. Helvet. p. 20.

Toutes ces villes étoient le fruit lent du tems et des

des travaux humains; mais il existoit dans le fond des Alpes, des sociétés obscures, dont la liberté mâle et vigoureuse sembloit être l'ouvrage de la seule nature. Les trois cantons d'Uri, de Schwitz, et d'Underwald, formoient un pays qui s'étendoit près de seize lieues du nord au midi, et dont la plus grande largeur d'orient en occident étoit de douze lieues. Le Mont St. Godard, borne méridionale de ce territoire, parmi les eaux qu'il verse sur l'Europe entière, laisse échapper un torrent qui traverse, sous le nom de Reuss, le long et étroit vallon d'Uri, et se jette enfin dans un lac qui sépare le canton de Schwitz de ceux d'Underwald et de Lucerne. Tout ce pays est couvert de montagnes, dont les sommets ne découvrent à la vue que des rochers escarpés et des forêts de sapins toujours courbés sous le poids des neiges. Leurs côtes offrent cependant en été une nourriture abondante aux troupeaux de bétail qui font la richesse du paysan, et une branche assez lucrative de son commerce rustique.* On a porté l'industrie jusqu'à semer du bled dans les vallons les moins stériles; mais leur récolte foible et incertaine trompe souvent l'espérance du laboureur, et

V. Leu, Simler, Guilliman. Etat et Délices de la Suisse.

* Oswald Myconius, de Lucerne, nous a donné, au commencement du seizième siècle, un commentaire fort utile sur un très mauvais poëme de son ami Henri Glareanus. Il s'extasie sur le grand commerce de beurre et de fromage que font ses compatriotes en Bourgogne, en Suabe et en Italie. Suivant son calcul un troupeau de vingt vaches rapporte à son propriétaire une somme claire et nette de cent écus par an. Ce trait est bien fort pour le seizième siècle.

V. le Poëme et Commentaire dans le Thesaurus Historiæ Helveticæ, à Zurich, 1735.

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le contraint de recourir aux secours étrangers. Un air vif, une terre ingrate, une vie dure avoient formé le caractère de ce peuple. Il leur devoit un corps grand et robuste, des passions impétueuses, des appétits grossiers mais vigoureux, des mœurs simples et vertueuses. La Suisse chérissoit sa famille et ses compagnons, respectoit la religion et les loix, méprisoit la fatigue, bravoit la mort, et ne craignoit que l'infamie. La liberté lui étoit chère, et cette indépendance qui nait de l'égalité des fortunes et du sentiment de ses forces, étoit le premier ressort de son âme. Le gouvernement des trois cantons étoit celui de la nature, et ce gouvernement s'est perpétué jusques à nos jours. Le pouvoir législatif se conservoit dans l'assemblée générale des citoyens. Tous les rangs y étoient confondus, tous les suffrages y étoient égaux, et ce peuple roi, jaloux de sa dignité, ne confioit à ses magistrats annuels que l'autorité nécessaire au maintien des loix et de l'ordre. Le noble et le paysan, confondus dans ces assemblées, apprenoient à se respecter mutuellement, et s'accoutumoient à penser que la première distinction parmi les hommes est celle des talens utiles à la société.

Tschudi, tom i. p. 236.

Je pardonne aux historiens Suisses les fables dont ils ont cru embellir les premiers tems de l'histoire de leur nation, mais je dois épargner à un siècle philosophe les Taurisques, les Huns, les Goths, parmi lesquels ils leur ont cherché des ancêtres. Ce n'est qu'au commencement du douzième siècle que j'apperçois les cantons d'Uri, de Schwitz, et d'Underwald, distingués en trois communautés

1114.

munautés libres et alliées, indépendantes mais soumises à l'empire, et à son chef, qui leur envoyoit quelquefois des juges pour décider en dernier ressort des affaires criminelles. Un arrêt que l'Empereur Conrad III. rendit contre eux, leur parut un acte d'injustice qu'ils ne devoient point supporter; ils lui annonçèrent par une déclaration publique, " Qu'ils s'étoient mis volontairement sous la protection de l'empire; qu'ils l'avoient mérité, cette protection, par des services importans; qu'elle leur devenoit inutile et dangereuse; et qu'ils y renonçoient à jamais pour eux et pour leur posterité." Ils persistèrent plus d'un siècle dans cette résolution qui bravoit l'autorité impériale. Othon IV. et Fréderic II. les engagèrent enfin à recevoir de leurs mains des juges et baillifs. Ce fut alors qu'ils obtinrent ce diplome célèbre qui reconnoît leur indépendance, reçoit leur libre hommage et promet de ne les jamais séparer du corps de l'empire. Pendant le grand interrègne ils prirent Rodolphe de Habsbourg pour leur défenseur, et ce prince, lorsqu'il fut monté sur le trône impérial, leur continua sa protection, et n'attenta jamais à leurs privilèges.

Leu, Dictionnaire Historique, au mot *Schwitz*.

1144.

Tschudi, tom. i. p. 73.

1249. Guilliman, l. ii. c. 16.

Simler, de Repub. Helvet. l. i. p. 4. inter Scriptores Thesauri.

Son fils Albert avoit conçu des desseins bien différens. Il voyoit d'un œil d'indignation qu'au milieu même de ses états une poignée de montagnards osât encore se nommer libre. Il résolut d'employer à la fois toutes les forces de sa maison et toute l'autorité de sa place pour les réduire sous le joug Autrichien. Il étoit assez injuste pour les reprocher la fidélité qu'ils avoient gardée à l'Empereur

1298. Tschudi, tom. i. p. 217. &c.

reur Adolphe, et dans sa colère il lui étoit échappé une menace de les punir aussi bien que de les soumettre. Ce fut en vain que les trois cantons travaillèrent à regagner sa bienveillance et à obtenir la confirmation de leurs privilèges qu'ils lui demandèrent par des députations réitérées. Pendant qu'il renvoyoit cet acte de justice, sous les prétextes les plus frivoles, il traitoit secrètement avec les corps ecclésiastiques qui possédoient des droits ou des terres dans ces pays. Le collège de Munster lui remit toutes ses prétensions dans le canton d'Underwald, et l'abbaye de Wettingen lui vendit tous les services qu'une partie des habitans de Schwitz devoit à son église. La préfecture du val d'Urseren, dont il conféra en même tems le fief à son fils, le rendoit maître du passage des monts et de tout le commerce du canton d'Uri. Il se flattoit encore que les Suisses, accoutumés à passer souvent sur ses terres, puiseroient dans la conversation de ses sujets des idées plus favorables à l'autorité souveraine.

Guilliman. l. ii. c. 16.

1300. Tschudi, tom. i. p. 225.

Ces projets auroient peut-être réussi, si le caractère impatient d'Albert lui eut permis d'en attendre le fruit. Déjà persuadé que tous les obstacles étoient levés, et que les trois cantons étoient disposés à le reconnoître pour leur souverain, il leur envoya une ambassade composée des ministres les plus distingués de sa cour, et chargée de recevoir leur hommage et leurs sermens. Ils étoient instruits de toutes les raisons qu'ils devoient employer; les forces de la maison d'Autriche, la foiblesse de l'empire Germanique, tous les avantages d'une soumission

mission volontaire, et les droits affreux d'une conquête, à laquelle ils étoient hors d'état de s'opposer. Ils devoient ajouter que les droits dont l'empereur avoit fait l'acquisition embrassoient dans leur totalité le pays entier, et lui deviendroient plus incommodes que les services qu'un grand roi exige de ses vassaux. On entendit les ministres impériaux dans les assemblées générales de chaque canton. La réponse qu'on leur fit, fut la même partout, et partout unanime: " Que les Suisses acceptoient avec plaisir l'amitié de la maison d'Autriche, qu'ils révéroient la majesté impériale, mais qu'ils n'étoient soumis qu'à l'empire, dont ils avoient tant de fois soutenu la gloire et les intérêts. Qu'il ne leur étoit pas permis de délibérer sur les propositions d'Albert. Qu'ils en appelloient aux constitutions de l'empire, aux diplômes de ses prédécesseurs, à la mémoire de son père, et à ses propres devoirs. Qu'ils étoient prêts à rendre aux maisons religieuses tous les services auxquels la piété de leurs ayeux les avoit assujettis, mais qu'ils ne permettroient point qu'on vendît la liberté des hommes et ne sacrifieroient jamais celle de leur postérité."

Albert fut vivement irrité d'un refus aussi naturel, mais qu'il n'attendoit point: cependant la prudence l'engagea à dissimuler son indignation. Les Suisses avoient fait valoir le titre de membres libres de l'empire, titre autrefois méprisable à leurs yeux, mais que la puissance Autrichienne leur rendoit maintenant très précieux. En attaquant un peuple reconnu libre et qui invoquoit ce nom sacré, il risquoit d'alarmer la jalousie de toute l'Allemagne.

Tschudi, tom. i. p. 231. V. Simler et Guilliman.

magne. Le feu de la discorde couvoit sous sa cendre et le sort d'Adolphe étoit une leçon effrayante pour son successeur. Sans perdre de vue ses desseins sur les trois cantons, ce prince orgueilleux ne dédaigna point de substituer l'art à la force. Après avoir vainement essayé de soumettre les Suisses à ses tribunaux de Lucerne et de Zug, et de confondre la juridiction Autrichienne avec celle de l'empire, il leur accorda enfin ce que leurs instances
1304. réitérées lui demandoient depuis six ans,—des gouverneurs qui décidassent leurs causes criminelles au nom de l'empire. Il leur en donna effectivement, mais qui ne ressembloient que par le nom à ceux que ses prédécesseurs leur avoient envoyés. Ceux-ci étoient tirés de la première noblesse des provinces voisines et ne visitoient jamais le pays des Suisses que lorsqu'ils y étoient appellés pour tenir leurs assises générales. A la place de ces ministres bienfaisans de la paix et de l'ordre, les Suisses virent arriver avec effroi deux satellites du tyran; gentilshommes à la vérité, mais encore plus disposés, par cette qualité, à écraser un peuple qu'ils méprisoient. Gesler, l'un de ces gouverneurs, avoit le département d'Uri et de Schwitz. Landenberg, son collègue, devoit contenir le canton d'Underwald. Ils s'établirent dans les plus forts châteaux du pays dont la maison d'Autriche avoit
1304, &c. fait l'acquisition, travaillèrent à rétablir leurs fortifications, et les assurèrent par de bonnes garnisons de troupes mercénaires.

On voit avec surprise que les Suisses se soient soumis, sans la moindre résistance, à un joug qui ne leur

leur laissoit qu'un vain nom de liberté. Mais il y a des occasions où les nations semblent oublier leur caractère. L'autorité de l'empire, les forces de l'Autriche, et la hardiesse adroite avec laquelle Albert se servoit de l'un et de l'autre étonnèrent leur courage et ne leur laissèrent que le sentiment de leur misère. 1304, &c. Guilliman. de Reb. Hel. l. iii. c. 16. Simler, de Repub. Helvet. p. 5. Tschudi, tom. i. p. 231.

Les premières démarches des gouverneurs paroissoient dictées par un esprit d'humanité et de clémence; mais lorsqu'ils virent que leurs artifices ne captivoient point l'esprit grossièrement libre de ces montagnards, ils se livrèrent avec plaisir à leur dureté naturelle et aux instructions de leurs maîtres. Un despotisme militaire succéda aux loix douces et égales que les Suisses avoient reçues de leurs ancêtres. On violoit journellement tous leurs anciens privilèges; des fautes légères ou supposées étoient punies par des amendes excessives et arbitraires; les citoyens, arrachés du sein de leurs familles, gémissoient au fond des cachots, pendant que leurs compatriotes, accablés sous le poids des impôts et des corvées, étoient contraints à travailler aux forteresses qui montroient et confirmoient leur esclavage. A l'oppression, que le peuple peut quelquefois pardonner, les ministres de la tyrannie Autrichienne ajoutèrent encore le mépris qu'il ne pardonne jamais. Sur la place publique d'Altorf, bourg principal du canton d'Uri, Gesler fit dresser une perche sur laquelle on posa son chapeau. Il prétendoit que tous les passans rendissent à ce chapeau les mêmes honneurs qu'ils eussent rendus à la personne de l'empereur ou à celle de son représentant.

1304, &c. présentant. Cette cérémonie humiliante servoit à la fois à satisfaire l'orgueil ridicule d'un tyran et à découvrir ces âmes libres qui conservoient encore les sentimens et la fierté de leur premier état.

Tschud. tom. i. p. 234. On s'attachoit surtout à connoître ceux dont les conseils avoient détourné leurs concitoyens de se soumettre à l'empereur, et qui jouissoient parmi eux de la considération que leurs vertus avoient méritée. L'estime publique dénonça au gouverneur d'Underwald, Henri de Melchtal pour sa première victime. Ce paysan respectable cultivoit en paix le champ de ses pères, lorsqu'un ministre de Landenberg lui déclara qu'il venoit enlever les bœufs de sa charrue, comme l'amende imposée à une faute qu'avoit commis son fils ainé. Cet officier s'acquitta de sa commission avec tout l'orgueil de la servitude, et menaça les paysans de leur faire traîner eux-mêmes la charrue. Le sage vieillard soupira et se tut; mais son fils, excité par l'ardeur aveugle de la jeunesse, résista à l'officier qui alloit emmener les bœufs, lui cassa le doigt d'un coup de bâton, et se réfugia par une fuite précipité dans le canton d'Uri. Il fut assez puni en laissant son malheureux père exposé à toute la cruauté de Landenberg. Le gouverneur le fit arrêter dans le vain espoir de découvrir la retraite de son fils, mais enfin furieux de voir qu'il ne pouvoit lui arracher ce secret, il confisqua son bien et lui fit crever les yeux.

Tschudi, tom. i. p. 231, 232, 233.

L'honneur des femmes tient aux sentimens les plus délicats du cœur humain; et les attentats qui portent le trouble et l'amertume dans le sein des familles

familles ont donné naissance à plus d'une révolu- 1304, &c.
tion. Le jeune Wolfenscheissen de Rotzberg, sous les ordres de Landenberg, traversoit le pays suivi seulement de deux domestiques, lorsqu'il apperçut la femme d'un paysan qui travailloit dans un pré. Il s'arrêta un moment pour la considérer, et ne vit point sans émotion une beauté modeste, embellie par la joie, la santé, et la pudeur. Il commença l'entretien par lui demander des nouvelles de son mari. Le bon Boumgarten ne travailloit que dans le bois voisin, mais son épouse craintive, qui voyoit dans le baillif un ministre de vengeance plutôt que de graces, supposa un voyage dont elle ignoroit, disoit-elle, et l'objet et la durée. Charmé d'une occasion aussi heureuse, le gouverneur la pria de le conduire chez elle pour lui donner quelque rafraichissement dont il avoit besoin. Ce fut là qu'il lui déclara les désirs qu'elle lui avoit inspirés, la pressa de les satisfaire, la félicita de se voir associée aux plaisirs de son maître, et lui laissa entrevoir le danger d'un refus imprudent. Elle le sentoit elle-même, et son effroi, qui avoit changé d'objet, étoit l'unique sentiment de son âme. Elle étoit seule, elle connoissoit la puissance du gouverneur, elle n'ignoroit point son caractère, et se crut enfin perdue lorsqu'il lui commanda de lui préparer un bain et d'y entrer avec lui. L'art est naturel aux femmes; heureuses qui ne la font servir qu'aux intérêts de la vertu! Seigneur, lui répondit-elle, en baissant les yeux, épargnez la pudeur d'une femme qui vous aime. C'est ma première foiblesse—nous ne sommes pas seuls—vos domes-

1304, &c. tiques——Je vais les renvoyer, lui dit le gouverneur transporté. Dès qu'elle les vit partis elle ne vouloit se déshabiller que dans une chambre voisine du bain. Elle obtint sans peine cette grace d'un amant qui ménageoit une pudeur dont il alloit triompher. Elle en profita pour s'échapper de la maison et pour courir du côté du bois, lorsqu'elle vit son mari qui quittoit son travail pour revenir à la maison. Le désordre de sa femme, ses soupirs, et ses mots entrecoupés, lui apprirent le danger auquel elle s'étoit dérobé. Dieu soit béni, lui dit-il, ma chère épouse! aujourdhui il t'a conservé l'honneur et à moi le repos. L'insolent—mais la vengeance est juste et je cours l'achever. Il trouve le gouverneur déjà au bain, nud et sans armes, et lui fend la tête d'un coup de sa hache. Le canton d'Uri devint son asyle et le cacha aux yeux de ses ennemis. Le gouverneur de Landenberg voulut persuader aux autres seigneurs de Wolfenscheissen de poursuivre le meurtrier de leur frère, mais ils lui répondirent que leur frère avoit mérité son sort, et le courroux d'un mari irrité, condamné par les loix, fut justifié par les sentimens d'un peuple vertueux.

Tschudi, tom. i. p. 232. La mort de Wolfenscheissen avoit délivré le pays d'un tyran; mais il gémissoit toujours sous le poids de la tyrannie. Les trois cantons prirent enfin la résolution de faire un dernier effort auprès de l'empereur. Leurs députés étoient chargés de repré-

1307. senter l'excés de leur maux, et de supplier Albert de rappeller ses ministres, et de ne plus mettre sa gloire à opprimer un peuple qui le respectoit toujours. Ce prince orgueilleux ne daigna point les voir;

voir; mais il les renvoya à son conseil dont le ton dur et inflexible n'annonçoit que trop clairement les dispositions de leur maître. On leur dit sans détour, que pour mériter les bienfaits de l'empereur il falloit reconnoître son autorité, mais qu'ils éprouveroient son indignation, aussi longtems qu'ils oseroient reclamer leur liberté prétendue. 1307

Le retour des deputés répandit le désespoir dans tout le pays; mais le désespoir d'un peuple guerrier est voisin de la fureur. On entendoit partout les cris d'une indignation qu'on ne daignoit plus dissimuler. " Pourquoi fléchir plus longtems sous le joug d'un maître dont l'orgueil s'accroît avec notre lâche patience? On viole nos privilèges; on nous dépouille de nos biens, mais il nous reste des armes; nous sommes libres dès que nous voulons l'être." Les malheurs de la patrie faisoient l'entretien de tous les bons citoyens. Ils pleuroient ces malheurs, mais ils craignoient la puissance Autrichienne. Tous les esprits étoient disposés à la révolte, mais il leur manquoit encore un esprit supérieur qui donnât le mouvement à cette grande entreprise.

Werner de Stauffacher sortoit d'une des premières familles du pays de Schwitz, qui respectoit encore la mémoire de son père, à qui la communauté devoit un traité avantageux conclu par ses soins avec la ville de Zurich. Son fils avoit hérité de lui une fortune assez considérable, l'estime publique, et l'amour de la patrie. Ce sentiment étoit devenu triste et amère pour un citoyen qui ne pouvoit lui donner que des regrets impuissans. Un jour, assis devant sa maison, il vit passer le Gouverneur Gesler

Leu, Dictionnaire Historique, au mot Stauffacher.

1307. Tschudi, tom.i.p.235. qui s'arrêta pour lui demander d'un ton fier le nom du propriétaire. Une réponse pleine de respect et de sagesse ne lui fournit point le prétexte qu'il cherchoit pour perdre un homme vertueux qu'il détestoit: mais il s'emporta vivement contre lui, et lui dit que l'empereur ou son représentant étoit l'unique propriétaire du pays, et qu'on sauroit bien réduire l'orgueil et l'opulence de ces paysans qui se prétendoient nobles.

Ces discours remplirent le cœur de Werner de honte et d'indignation. Il versa ses chagrins dans le sein de son épouse, dont il connoissoit la tendresse, la prudence et le courage. Il n'hésita point à lui communiquer le dessein qu'il avoit conçu de sonder les esprits, et d'éprouver si la liberté n'avoit pas encore des ressources dans les cœurs des Suisses. "Oui, cher époux," lui répondit cette femme vertueuse, "tes jours me sont chers, ta gloire me l'est davantage. Un vrai citoyen ne doit jamais survivre à sa patrie: venge-la, ou péris avec elle. Nos tyrans ont des ennemis partout où il existe de la vertu. Tu trouverez parmi eux des amis dignes d'être associés à tes desseins généreux. Vous aurez pour vous le témoignage de la conscience, l'approbation de l'Etre Suprême, les vœux de tous les gens de bien, et la reconnoissance de la postérité." Elle le conseilla ensuite de concerter ses mesures avec ses amis d'Uri. Il suivit son conseil, et fit bientôt après ce voyage sans exciter la défiance de ses maîtres.

Il examina d'un œil attentif les dispositions de ce pays, et vit sans peine que le nom Autrichien

y étoit en horreur. Il entendit le Baron d'Attinghausen, premier magistrat du canton, qui se plaignoit de l'insolence de Gesler; il fut témoin de l'indignation de son propre néveu le seigneur de Rudentz. Il craignoit cependant de leur communiquer des projets aussi dangereux que les siens. Il ne s'en ouvrit qu'à son ancien ami Walter Furst, qui justifia sa confiance, et lui proposa d'y associer le jeune Arnold de Melchtal, ennemi juré de leurs tyrans, et dont le crédit leur seroit utile pour attirer dans leur parti le canton d'Underwald. Ces trois hommes s'engagèrent par un serment assez inutile, à tout souffrir et à tout entreprendre pour briser leurs fers, mais à s'acquitter toujours des devoirs que la justice exigeoit d'eux. 1307.

Tschudi, tom. i. p. 236. Guilliman. de Reb. Helvet. l. iii. c. 16.

Les trois conjurés se séparèrent après avoir formé ces liens. Chacun d'eux se rendit dans son pays pour y jetter les fondemens de leur alliance. Le noble et le roturier, unis par leurs malheurs communs, gémissoient sous le même joug et le détestoient également; mais il falloit une prudence extrême pour distinguer parmi ces mécontens le petit nombre de ceux dont la fidélité et le courage les rendoient dignes de cette confiance. Il les amenèrent sans bruit au rendez-vous général qu'ils avoient choisi à Rutlin, lieu écarté sur les bords du lac, et très propre à tromper la vigilance de leurs ennemis. Là on leur découvrit ce secret important, dépôt sacré de la vie de leurs amis et l'espérance future de la Suisse. Ils se devouèrent par les mêmes sermens aux principes généreux de leur l'alliance, et à leur retour ils travaillèrent avec la même précaution

1307. à les répandre. Leur nombre croissoit à chaque assemblée ; et cette société, unie par les nœuds de la vertu et de l'amitié, devenoit tous les jours plus redoutable.* Ils sentirent enfin que leurs forces étoient suffisantes et qu'il ne s'agissoit plus que de les employer. Ils s'assemblèrent pour la dernière fois au nombre de 112 citoyens pour fixer le moment de leur entreprise et pour en choisir les moyens. Les uns vouloient prendre les armes sur le champ, et commençoient déjà à rougir de leur patience, mais cette impétuosité céda aux sages conseils de leurs chefs, dont le courage plus rare et plus tranquille voyoit sans s'étonner toute l'étendue du danger. Ils représentèrent à l'assemblée qu'une telle entreprise n'avoit qu'un instant, et que cet instant précieux devoit embraser le pays entier d'un même feu ; qu'il falloit surtout enlever aux tyrans ces asyles odieux qu'ils avoient fortifiés avec tant de soins, mais qu'au lieu d'un siège dangereux et incertain, l'on devoit profiter des premiers

Tschudi, tom. i. p. 237. 7 Novembre.

* Ils se donnoient le nom d'Eidgenossen, qui signifie alliés par serment; terme dont on s'est ensuite servi pour désigner la nation entière. L'on doit effectivement regarder cette conjuration comme le germe de la confédération Helvétique. Les écrivains étrangers ont reproché aux Suisses la bassesse de leurs premiers conjurés, qui n'étoient, disent-ils, que des paysans obscurs. Le reproche est à la fois ridicule et injuste. Un assez grand nombre de noblesse eut l'honneur d'être admis parmi ces hommes respectables, les Barons d'Attinghausen, d'Utzingen et de Schwintzberg, les Seigneurs de Rudentz, d'Iberg, de Stauffacher, et plusieurs autres dont le lecteur me dispensera de rapporter les noms barbares. Il ne me pardonneroit point si j'oubliois le bon Boumgarten, qui fut associé aux premiers conjurés.

Guilliman. de Reb. Helvet. l. iii. c. 16.

momens

momens de la surprise pour s'en rendre maîtres. 1307.
Ils conseillèrent surtout à leurs amis d'Underwald de songer aux moyens les plus propres pour y réussir;* et pour leur en donner le tems ils convinrent de renvoyer l'entreprise au premier jour de l'an; et pendant l'intervalle, de n'opposer aux injustices de leurs maîtres que le respect et la soumission. Cet intervalle étoit encore de deux mois, mais ils ne craignirent point de confier à la discrétion de plus de cent personnes le poids importun d'un secret aussi dangereux.

Un seul des conjurés risqua, dit-on, par son orgueil le salut de tous ses compagnons; mais son imprudence, soutenue par la hardiesse et couronnée par le succès, est devenue la source de sa gloire, et par une injustice assez bisarre, le nom de Guillaume Tell a obscurci les noms des vrais fondateurs de la liberté Helvétique. Je ne rappellerai point toutes les circonstances d'une aventure aussi singulière qu'elle me paroît douteuse. Personne n'ignore que par la cruauté du gouverneur Autrichien, Tell fut exposé à une épreuve terrible pour l'amour paternel, que son adresse l'en tira heureusement, mais qu'une réponse intrépide plutôt que sage le rejetta dans de nouveaux dangers. L'on sait assez que le baillif le conduisoit au château de Kusnacht, lorsqu'un orage, qui s'éleva sur le lac, l'obligea à lui confier le gouvernail du bateau. Le bonheur de Tell, sa fuite, et sa vengeance sont assez célèbres. Mais notre siècle, qui substitue un doute éclairé à

* Les deux châteaux de Sarnen et de Rotzberg étoient situés dans leur territoire.

la

la crédulité de nos ancêtres, semble reprouver une fable qui n'a pas même le mérite de l'invention ; et ne voit dans Guillaume Tell que l'imitation assez grossière d'un héros Danois aussi fabuleux peut-être que lui. Quoiqu'il en soit, l'aventure de ce citoyen n'a point influé sur la révolution générale. Tous les conjurés attendirent dans le silence le commencement d'une année qui devoit servir de signal à leur entreprise et d'époque à la liberté des Suisses.

1308. 1 Janvier. Tschudi, tom. i, p. 239, 240. Guilliman. de Reb. Helvet. l. iii. c. 16. Simler de Repub. Helvet. l. i. Leu, Dictionnaire Hist. de la Suisse au mots Schwitz, Uri, Underwald, Sarnen, Rotzberg, &c.

Enfin ce jour arriva ; tous les associés, fidèles à leurs sermens, prirent les armes à la fois dans les trois cantons. Ils trouvèrent partout des ennemis endormis par le luxe et par l'orgueil ; et qui ne s'attendoient point à des efforts aussi hardis d'une troupe de paysans qu'ils osoient mépriser. Les deux forteresses de Rotzberg et de Sarnen, qui contenoient le pays d'Underwald, furent surprises sans difficulté. La première fut trahie par l'amour. Une fille du château avoit donné rendez-vous à son amant pour la nuit du premier de Janvier, mais cet amant étoit l'un des conjurés. Il monta sans bruit à la faveur d'une corde qu'elle lui tendit de la fenêtre. Vingt de ses compagnons se servirent du même moyen pour le suivre, se répandirent dans la forteresse sans perdre un instant, désarmèrent la garnison, et se saisirent de la personne du baillif. Ils donnèrent aussitôt avis de leur succès à leurs amis qui les imitèrent à Sarnen, château plus considérable encore par la force de la garnison et par la résidence du gouverneur principal. Trente conjurés

jurés se postèrent dans un petit bois auprès de Sarnen, pendant que vingt autres saisirent le moment où le baillif, suivi d'une garde nombreuse, étoit sorti pour aller à l'église. Ils se présentèrent à la porte du château chargés de ces présens rustiques que la tyrannie des Autrichiens exigeoit au premier jour de l'an. Les sentinelles leur permirent de passer sans la moindre défiance; mais jetter leurs fardeaux, armer leurs gros bâtons des pointes de fer qu'ils tiroient de leur sein, attaquer la garde avec fureur, et sonner du cor pour appeller leurs compagnons, ne fut pour ces braves paysans que l'ouvrage d'un moment. Leurs compagnons accoururent au signal, et la forteresse fut prise. Le gouverneur se sauva du côté de Lucerne le long de la montagne et au milieu des neiges. Sa fuite fut apperçue des Suisses sans en être inquiétée. Le soulèvement des citoyens d'Uri et de Schwitz ne fut pas moins heureux. Ils s'emparèrent sans peine des forts qui s'élevoient dans leur pays, et sur le champ ils rasèrent avec transport ces monumens odieux de leur servitude. La modération fait rarement entendre sa voix dans les fureurs d'une révolution populaire; mais les Suisses s'étoient promis de respecter les personnes de leurs tyrans, dans l'instant même qu'ils puniroient leur tyrannie. On se contenta de les renvoyer avec les domestiques et les soldats qui les avoient accompagnés; et pour démontrer qu'une justice désintéressée étoit le principe de la conjuration, ils ne touchèrent point à leurs trésors dépouillés du pays et fruit de l'oppression. 1308.

1308. l'oppression. Quelques auteurs ont ajouté qu'ils exigèrent d'eux le serment de ne jamais rentrer sur les terres des Suisses, mais ce serment supposoit une estime qu'ils avoient assez peu méritée. Peu de jours après la révolution les trois cantons s'envoyèrent des députés pour se féliciter mutuellement, et pour jurer une alliance de dix ans. La conjuration devint un traité solemnel, mais les conditions en étoient toujours les mêmes.

8me Janvier.

Un prince du caractère d'Albert dut être vivement irrité d'une révolte qui blessoit également son orgueil et son ambition. Il se consoloit cependant par l'idée d'une vengeance terrible; et cette vengeance lui étoit trop chère pour la confier à des mains étrangères. Il se rendit lui-même à Bade, ville principale de ses états Helvétiques. Là dans une assemblée très nombreuse de sa noblesse il exagéra le crime des paysans qui avoient indignement chassés les officiers de leur prince, la nécessité de châtier leur audace, et les secours qu'il attendoit de la fidélité de ses vassaux. Il leur ordonna à tous de rassembler leurs troupes et de le suivre dans une expédition qui intéressoit les droits de tous les seigneurs. Les Suisses virent avec inquiétude mais sans effroi l'orage qui se formoit contre eux dans toute l'étendue des pays Autrichiens; ils exercèrent leur jeunesse aux armes, fortifièrent par de bonnes lignes les endroits les plus exposés de leur frontière, et se préparèrent à vivre ou à mourir libres. Un événement imprévu sauva leur république naissante de la destruction qui la menaçoit. L'empereur fut assassiné par son neveu Jean, duc

Avril. Tschudi, tom. i. Joan. Vitoduran. p.15.

duc de Suabe, dans le tems qu'il alloit porter le fer et le feu sur les terres des Suisses. Injuste envers les siens comme envers les étrangers, Albert retenoit depuis longtems l'héritage de son neveu sous le nom de tutelle, et lui refusoit toujours, avec un mépris plus dur que le refus, la restitution d'un bien qu'il étoit encore trop foible pour gouverner. La conduite du jeune prince justifia ce mépris d'une manière fatale à tous les deux. Il se livra aux conseils pernicieux et intéressés de quelques favoris; il saisit le moment où l'empereur, qui avoit passé la Reuss, se trouvoit séparé de son armée, et le fit poignarder dans le champ de Konigsfeld. Telle fut la fin malheureuse d'Albert I. dont l'ambition avoit inquiété l'empire pendant plus de dix ans. 1308, 1 Mai.

Ses projets périrent avec lui. La famille impériale, qui étoit rassemblée auprès de son chef, le vit massacrer sous ses yeux sans pouvoir le secourir. Dans les premiers momens de consternation et de défiance qui suivirent un pareil attentat, elle ne songea qu'à conserver ses amis et qu'à ménager ses ennemis. L'Impératrice Elizabeth fit partir un ministre pour assurer les trois cantons de sa bienveillance, et pour les prier de se joindre à la maison d'Autriche pour punir les assassins du premier des souverains. La réponse des Suisses fut celle d'un peuple qui connoissoit à la fois ses intérêts et ceux de la justice: " Qu'ils étoient bien éloignés d'approuver le crime du Duc de Suabe, qu'ils plaignoient le triste sort de l'empereur, et qu'ils le plaignoient surtout de l'avoir mérité: mais que ce n'étoit Tschudi, tom. i. p. 243.

1308. n'étoit point à eux à venger la mort d'un prince qu'ils n'avoient jamais connu que par ses injustices." Ils dissipèrent cependant les soupçons auxquels cette réponse donnoit lieu, en rejettant avec mépris toutes les propositions avantageuses que leur faisoit le Duc Jean. On se contenta de lui faire dire qu'une république libre ne seroit jamais l'asyle des meurtriers. Ce prince, malheureux autant que coupable, qui n'avoit de hardiesse que pour le crime, se trouva seul, sans appui, sans ressource, abandonné à lui-même et à ses remords. Il se retira en Italie et finit ses tristes jours dans le fond d'un cloître.

Joan. Vitodur. p. 17.

La mort d'Albert fut vengée par sa veuve et par ses enfans avec une cruauté qui effraya même ce siècle barbare. Ils imputèrent à toute la noblesse Helvétique le crime d'un très petit nombre; et firent également périr dans les supplices, les coupables et les innocens. Quarante-cinq gentilshommes furent exécutés dans le château d'Alburen par l'ordre du Duc Leopold. Soixante-trois autres, pris dans la forteresse de Arwangen, furent décapités malgré la foi des capitulations; et la Reine Agnès, fille de l'empereur, témoigna une joie affreuse à voir couler sous ses yeux le sang le plus pur de la Suisse. Cette princesse acquit dans la suite une haute réputation de sainteté pour avoir fondé l'abbaye de Konigsfeld. L'ambition approuvoit ces horreurs dont les sentimens même de la nature ne justifioient pas l'excès. Tant de châteaux rasés partout la Suisse confirmoient la puissance de la maison d'Autriche, pendant que les

Leu, Dictionnaire Historique aux Mots *Adel* et *Agnès*.

terres

terres de leurs anciens propriétaires augmentoient son domaine. Les Suisses, à qui leurs ennemis ont toujours reproché la destruction de la noblesse Helvétique, savent répondre que toutes leurs guerres lui ont été moins funestes que la vengeance sanguinaire des enfans d'Albert.

Henri, comte de Luxembourg, fut élu Empereur après la mort d'Albert. Les auteurs contemporains attribuent ce choix aux intrigues du Pape Clement V. qui craignoit de voir passer la couronne impériale dans la maison de France. Ce pontife connoissoit mal les hommes; cet empereur qu'il avoit fait, ne travailla qu'à rétablir les anciens droits de l'empire sur Rome et l'Italie.

Les Suisses se hâtèrent de féliciter leur nouveau souverain. Ils lui envoyèrent une députation solemnelle pour exposer leurs droits, justifier leur conduite, et implorer sa justice et sa protection. Henri VII. les écouta avec bonté et leur accorda par un diplome semblable à celui de Fréderic II. la confirmation de tous leurs privilèges. Cependant la prudence lui dictoit de grands ménagemens pour les ducs d'Autriche, dont la puissance orgueilleuse bravoit son maître et menaçoit l'empire d'une guerre civile. Dans une dispute qui survint à l'occasion de leur investiture ils osèrent rappeller à l'empereur que l'Autriche avoit déjà coûté la vie à six rois. Henri se rendit à cette menace, et conclut un traité avec le Duc Leopold qui le suivit en Italie à la tête de deux cens chevaux. Trois cens Suisses furent aussi de l'expédition Romaine qui procura à leur république naissante un calme précieux

1309. Tschudi, tom. i. p. 245, &c.

Struv. Corp. Hist. Germ. p. 558.

précieux de cinq ans. Ce calme resserra les nœuds de leur union, les accoutuma à jouir de la liberté, leur en fit sentir le prix, et les disposa à tout risquer pour la conserver.

1314. La mort de Henri VII. empoisonné, dit-on, en Italie, fut suivie d'une guerre civile. Louis, duc de Bavière, et Fréderic le beau, duc d'Autriche, disputèrent par les armes la couronne impériale qu'ils prétendoient avoir obtenue par les suffrages des électeurs. L'Allemagne fut divisée et déchirée par ces deux princes; les succès se balançoient, et leur foiblesse respective, qui les empêchoit de faire des efforts décisifs, sembloit éterniser les malheurs de l'empire.* Leopold, frère de Fréderic d'Autriche, étoit le plus fort appui de son parti. Un corps petit et mal fait, qu'il ne relevoit point par la parure, cachoit une âme cruelle et intrépide. Il avoit acquis le nom d'un guerrier distingué; il justifia sa réputation en traversant l'Allemagne à la tête de 20,000 hommes pour fair reconnoître l'autorité de Fréderic. Louis de Bavière n'avoit pas osé tenir la campagne contre lui, et il vit brûler sous ses yeux, Landsberg et plusieurs autres villes

Joan. Vitorudan. Chronic. in Thesaur. p. 18.

1315.

* M. de Voltaire nous a tracé d'un pinceau léger le tableau de l'histoire générale de l'Europe. Le coloris en est toujours brillant, mais le dessein est souvent très incorrect. Ce Leopold, dit-il, est le même qui viola si lâchement le droit de l'hospitalité dans la personne de Richard Cœur de Lion. Dois-je m'arrêter à prouver qu'un duc d'Autriche qui regnoit en 1193 ne fut point battu à Morgarten en 1315, cent vingt-deux ans après? L'imagination de M. de Voltaire l'a emporté. Nous serions pourtant fâchés qu'il en eut moins.

Oeuvres de Voltaire, tom. xii. p. 67.

de ses pays héréditaires. Leopold alloit peut-être triompher du rival de sa maison, lorsqu'un courroux indiscret lui fit tourner ses armes contre les Suisses, qui avoient assez naturellement embrassé le parti des ennemis de l'Autriche. 1315.

Les moines de l'abbaye d'Einsidlen* étoient les anciens ennemis du canton de Schwitz, et leur nouvelle liaison avec les princes Autrichiens qui les avoient pris sous leur protection, les rendoit plus implacables que jamais. Ces religieux, qui ne l'étoient que de nom, insultoient tous les Suisses qui passoient sur leurs terres, les battoient, et les dépouilloient. Ces bonnes gens souffrirent longtems sans se plaindre, se plaignirent enfin, n'obtinrent point la justice qu'ils demandoient, et résolu-

Tschudi, tom. i. p. 260. Felix Malleolus, Dialog. de Suitensibus, p. 3. in Thesauro H. Helv.

* Cette abbaye, riche plutôt que puissante, subsista avec éclat depuis huit siècles. Le contraste de ses bâtimens magnifiques avec le pays affreux qui les entoure fait naître l'idée des palais enchantés qui paroissoient tout à coup au milieu des déserts. La magie d'Einsidlen est celle de la superstition qui lui attire encore de toutes les provinces voisines une foule de pélerins et d'offrandes. Ce que Valentin Compar, secrétaire d'état du canton d'Uri, écrivit au Réformateur Zuingle, peut nous donner quelque idée de ses richesses ; richesses qu'elle avoit rassemblées dans le pays le plus pauvre de l'Europe. Je connois (dit il) une abbaye (Einsidlen) à laquelle on a donné plus d'un million d'or ; et qui possède tant de bijoux et de choses précieuses qu'il n'y a point de prince qui put en payer la dixième partie. Il est assez singulier que ces religieux ayent pu goûter la doctrine des Réformateurs qui prêchoit l'inutilité des pélerinages. Mais il ne l'est point qu'ils ayent renoncé bientôt à une erreur aussi détestable. L'abbaye d'Einsidlen est à présent une des neuf maisons de la Congrégation Bénédictine Helvétique. Pour le temporel elle reconnoît la protection du canton de Schwitz.

Etat et Délices de la Suisse, tom. ii. p. 415. Histoire de la Réformation de la Suisse par Ruchat, tom. i. p. 10. 42, 43. 402. Hist. de la Réformation de la Suisse, tom. i. p. 293. 7,000,000 de francs. Histoire des Ordres Religieux par Helyot. tom. vi. p. 267.

1315. rent de se la faire eux-mêmes. Ils entrèrent dans le couvent à main armée, y commirent de grands désordres, et emmenèrent avec eux beaucoup de bétails, aussi bien que six moines, auxquels ils ne rendirent la liberté qu'assez longtems après. L'on conçoit assez qui l'église d'Einsidlen lança contre ces sacrilèges les anathèmes les plus effrayans; mais l'usage trop fréquent de ces foudres leur avoit fait perdre leur force dans l'esprit même des peuples, et les moines furent obligés de recourir à leur protecteur. Leopold écouta avec plaisir des plaintes qui l'autorisoient à confondre les injures de sa famille avec celles de la religion. Il marcha contre les Suisses plein de fureur et de confiance, résolu de consommer la vengeance que la mort avoit enlevé à son père. Il alloit, disoit-il, à la chasse de ses paysans rebelles, et se faisoit suivre par un grand nombre de charettes chargées de cordes pour emmener les captifs et le bétail, seuls trésors du pays pauvre et agreste qu'il alloit subjuguer.* Tant de présomption n'étoit point extraordinaire. Il se voyoit à la tête de plus de 1300 cavaliers couverts de fer, accoutumés à la victoire et tirés de la première noblesse de la Suisse, de l'Alsace,

Joan. Vitoduran. p. 25, 26. Tschudi, tom. i. p 271, 272. Simler de Repub. Helvet. l. i. Leu, Dictionnaire au mot *Morgarten*. Tschudi.

* Suivant l'étiquette des cours barbares Leopold se faisoit accompagner de son astrologue et de son bouffon. La folie du premier se paroit toujours des dehors de la sagesse. Le masque comique du second cachoit assez souvent l'esprit et la raison. L'un annonça à son maître les succès les plus éclatans; l'autre témoigna de l'inquiétude de ce qu'il ne voyoit point les préparatifs nécessaires pour sortir des montagnes de Schwitz aussi bien que pour y entrer.

et

et de la Suabe. 20,000 fantassins bien disciplinés composoient le reste d'une armée à laquelle l'Allemagne avoit pu à peine opposer des forces égales. 1315.

La perte des Suisses paroissoit inévitable. Le Duc d'Autriche avoit fait ses dispositions pour les attaquer à la fois par tous les côtés accessibles. Le Comte de Strasberg étoit chargé de rassembler les troupes de Hasli, de Frulingen, et du Sibenthal, au nombre de 4000 hommes, pour entrer à la pointe du jour dans le canton d'Underwald, tandis que 1000 Lucernois, traversant le lac sur des bateaux, se joindroient à lui dans le cœur du pays. Leopold lui-même marchoit du côté de Zug pour attaquer le canton de Schwitz, et il tâchoit par des manœuvres assez adroites de faire abandonner aux Suisses le village de Morgarten. C'étoit le défilé par lequel il comptoit déboucher comme le moins difficile de ceux qui couvroient les terres de la République. Le Comte de Toggenbourg, serviteur du duc, fut touché du triste sort de ces hommes libres et vertueux dont le malheur et l'innocence leur avoit acquis des amis dans l'armée Autrichienne. Il se jetta aux pieds de Leopold pour lui demander la permission de leur représenter leur danger et de leur offrir le pardon et la paix. Ce prince, longtems inflexible, consentit enfin à leur accorder la vie et les biens à condition qu'ils reconnussent Fréderic son frère pour légitime Empereur, et eux-mêmes pour sujets de la maison d'Autriche. Chargé de ces pouvoirs le Comte de Toggenbourg se rendit au camp des Suisses. Ce peuple généreux le remercia avec une vive reconnoissance

1315. noissance des efforts qu'il faisoit en sa faveur ; mais il lui déclara qu'ils étoient inutiles, et que les Suisses périroient jusqu'au dernier d'entr'eux plutôt que d'accepter des conditions aussi honteuses. Qu'il s'avance, (s'écrièrent-ils,) ce fier ennemi, il apprendra peut-être ce que peuvent le désespoir et la liberté contre ses armées formidables. Le comte les plaignit et se retira. On croit même que la pitié lui fit oublier le devoir, et qu'il leur communiqua tout le plan des attaques. Il est sûr que les citoyens de Schwitz, instruits du lieu et du moment de leur danger, commandèrent 600 hommes pour se joindre sur le champ aux 700 qui occupoient déjà le poste important de Morgarten. Ils
14 Novembre. envoyèrent en même tems avertir leurs alliés du besoin qu'ils avoient de leur secours. Ceux d'Uri leur envoyèrent 400 hommes qui arrivèrent vers l'entrée de la nuit. Les habitans d'Underwald, attaqués dans leurs propres foyers, ne purent leur donner que 300 hommes qui parvinrent vers le minuit au camp de Morgarten. Cette petite troupe ainsi réunie* passa la nuit dans le jeune et la prière, occupa toutes les hauteurs, et ne mit

* On voit qu'elle étoit composée de deux mille hommes, malgré les efforts de ceux qui ont cherché à diminuer ce nombre pour augmenter le merveilleux de l'action. Il faut y ajouter encore cinquante citoyens bannis pour leurs offenses; à qui l'on refusa l'honneur de mourir pour la patrie, mais qui méritèrent leur grace par leur valeur. Pour peu qu'on réfléchisse sur les circonstances de cette guerre on se persuadera sans peine que ces deux mille hommes faisoient près de la moitié de ceux qui étoient en état de porter les armes, et que par conséquent les trois cantons ne renfermoient pas vingt mille âmes du tems de la révolution.

son espoir que dans sa valeur et dans la protection de cet Etre qui aime la justice, et qui punit l'orgueil. 1315.

Leopold étoit parti de Zug vers le milieu de la nuit. Il se flattoit d'occuper sans résistance le défilé de Morgarten qui ne perçoit qu'avec difficulté entre le lac Ægré et le pied d'une montagne escarpée. Il marchoit à la tête de sa gendarmerie. Une colonne profonde d'infanterie la suivoit de près, et les uns et les autres se promettoient une victoire facile si les paysans osoient se présenter à leur rencontre. Ils étoient à peine entrés dans un chemin rude et étroit, et qui ne permettoit qu'à trois ou quatre de marcher de front, qu'ils se sentirent accablés d'une grêle de pierres et de traits. Rodolphe de Reding, landamman de Schwitz et général des confédérés, n'avoit oublié aucun des avantages que lui offroit la situation des lieux. Il avoit fait couper des rochers énormes, qui en s'ébranlant dès qu'on retiroit les foibles appuis qui les soutenoient encore, se détachoient du sommet de la montagne et se précipitoient avec un bruit affreux sur les bataillons serrés des Autrichiens.* Déjà les chevaux s'effrayoient, les rangs se confondoient, et le désordre égaroit le courage et le rendoit inutile, lorsque les Suisses descendirent de la montagne en poussant de grands cris. Accoutumés à poursuivre le chamois sur les bords glissans des

* Les habitans de l'Engadine employèrent un semblable artifice dans la guerre de Suabe. Bilibandus Pirckheimer le décrit assez joliment. V. de Bello Helvet. p. 20. in Thesauro.

1315. précipices, ils couroient d'un pas assuré au milieu des neiges. Ils étoient armés de ces grosses et pesantes hallebardes auxquelles le fer le mieux trempé ne resistoit point. Les soldats de Leopold, chancelans et découragés, cédèrent bientôt aux efforts désespérés d'une troupe qui combattoit pour tout ce qu'il y a de plus cher aux hommes. L'abbé d'Einsidlen, premier auteur de cette guerre malheureuse, et le comte Henri de Montfort, donnèrent les premiers l'exemple de la fuite. Le désordre devint général, le carnage fut affreux, et les Suisses se livroient au plaisir de la vengeance. A neuf heures du matin la bataille étoit gagnée. Un grand nombre d'Autrichiens se précipitant les uns sur les autres, cherchèrent vainement dans le lac un asyle contre la fureur de leurs ennemis. Ils y périrent presque tous. Quinze cens hommes restèrent sur le champ de bataille. Ils étoient pour la plûpart de la gendarmerie qu'une valeur malheureuse et une armure pesante arrêtoient dans un lieu où l'un et l'autre leur étoient inutiles. Longtems après l'on s'appercevoit dans toutes les provinces voisines que l'élite de la noblesse avoit péri dans cette fatale journée.* L'infanterie, beaucoup moins engagée dans le défilé, vit en tremblant la défaite des chevaliers qui passoient

Joan. Vitodurudan. p. 26. Tschudi, tom. i. p. 273.

* Un historien contemporain assure que longtems après, la gendarmerie noble *(militia)* étoit rare dans les provinces voisines. On vit périr dans cette journée le Comte Rodolphe de Habsbourg, trois barons de Bonsletten, deux seigneurs de Halevil, deux Gesler, et beaucoup d'autre noblesse de l'Argau, de la Turgovie, et de l'Alsace.

pour

pour invincibles, et dont les escadrons effrayés se renversoient sur elle. Elle s'arrêta, voulut se retirer, et dans l'instant cette retraite devint une fuite honteuse. Sa perte fut assez peu considérable, mais les historiens de la nation ont conservé la mémoire de cinquante braves Zuriquois dont on trouva les rangs couchés morts sur la place. Leopold lui-même fut entraîné par la foule qui le portoit du côté de Zug. On le vit rentrer dans sa ville de Winterthur. La frayeur, la honte, et l'indignation étoient encore peintes sur son front. Dès que la victoire se fut déclarée en faveur des Suisses, ils s'assemblèrent sur le champ de bataille, s'embrassèrent en versant des larmes d'allegresse, et remercièrent Dieu de la grace qu'il venoit de leur faire et qui ne leur avoit coûté que quatorze de leurs compagnons. 1315. Joan. Vitoduran. p. 26.

Au milieu de la joie commune les citoyens d'Underwald songeoient au danger de leur patrie. Ils ne perdirent pas un moment pour marcher à son secours. Bientôt ils apprirent qu'elle étoit livrée à toute la fureur des détachemens Autrichiens. Animés par cette nouvelle, ils précipitèrent leur marche, traversèrent le lac, joignirent les Lucernois, les repoussèrent jusques dans leurs bateaux, et s'avancèrent dans la partie supérieure du pays pour s'unir avec ceux de leurs compatriotes qui faisoient tête au Comte de Strasberg. Les deux bannières que ce général apperçut parmi les troupes ennemies le remplirent d'un juste effroi. Il comprit que l'une de ces bannières avoit combattu à Morgarten : il trembla pour son maître et Tschudi, tom. i. p. 273, 274.

1315. pour lui-même; et se retira avec la perte de 300 hommes et celle de tout son butin. Le même jour suffit à ces trois victoires.

Tschudi, tom.i.p.275. Simler. de Rep. Helv. p. 1.

La Suisse étoit sauvée par les mains de la victoire. Il ne s'agissoit plus que de la rendre utile et que d'assurer à jamais la liberté pour laquelle l'on avoit combattu. Les sentimens de la nation et la situation des affaires demandoient également que les trois cantons formassent une union étroite et indissoluble. Lorsqu'un traité est dicté par l'amité et la bonne foi il est facile d'en rédiger les conditions. L'acte solemnel de cette alliance fut confirmé par une assemblée générale des Suisses un peu plus de trois semaines après la bataille. Je dois donner une idée juste d'une pièce qui a toujours fait la base de la Confédération Helvétique.

9 Décembre.

Tous les hommes d'Uri, de Schwitz, et d'Underwald se promettent une amitié à l'épreuve du tems et des malheurs. Ils unissent à jamais pour le bonheur général leurs forces et leurs conseils. L'on peut découvrir ici la première ébauche de la société civile, et ce contrat social, que tant d'écrivains, mieux instruits des droits de l'homme que de son histoire, ont vainement cherché dans les grands états. Ils jurent de se soutenir mutuellement envers et contre tous. Ils s'engagent à sacrifier leurs vies pour la défense commune, à ne jamais permettre qu'un Suisse soit mal-traité ou opprimé, à le secourir ou à le venger. Ils consentent à soumettre à des arbitres impartiaux tous les différens qui pourroient un jour troubler cette harmonie; et ils établissent le troisième canton juge naturel de tout

tout ce qui pourroit diviser les deux autres. Convaincus que l'amitié ne peut subsister parmi l'injustice et les crimes, ils décernent la peine de mort contre les homicides volontaires, et celle d'un exil perpétuel contre les voleurs. Ils s'assujettissent à tous les devoirs qu'on avoit droit d'exiger d'eux avant la révolution, mais ils ne reconnoissent plus ceux que la tyrannie a anéanti et qu'une paix équitable peut seule restituer à la maison d'Autriche.* Ces devoirs onéreux, et qui blessoient l'indépendance d'un état libre, leur étoient cependant odieux. Ils ne veulent point en contracter de nouveaux, et ils défendent à chacun d'engager son hommage, sa parole ou ses biens, sans le consentement de tous les autres confédérés. Ils finissent par dénoncer à tous les contrevenans, la honte du parjure, un exil perpétuel, et la confiscation de leurs biens. 1315.

La première démarche de la nouvelle république fut d'instruire l'Empereur Louis de Bavière de tout ce qui s'étoit passé parmi eux. Ce prince, par goût et par politique, étoit l'ami des Suisses. Il leur avoit déjà écrit pour les plaindre, pour les consoler, et pour leur faire espérer un avenir plus favorable. Trop foible lui-même pour les secourir d'une manière efficace, il les fit du moins relever par l'autorité supérieure de l'archevêque de Mayence de toutes les censures ecclésiastiques qu'ils avoient encourues. Simler, de Rep. Helv. l. i. Guilliman. de Reb. Helveticis, l. iii. c. 16.

Il apprit avec joie que son ennemi le plus re-

* L'on peut trouver dans le dictionnaire de Leu, les exemples de plusieurs servitudes dont les cantons se rachetèrent longtems après la révolution.

doutable

1316. doutable avoit perdu sa gloire et l'élite de ses troupes dans la journée de Morgarten. Il se hâte de confirmer tous les privilèges des trois cantons, d'approuver leur alliance, et de confisquer en leur faveur tout ce que la maison d'Autriche possédoit encore au milieu d'eux. Les Suisses reçurent sans difficulté de sa main un préfet impérial qui jura de respecter leurs droits et de les défendre contre tous leurs ennemis. Cette magistrature, l'ombre d'une autorité révérée, disparut insensiblement, et les empereurs suivans accordèrent aux Suisses le privilège de choisir des magistrats qui fussent en même tems les ministres du peuple et de l'empire.

Je viens de tracer d'une plume foible mais impartiale l'histoire d'une révolution obscure qui a changé le sort de quelques paysans des Alpes. Elle mérite néanmoins l'attention du philosophe qui cherche l'homme dans la chaumière plutôt que dans les palais. Il sait que le nom sacré de liberté a presque toujours désigné les prérogatives injustes d'un petit nombre de citoyens, et que les nations séduites ou entraînées par leurs chefs ont mille fois combattu avec fureur pour des intérêts qui leur étoient étrangers. Il parcourt d'un œil attentif le tableau de l'Europe dans les siècles barbares de l'anarchie féodale. Qu'il est triste, ce tableau, pour un ami des hommes! Des barons et des évêques qui disputent à leur roi la dépouille sanglante des communes; ces communes malheureuses qui s'arment quelquefois de leurs fers, mais dont la fureur incertaine et aveugle déshonore par ses excès

une

une liberté dont elles ne savent point jouir;* quelques républiques populaires au fond de l'Italie, déchirées par une discorde toujours renaissante, et qui se livrent avec la même ardeur à leurs tribuns et leurs tyrans. Qu'il reconnoisse ici un spectacle plus rare et plus digne de la nature humaine; un peuple vertueux, qui a défendu les droits les plus saints par les moyens les plus légitimes; qui a eu de la fermeté dans le péril et de la modération après la victoire.

Chapitre II.

Alliance de Lucerne—Guerre de Lauppen—Origine de Zurich—Révolution dans son Gouvernement—Rodolphe Brun, bourguemestre—Conjuration des Exilés—Guerre avec l'Autriche—Combat de Tatwyl—Alliance de Glaris—Alliance de Zug—Siège de Zurich par l'Empereur Charles IV—Trève—Alliance de Berne.

La bataille de Morgarten humilioit l'orgueil Autrichien; les forces de cette maison n'étoient cependant point épuisées, et les Suisses avoient tout à craindre d'un ressentiment irrité par la honte et

* Les communes attroupées en Angleterre sous Richard II. y commirent de grands désordres. L'humanité frémit au récit des cruautés de la Jacquerie à qui le désespoir mit les armes à la main après la bataille de Poitiers. Mais les paysans qui désolèrent de l'Allemagne sous le nom d'Anabaptistes surpassèrent les horreurs des uns et des autres. Ils établissoient le royaume du seigneur. Chronique de Froissart, P. I. p.189. P.II. p. 129, &c. Mosheim's Ecclesiastical Hist. vol. ii. p.232, &c.

par

par le malheur. Mais ces forces étoient divisées, et ce ressentiment se tournoit contre le Duc de Bavière qui disputoit l'empire à Fréderic et ses frères. Après avoir vaincu cet ennemi qui paroissoit le plus redoutable, ils se proposoient de punir les Suisses de leur première révolte et de la victoire qu'ils avoient osé remporter sur leurs maîtres. Le
1322. succès ne répondit point à leur attente. Fréderic le beau perdit enfin la liberté avec la bataille de Mulhdorf, et ne sortit de prison qu'après avoir signé un traité qui lui accordoit des avantages assez considérables à la place d'un empire auquel il renonçoit à jamais. L'inflexible Leopold soutint son parti encore quelque tems avec plus d'opiniâtreté que de gloire, mais sa mort et celle de
1325. Fréderic assurèrent le repos de l'Allemagne. Othon et Albert héritèrent des états de leurs frères, sans hériter de leurs talens et de leur ambition. Louis de Bavière fut reconnu par tout le corps Germanique malgré les anathèmes du Pape Jean XXII. qui s'indignoit que l'Allemagne n'eût point attendu le consentement du Saint Siège pour se donner un souverain.

Cette guerre malheureuse et l'état de foiblesse auquel elle réduisit la maison d'Autriche ne leur permit point de se venger des Suisses. Elle se contentoit de les inquiéter dans la jouissance de cette liberté qu'elle ne pouvoit pas leur arracher. Elle défendit à ses sujets, qui habitoient les riches campagnes de l'Argau et de la Turgovie, de fournir à ce peuple rebelle le bled, le vin, les étoffes, et tout ce que lui refusoit la nature du pays et son ignorance

ignorance des arts. Les Suisses sentirent la triste vérité, que l'homme est esclave par ses besoins; mais ils deployèrent en même tems les ressources presqu'infinies de la patience et de la modération. La faim les obligea quelquefois à sortir de leurs retraites les armes à la main, et dans ces courses qu'ils faisoient sur les terres de l'Autriche, ils enlevoient les moissons, détruisoient tout ce qu'ils ne pouvoient emporter, et poussoient la désolation et l'effroi jusques aux portes de Zug et de Lucerne. La gendarmerie que l'on avoit jetté dans ces places importantes se joignoit aux milices du pays pour arrêter ces montagnards, et mille petits combats plus sanglans que décisifs ne servoient qu'à accroître leur haine mutuelle. Un historien Suisse contemporain, mais dévoué à la maison d'Autriche, gémit des cruautés qui signaloient cette malheureuse guerre dans laquelle l'on n'épargnoit jamais les prisonniers. La tyrannie des Autrichiens, la dureté grossière des Suisses, et le droit affreux des représailles me persuadent que ses plaintes n'étoient que trop légitimes. Ces malheurs étoient communs aux deux partis, mais leurs sentimens étoient bien différens. Les Suisses payoient sans regret le prix de leur liberté. Les Autrichiens s'indignoient d'être les victimes d'une ambition aussi pernicieuse à eux-mêmes qu'à leurs voisins.

Nous avons déjà vu que la ville de Lucerne, située sur le bord occidental du lac de ce nom, avoit appartenue à l'abbaye de Murbach en Alsace, et qu'au mépris de leurs sermens, ces maîtres, éloignés

et

1325. et indifférens, l'avoient vendue à l'Empereur Albert. Les citoyens s'opposèrent longtems à cette transaction, mais ils se rendirent enfin à la crainte de la puissance Autrichienne, et aux assurances qu'on leur donnoit qu'ils ne connoîtroient jamais cette puissance que par la protection et les bienfaits. Ils ne la connurent jamais que par leurs malheurs. A ceux dont j'ai déjà parlé, il faut ajouter l'interruption totale d'un commerce qui avoit fondé Lucerne et qui la faisoit encore subsister avec éclat. Placée entre l'Italie et l'Allemagne sa situation avantageuse la rendoit l'entre-
1332. pôt de ces deux pays. La Reuss, qui coule au pied de ses murs, recevoit toutes les marchandises qu'on avoit voituré sur le Mont St. Godard et les versoit dans le Rhin; mais depuis le commencement de cette guerre destructive les habitans d'Uri avoient fermé ce passage dont ils étoient les maîtres. Les Autrichiens ne furent point touché du triste sort d'un peuple dont la foi donnée à regret ne s'étoit cependant jamais démentie; au fléau de la guerre ils ajoutèrent celui de la tyrannie. La ville jouissoit des plus beaux privilèges que lui avoient accordé les abbés de Murbach. Le gouvernement étoit entre les mains d'un sénat qui se tiroit de la noblesse, et l'officier du prince qui y assistoit écoutoit leurs délibérations, mais il ne les dirigeoit point. Sous les ducs d'Autriche le sénat ne fut plus qu'un vain simulacre, et l'officier du prince devint un gouverneur armé de toutes les terreurs du despotisme et soutenu par la garnison nombreuse du château de Rottembourg. Au poids d'une

d'une guerre qui désoloit leur pays depuis vingt-quatre ans, les Lucernois avoient eu la complaisance d'ajouter celui d'une expédition éloignée. Séduits par les promesses qu'on leur prodiguoit ils avoient rendu les plus grands services à la maison d'Autriche dans la guerre de Colmar: mais à leur retour ils sollicitèrent vainement la récompense de leurs travaux. Ils ne reçurent pas même la solde qu'on leur devoit. La mauvaise monnoie, que les ducs d'Autriche répandoient dans leurs états, acheva de les épuiser. Ces princes ne rougirent point d'employer un artifice aussi vil qu'il est commun, et de tromper la confiance publique dont le dépôt sacré leur étoit remis entre les mains. Les Lucernois souffrirent longtems sans se permettre d'autres armes que la patience et les plaintes les plus respectueuses. Las enfin d'un joug qui s'appesantissoit tous les jours sur leurs têtes, ils osèrent se servir de leurs droits pour interdire la monnoie Autrichienne, et pour conclurre avec les trois cantons une trève de vingt ans qui ranimoit leur commerce, et qui leur procuroit du moins un calme passager. 1332.

Mais ils sentirent bientôt que par une démarche aussi mesurée ils avoient fait trop et trop peu. Ils se virent exposés à toute l'indignation de leur souverain, sans être assurés de l'appui des Suisses. Dans une situation aussi critique ils jettèrent les yeux sur cette république qu'ils avoient si longtems combattu parcequ'elle avoit su briser les fers qu'eux-mêmes portoient à regret. Pleins d'admiration pour leur courage, les Lucernois voulurent partager le sort heureux qu'il leur avoit mérité. Ils firent aux trois cantons la proposition de les recevoir

1332. cevoir comme un quatrième membre de leur alliance perpétuelle, pour défendre leur liberté commune contre ceux qui oseroient l'attaquer. La négociation éprouva peu de difficultés. Le sentiment de leurs avantages réciproques ramena bientôt les esprits des deux partis qui s'étoient toujours estimés; ils se jurèrent une amitié éternelle avec une joie qui paroissoit sincère et unanime.

Le même esprit qui avoit inspiré la première confédération dicta dans celle-ci les mêmes conditions; l'union perpétuelle, le secours mutuel, l'obéissance aux magistrats, la haine des tyrans. L'on employoit les mêmes précautions pour prévenir les différens ou pour les terminer. Le corps Helvétique semble déjà avoir pris de la consistence. On le reconnoît au style de ce traité. Ce ne sont plus des hommes libres qui s'unissent par un engagement volontaire, ce sont des états indépendans qui s'allient par un acte politique, et dont les loix et les privilèges séparés ne sont point confondus dans un mélange aussi intime. La politique juste et respectueuse des Lucernois conserva encore à la maison d'Autriche tous ses droits légitimes en laissant au tems et à la fortune l'interprétation de ces droits.

Cette maison redoutable avoit encore à Lucerne un parti nombreux. Ceux qui possédoient des fiefs dans les états Autrichiens préféroient cet intérêt personnel au bien général; une jeunesse aveugle et imprudente regrettoit encore la cour d'un maître, ses honneurs et ses bienfaits, l'égalité d'une république et la sévérité sourde et inflexible

des

des loix paroissoient à leurs yeux le plus rude es- 1332.
clavage. Cette partie méprisable du peuple toujours indigne de la liberté, incapable d'obéir, joignoit ses clameurs à leurs murmures. Mais leurs vains efforts n'effrayèrent point le parti plus nombreux encore des bons citoyens. Aux entreprises dont ils prévoyoient l'objet sans démêler les moyens, ils opposèrent la barrière d'une loi nouvelle, qui dénonçoit l'exil perpétuel et une amende de vingt marcs contre quiconque seroit cause que la république reçut du dommage;—loi singulière et dangereuse, qui permet au magistrat le choix des crimes et des victimes: un gouvernement libre y peut trouver son salut, mais elle deviendroit entre les mains d'un tyran l'instrument le plus terrible du despotisme.

Cette loi n'intimida point les partisans de l'Autriche; ils se ménagèrent des intelligences avec les gouverneurs des garnisons dont l'enceinte resserroit la ville. Ils convinrent d'une nuit dans laquelle ils ouvriroient les portes aux troupes, qui s'approcheroient sans bruit, tandis qu'ils prendroient les armes dans la ville et qu'ils feroient périr, par un massacre général, tous les amis des Suisses et de la liberté. L'indiscrétion trahit ce projet affreux peu de momens avant son exécution; un citoyen entendit par hasard la conversation de quelques conjurés qui se croyoient seuls, il la communiqua sur le champ au magistrat, qui assembla la bourgeoisie, s'assura des portes, et fit arrêter tous les conjurés, qui n'étoient point préparés à la résistance. Les manches rouges, signal dont ils s'étoient

1333. convenus pour se distinguer dans la confusion d'un tumulte nocturne, servoient à les découvrir à leurs ennemis. Après avoir fortifié la république par un secours de trois cens Suisses que leurs nouveaux alliés leur envoyèrent à la première réquisition, les Lucernois jugèrent les criminels dont leurs prisons étoient remplies. Partagés entre l'horreur du crime, et la compassion qu'inspiroient le nombre et la qualité des coupables, ils craignoient également de les punir ou de leur pardonner. Ils accordèrent leur grace aux députés des trois cantons qui les prioient de ne point souiller les commencemens de la liberté par le sang même des plus criminels. De tous ces conjurés qui avoient juré la ruine de la patrie, aucun ne perdit la vie. On se contenta d'exiger d'eux une amende considérable et un serment solemnel de mériter la clémence qu'ils avoient éprouvée. On défendit en même tems, par une loi de l'état, toutes les assemblées secrettes, et il fut ordonné qu'un citoyen n'engageroit sa fidélité qu'à la communauté, et que tout serment particulier seroit puni comme un crime. Cette sainte et salutaire jalousie des loix auroit épargné les guerres civiles à plus d'un pays.

Les ducs d'Autriche, indignés de la révolte des Lucernois, étoient cependant trop foibles pour les réduire. L'orgueil leur fit pendant quelque tems soutenir contre eux une guerre languissante. Les succès étoient balancés, jusqu'à ce qu'enfin ces princes, humiliés au point de rechercher l'appui
1334. des loix, portèrent devant le tribunal de l'Empereur leurs plaintes amères de tous les attentats que cette nouvelle

nouvelle confédération avoit commis contre leur autorité. Louis de Bavière se souvenoit encore que les Suisses étoient ses plus fermes amis, et que les Autrichiens étoient des ennemis à peine réconciliés. Il associa les Bernois, les Zuriquois, et les Baslois au jugement qu'il prononça, et qui paroît d'abord assez favorable à l'Autriche; il confirme sa monnoye, lui restitue les biens qu'elle possédoit dans les pays des Suisses, et lui laisse toutes ses prétensions légitimes; mais en confirmant l'alliance perpétuelle des quatre cantons, il lui enlève tout ce qu'il sembloit lui donner, et conserve à la république des Suisses tous les avantages réels qu'ils sollicitoient. Cette sentence arbitrale n'établissoit entre les deux partis qu'une trève de trente mois. Souvent renouvellée, elle ne fut jamais qu'un calme perfide et mal-assuré.

Les Suisses, tranquilles et victorieux, commençoient à sortir de leur obscurité, et à jouir de la gloire qu'ils avoient méritée. L'Helvétie entière, divisée et déchirée depuis tant de siècles, cherchoit à se réunir avec eux sous l'étendard de la liberté. Tous les malheureux qui gémissoient sous l'oppression ou qui la craignoient, demandèrent la protection de la république, et après avoir senti le prix de son alliance, ils se crurent heureux de former avec elle les nœuds étroits d'une confédération perpétuelle. C'est ainsi que les villes de Berne et de Zurich sont devenues membres d'un corps dont elles sont aujourd'hui le plus ferme appui.

Toujours fidèle aux volontés de son fondateur, Berne poursuivoit depuis cent vingt ans la ven- 1337.

1337. geance qu'il leur avoit commandée et qui se concilioit si bien avec les intérêts de son ambition. La noblesse de la Bourgogne Transjuranée voyoit avec étonnement cette ville ennemie qui s'élevoit au milieu d'eux, qui bravoit déjà leur puissance, et
1338. menaçoit de leur donner un jour des loix. La crainte qui succède au mépris est toujours accompagnée de la haine. Celle des seigneurs fut le ciment d'une ligue redoutable qui se proposoit pour objet l'anéantissement du pouvoir Bernois. Parmi le grand nombre de comtes, de barons, et de gentilshommes qui formèrent cette alliance, l'on distinguoit les comtes de Neufchatel, d'Arberg, de Nidau, de Gruyère et de Kybourg; ce dernier, d'une branche cadette de la maison de Habsbourg, maître de Berthoud et de Thun, tenoit la ville de Berne comme assiégée au milieu de ses terres, et prétendoit que le fonds même sur lequel elle avoit été bâtie n'étoit qu'une usurpation de son domaine. Fribourg, qui jouissoit d'une assez grande indépendance sous la protection de l'Autriche, eut la foiblesse trop naturelle à une rivale malheureuse; elle écouta la voix de la jalousie plutôt que celle de la raison, et joignit ses forces à celles d'une noblesse dont les intérêts n'avoient rien de commun avec les siens. La maison d'Autriche, toujours ennemie des villes libres, envoya ordre à son gouverneur de l'Argau de faire marcher ses troupes au secours des confédéres pendant qu'on voyoit par une fatalité assez singulière l'Empereur Louis de Bavière qui appuyoit le même parti. Il étoit mécontent des Bernois, dont la politique dirai-je, ou la superstition

perstition lui refusoit le respect qu'on devoit au chef de l'empire, et déféroit aux anathèmes du pontife Romain plutôt qu'au choix de l'Allemagne. Une négociation inutile ne fut qu'un prélude de la guerre. Les Bernois cherchoient à conjurer l'orage qui les menaçoit, mais il leur étoit impossible de souscrire aux conditions dures et humiliantes qu'on exigeoit d'eux. Chacun des alliés leur redemandoit des droits hypothéqués, des terres acquises depuis longtems, et une foule de sujets qu'ils avoient dérobés à la tyrannie féodale pour les recevoir au nombre de leurs citoyens. Après avoir justifié leur conduite par cette démarche, les princes rassemblèrent leurs troupes qui étoient déjà prêtes, et parurent devant Lauppen, dont ils formèrent le siège avec une armée de 3000 chevaux et de plus de 15,000 fantassins. 1338. 1339.

Les Bernois ne voyoient autour d'eux que des ennemis déclarés ou des amis foibles et peu sûrs. La ville de Soleure eut cependant le courage de leur envoyer un secours de 80 gendarmes; 300 paysans des montagnes de Hasli accoururent à la bannière des maîtres qu'ils s'étoient choisis, et le Baron de Weissembourg se signala par une fidélité encore plus singulière. Ennemi des Bernois, il avoit éprouvé depuis peu leur valeur et leur clémence; après l'avoir vaincu ils le reçurent parmi leurs citoyens; ils se montra digne de ce titre et servit sa nouvelle patrie à la tête de 150 de ses vassaux. Ces ressources étoient encore foibles et en petit nombre; et les Bernois, étonnés de la force de leurs ennemis, s'addressèrent enfin aux cantons

1339. Suisses avec lesquels ils n'avoient point d'autre liaison que celle de l'humanité. Cette liaison leur suffit, et les trois cantons d'Uri, de Schwitz, et d'Underwald leur accordèrent sur le champ 900 hommes, secours moins considérable par le nombre que par la qualité des troupes qui le composoient. Je suis surpris que les Suisses, toujours attachés à leur protecteur Louis de Bavière, ayent embrassé avec chaleur le parti de ses ennemis. Mais les états populaires se gouvernent autant par passion que par politique; et la passion des Suisses étoit la haine de l'Autriche, des nobles, et de l'injustice. Ils se mirent en marche, traversèrent une assez grande étendue des terres des confédérés, sans qu'on osât les attaquer, et arrivèrent à Berne où ils furent reçus comme des dieux tutélaires. On les en fit aussitôt sortir pour profiter du premier feu de leur courage et pour éviter les désordres qu'auroient pu commettre des hommes peu accoutumés au séjour des villes. Après avoir confié aux vieillards la garde de la capitale, la jeunesse Bernoise avec ses auxiliaires, au nombre de 5200 hommes, marcha à l'ennemi encore occupé au siège de Lauppen, dont la garnison se défendoit avec une constance intrépide. Les chefs de la république avoient employé tout ce que la raison et la superstition peuvent contribuer au salut de la patrie. Ils avoient remis toute l'autorité de l'état à Rodolphe d'Erlach sous le nom de dictateur. Il méritoit ce dépôt important par ses talens militaires, par la réputation qu'il avoit acquise dans six batailles, et par le

le sacrifice qu'il venoit de faire de tous les avantages dont il jouissoit au service du comte de Nidau.* Après avoir examiné sa situation et celle des ennemis il résolut de les attaquer sur le champ sans leur donner le tems de recevoir les secours Autrichiens qu'ils attendoient de l'Argau. A coté du dictateur marchoit le doyen de l'église collégiale; il portoit l'eucharistie à la main; il harangua les soldats, les remplit de cet enthousiasme qui élève l'homme au-dessus de lui-même et leur donna sa bénédiction pour le signal du combat. Les Bernois étoient opposés aux Fribourgeois et à l'infanterie des alliés; ce fut à regret qu'ils se contentèrent de ce poste, mais ils n'avoient pu refuser aux vives instances des Suisses l'honneur dangereux de combattre la gendarmerie; dont ils étoient accoutumés, disoient-ils, à abattre l'orgueil. Leur fermeté ne résista cependant point au premier choc de ces escadrons hérissés de lances et montés sur de grands chevaux de bataille; leurs rangs en furent ébranlés; mais ils se rétablirent dans l'instant et renouvellèrent le combat avec fureur. Les Bernois de leur côté poussèrent vivement l'infanterie des confédérés et la mirent en déroute. La sage valeur du dictateur ne leur permit point de s'égarer dans une poursuite vaine; il les remena au secours 1339.

* Cette maison, qui subsiste encore à Berne, y jouit d'une considération, que la naissance et la richesse ne sauroient lui procurer. Elle fait preuve d'une noblesse reconnue dans les tournois du douzième siècle, mais elle y ajoute une gloire plus rare et plus véritable, celle d'avoir deux fois sauvé sa patrie et de lui avoir rendu en tout tems les services les plus distingués.

1339. de leurs amis. Ils étoient déjà victorieux, et la noblesse de la Bourgogne fuyoit de toutes parts devant les Suisses. Quatorze comtes et quatre-vingt chevaliers qui portoient les casques couronnés, perdirent la vie dans cette journée décisive. Les Bernois profitèrent de leur victoire, et les Suisses retournèrent dans leur patrie contens de la gloire qu'ils avoient acquise et de la reconnoissance de leurs amis qu'ils avoient sauvés. L'Europe apprit pour la première fois qu'une infanterie de paysans avoit battu en rase campagne la gendarmerie plus formidable encore par son courage que par l'armure pesante dont elle étoit couverte.

Ce fut dans cette guerre de Lauppen que les Suisses et les Bernois apprirent à se connoître. L'estime mutuelle, et les services qu'ils avoient rendus et reçus, les préparoient insensiblement à l'alliance perpétuelle qu'ils contractèrent bientôt après; mais avant que de la voir il faut arrêter les yeux sur une révolution qui changea par ses conséquences la face de l'Helvétie. Pour cet effet je dois remonter jusqu'à l'origine de Zurich, et parcourir l'histoire de cette ville, qui devint la première de la confédération Helvétique.

La ville de Zurich est située à la tête du lac de ce nom, au milieu d'un pays fertile et délicieux. On prétend que les anciens Helvétiens avoient remarqué les avantages d'un lieu que la nature semble avoir formé pour le séjour de l'homme, et qu'ils y avoient bâti une de leurs bourgades qui fut brûlée lorsqu'ils sortirent de leur patrie pour chercher de nouvelles habitations, rétablie ensuite par ce peuple

ple après son retour, embellie par les Romains, et détruite par les Allemans vers le commencement du quatrième siècle. Elle demeura quelque tems déserte et ruinée, jusqu'à ce que la superstition fit sortir de ses masures une autre ville plus considérable que la première. Il s'étoit répandu une opinion que quelques soldats de la légion Thébienne avoient souffert le martyre à Zurich. On y découvrit bientôt leurs tombeaux; ces tombeaux devinrent des églises célèbres, et le bruit des prodiges dont elles étoient le théâtre, attira des habitans de toute la contrée voisine, qui se fixèrent sous la protection immédiate des saints Felix et Regula. Charlemagne paya aux préjugés de son siècle, et peut-être aux siens, le tribut d'une église de chanoines qu'il consacra avec les plus beaux privilèges au service de ces martyres. Louis, Roi de Germanie, son petit fils, les honora encore davantage par une abbaye de religieuses qu'il fonda en faveur de sa fille 853.
Hildegarde. Il accorda aux Saints Martyrs, et aux religieuses qui les représentoient, le domaine utile de Zurich, aussi bien que du pays d'Uri, et leur céda à perpétuité ces terres avec tous les serfs qui leur étoient attachés, et tous les droits et revenus que le souverain en retiroit. D'une donation aussi libérale il semble n'avoir excepté que la suzeraineté même. Les ducs de Suabe n'avoient rien à prétendre sur une ville enclavée dans leur gouvernement, mais qui ne dépendoit que d'un préfet impérial préposé pour veiller à la fois aux droits de l'empire et à ceux de l'église. Les empereurs eux-mêmes y tenoient souvent leur cour, et c'étoit là qu'ils

355. qu'ils établissoient leur tribunal toutes les fois qu'ils évoquoient les causes des Italiens en deçà des Alpes. Tant d'honneurs et de privilèges avoient fait de Zurich une des plus belles villes de la haute Allemagne. Les historiens du douzième siècle ont rendu témoignage à sa grandeur, sa beauté, et à l'abondance qui y régnoit. Cependant dans les diplomes des princes Carlovingiens elle n'est dé-
1218. signée que par le nom de bourg et même de village. Elle ne fut entourée de murailles que sous le règne de Fréderic II et son territoire fut toujours borné à l'enceinte de ces murailles. Le principe de ses richesses étoit en elle-même et dans l'industrie d'un peuple nombreux et infatigable. Je ne sais si je dois assurer que Zurich a possédé une des premières manufactures de soie qu'on ait vu en Europe, manufacture que ses guerres civiles lui enlevèrent pour la transporter à Come dans le Milanois; mais il est constant que la plûpart des travaux utiles y fleurissoient depuis les premiers tems, et qu'elle s'enrichissoient en répandant sur les contrées voisines le fruit de son industrie. Cette industrie étoit à la vérité très inférieure à celle des Italiens. Les Zuriquois, simples et grossiers, se contentoient d'un nécessaire assez abondant et ne connurent point le besoin et les agrémens des beaux arts.

Les objets les plus généraux n'existent pour les hommes que relativement à leurs idées particulières. C'est ainsi que chaque ordre porte dans la société les mœurs et les préjugés de son état. Le noble ne daigne

daigne jetter les yeux que sur un petit nombre d'hommes destinés par le droit de la naissance à régner sur la multitude. Pour le militaire la société politique n'est qu'un camp toujours armé contre ses voisins et qui ne reconnoît d'autres loix que les volontés de son chef. Le prêtre apperçoit partout des institutions divines et le don de la terre que Dieu a fait à ses élus. Le négociant sent que des hommes libres par leur nature sont unis par leurs besoins réciproques. L'esprit du commerce est celui de la liberté, et le commerce ne peut fleurir qu'à l'ombre des loix. Celui de Zurich s'accrut avec les privilèges qui se multiplioient tous les jours sous la douce administration des abbesses. L'Empereur Fréderic II. mit enfin le sceau à sa liberté en confirmant tous ses droits et en la déclarant ville impériale et inaliénable.

Dans l'obscurité répandue sur le premier age de l'histoire l'on entrevoit assez confusément la forme de la république Zuriquoise: elle étoit gouvernée, selon l'opinion la plus probable, par un conseil de trente-six personnes, choisies à la vérité par le corps de la bourgeoisie, mais dont les places étoient perpétuelles et l'autorité à peu près souveraine. Ils étoient partagés en trois chambres, qui se succédoient; et chaque chambre se voyoit à la tête de l'état pendant quatre mois de l'année. Dans les affaires difficiles elle s'associoit les lumières de ses collègues, et dans celles qui sembloient intéresser la communauté entière elle s'autorisoit par le suffrage d'un nombre considérable des bourgeois. Cette aristocratie gouverna longtems avec une justice

1335. tice et une tranquillité qui fournit peu d'événemens à l'histoire; mais enfin elle fut corrompue par le vice de son institution. Ces conseillers, abusant de leur pouvoir, se crurent les maîtres d'un peuple dont ils n'étoient que les ministres. Les graces et même la justice n'étoit que pour ceux dont les bassesses briguoient leur faveur et flattoient leur orgueil. Leur avarice et leur profusion épuisoient le trésor public, et le peuple n'étoit instruit de leur infidélité que par les nouveaux impôts qu'elle exigeoit de lui. Il sentit le triste état auquel ses magistrats l'avoient réduit, et n'espéroit point un avenir plus heureux. L'esprit du conseil se perpétuoit dans tous ses membres, et les Zuriquois, qui changeoient leurs tyrans trois fois par an, éprouvoient toujours la même tyrannie.

Un seul citoyen aspira à la gloire de libérateur de sa patrie. Il s'appelloit Rodolphe Brun, nom consacré par la reconnoissance de la postérité. Sa naissance et son mérite lui avoit donné une place dans le conseil; mais sa prudence et peut-être sa vertu lui dicta des maximes très opposées à celles de ses collègues. Il prévit que cette puissance fondée sur l'injustice alloit bientôt s'écrouler, et qu'en se déclarant le vengeur de leurs crimes il ne lui seroit pas difficile de s'élever sur leur chute au lieu de la partager. Des mœurs populaires et une réputation sans tâche prévenoient déjà ses concitoyens en sa faveur, et il employoit, pour gagner leur confiance, tous les arts de l'ambition qui s'humilie. Il s'intéressoit à toutes leurs affaires, écoutoit leurs plaintes avec une bonté attentive, s'attendrissoit

s'attendrissoit sur leurs maux, leur rappelloit leurs droits et le bonheur de leurs ancêtres, exagéroit la dureté du conseil et ne leur laissoit d'espérance qu'en eux-mêmes. " Ami du peuple, et des loix, j'ai souvent élevé, leur disoit-il, ma foible voix contre l'oppression qu'on déguise ici sous le nom de justice. Mes efforts ont été inutiles à mes citoyens et pernicieux à moi-même. J'ai tout à craindre de l'inimitié des mes collègues. Je l'ai mérité pour avoir défendu un peuple qui ne sait se défendre lui-même." Ses discours découvroient aux Zuriquois le secret de leurs forces et de la foiblesse du conseil. Leur mépris pour ces maîtres qu'ils avoient si longtems révérés, s'augmentoit tous les jours avec leur admiration pour ce grand homme qui avoit ranimé leur courage. Guidés par ses avis, les citoyens refusèrent à la chambre qui entroit en office au commencement du mois de Mai, le serment de fidélité qu'elle exigeoit d'eux. Avant que de reconnoître son autorité, ils prétendoient qu'elle rendît un compte de sa dernière administration, et de tous les revenus publics qui lui étoient passés par les mains; ils déclaroient hautement qu'ils préparoient le même examen pour les deux autres chambres, et qu'ils ne souffriroient plus les excès honteux qui ne leur laissoient qu'un vain nom de république. Les conseillers, étonnés d'une audace à laquelle ils étoient si peu accoutumés, essayèrent encore de se soutenir par la hauteur, et commençèrent, sans égard aux remontrances des bourgeois, à s'acquitter des fonctions de leurs emplois; mais la hauteur irrite toutes les fois qu'elle n'intimide 1335.

1335. n'intimide point; leurs menaces de punir Brun et les autres conjurés ne servirent qu'à les convaincre de la nécessité où ils étoient de prendre un parti décisif. Ils le prirent enfin; la bourgeoisie s'assembla, courut aux armes, investit la maison de ville, dissipa sans répandre de sang le conseil qui y siégeoit, et anéantit dans un instant la vaine puissance de l'aristocratie. Les magistrats qui se sentoient les plus criminels se sauvèrent de la ville. Quelques uns osèrent se confier à la justice ou à la clémence de leurs concitoyens. Ceux-ci n'étoient qu'au nombre de sept. Brun lui-même se trouvoit parmi eux, mais sa justification fut à chaque moment interrompue par les applaudissemens d'un peuple entier qui le nommoit son chef, son ami et son sauveur. En attendant la tranquillité nécessaire pour les soins importans d'une nouvelle législation, ce peuple lui remit l'administration souveraine de l'état. Brun se chargea de ce fardeau glorieux avec une répugnance qu'il ne dissimuloit point. Il connoissoit la multitude et l'envie, et se hâta de donner à sa puissance des bornes qui la rendissent moins odieuse et plus assurée.

Peu de tems après, la bourgeoisie s'assembla pour donner son consentement à un corps de loix qui établissoit une nouvelle république sur les ruines de l'ancien conseil. Treize conseillers représentoient encore la partie aristocratique de la constitution, mais leur emploi passager expiroit à la fin de six mois, et ne pouvoit se renouveller en leur faveur qu'après un pareil intervalle. Ils étoient tirés de la classe des nobles auxquels on laissa l'honneur

l'honneur d'être le premier ordre de l'état, mais en associant à leurs privilèges la partie la plus riche et la plus considérée de la bourgeoisie. Quinze jours avant le changement du conseil, le Bourguemestre, déclaré chef de la république par ce nouveau règlement, étoit tenu à nommer les deux chevaliers et les quatre bourgeois qu'il estimoit le plus, et à consulter avec eux sur le choix des sénateurs. Leur puissance étoit balancée par celles des tribuns qui siégeoient avec eux, et qui par le nombre, la durée, et l'autorité ne différoient point des sénateurs eux-mêmes. Ces tribuns étoient à la fois l'organe et les protecteurs du peuple qui les élisoit. La bourgeoisie de Zurich fut partagée en treize tribus ou corps de métiers. Chaque tribu composoit une partie intégrante de l'état, elle avoit ses privilèges, ses revenus, ses assemblées, et son représentant dans le conseil souverain. Toutes les puissances de la république s'anéantissoient et se renouvelloient deux fois par an, à l'exception de l'autorité du Bourguemestre, qui étoit fixe et perpétuelle. Il étoit chef du sénat, et son pouvoir s'étendoit également sur la guerre, les négociations étrangères, la justice, et la police intérieure. Le serment de fidélité qu'il avoit droit d'exiger de tous les citoyens étoit regardé par les loix comme le premier des sermens. Les Zuriquois avoient cru qu'une ville mal-affermie dans sa liberté et pleine de mécontens demandoit un dictateur, et ils ne craignèrent point l'ambition d'un citoyen qui avoit acquis toute leur confiance. Rodolphe Brun fut nommé Bourguemestre par une acclamation 1336.

1336. acclamation générale, et gouverna vingt-quatre ans plus encore par la considération personnelle que par la dignité de sa place. Mais ses successeurs, qui n'avoient que cette dignité, ne purent conserver des prérogatives aussi excessives, qui n'étoient plus nécessaires au salut de l'état et qui menaçoient sa liberté. On partagea bientôt l'autorité en établissant deux bourguemestres, qui se succédoient de la même manière que les autres officiers de la république; ils furent dépouillés de la nomination du sénat, et l'on dispensa les citoyens du serment de fidélité. L'esprit populaire, qui se fortifioit tous les jours, épargna aussi peu les privilèges de la noblesse que les droits de bourguemestre. Les tribus se plaignoient qu'un sénat trop peu nombreux ramenoit les tems de leur ancienne aristocratie. Elles voulurent régner; mais sensibles encore aux défauts d'une multitude qui ne sait ni délibérer ni agir, elles se contentèrent d'établir un conseil de deux cens personnes choisies dans toutes
1393. les tribus par les suffrages des bourgeois. Ils se reposèrent sur ce conseil, la créature et l'image du peuple, des soins d'une autorité qu'ils ne savoient exercer eux-mêmes. Ils lui confièrent le choix des bourguemestres et du sénat, et toute la puissance exécutrice. De la puissance législative ils n'exceptèrent que les affaires qui intéressoient la religion, l'empire, et la confédération Helvétique, dont la connoissance étoit réservée aux assemblées générales du peuple. Tous les grands traits de cette constitution subsistent encore à Zurich, mais l'exception est oubliée ou abolie, et l'on doit regarder

regarder le conseil des deux cens comme le véritable souverain de la république,* qui fait la nuance entre les états populaires de la Suisse et ceux dont les sénats aristocratiques se renouvellent eux-mêmes par une succession qui ne dépend point du choix de la communauté. 1393.

Le législateur de Zurich, après avoir donné ces loix, crut devoir obtenir la confirmation de tous ceux dont les droits étoient encore reconnus par les citoyens. L'Empereur (c'étoit toujours Louis de Bavière) approuva la forme de gouvernement qu'ils avoient établi. L'abbesse du couvent de Zurich les affranchit de sa dépendance avec une facile bonté qui ne lui laissa que le titre de prince dont elle se pare avec complaisance dans le diplome qui existe encore de cette transaction. Le chapitre des chanoines suivit son exemple, et remit à la ville la plûpart des anciens droits qui lui restoient

* Les propositions générales sont rarement exactes par la raison même qu'elles sont générales. J'ai tâché de bien voir mon objet, mais cet objet assez vaste renferme dans ses détails mille exceptions que la nature de mon plan ne m'a point permis de suivre. C'est ainsi que je semble confondre les sénateurs et les tribuns de la nouvelle constitution actuelle. Ceux-ci, qui sont à la tête des représentans de chaque tribu, entrent au sénat par l'élection immédiate du peuple, pendant que les premiers, avec les bourguemestres et les autres magistrats, sont tirés du nombre des deux cens par le choix même de ce conseil. Je me suis vu forcé à ne donner qu'une idée très légère de la classe des nobles, (en Allemand Constoffil,) qui a perdu quelques unes de ces prérogatives et qui en conserve plusieurs autres. J'attends d'ailleurs de l'indulgence ou plutôt de l'équité des Suisses qu'ils n'oublient jamais qu'étranger moi-même, j'écris principalement pour les étrangers.

1336. encore, et qui n'étoient plus qu'un témoignage honteux de la première servitude des bourgeois.

Occupés de cette révolution, nous avons perdu de vue le sort des mauvais citoyens qui l'occasionnèrent. On les jugea avec rigueur, mais leurs arrêts portent le caractère de la justice dans l'exactitude scrupuleuse avec laquelle on y proportionne les punitions aux crimes. Les uns sont punis par les amendes. On impose aux autres un exil plus ou moins long; on flétrit le nom des plus coupables en interdisant à eux et à leurs enfans l'entrée des charges publiques. Quelques conseillers, qui préféroient un repos assuré à une vengeance incertaine, se soumirent à leur sentence, reconnurent la nouvelle république, et s'étudièrent à mieux obéir qu'ils n'avoient commandé. Tous les autres se retirèrent auprès du Comte de Raperschwyl, qui se trouvoit par la situation de ses états ami très utile ou ennemi dangereux des Zuriquois, dont la politique avoit eu soin de ménager peu auparavant avec lui une alliance étroite. Mais ce prince, sorti de la maison d'Autriche, étoit trop sensible au plaisir d'affoiblir une ville libre et puissante pour ne pas accueillir tant de ses citoyens mécontens qui la déchiroient de leurs propres mains. Il leur accorda le château de Raperschwyl pour retraite, et leur permit de travailler à la ruine de leur patrie. Aussitôt que la nouvelle de leur révolte fut portée à Zurich, le sénat confisqua tous leurs biens, et leur dénonça un exil perpétuel. Irrité enfin par la mauvaise foi du comte et par la protection qu'il accordoit toujours à leurs sujets rebelles, il voulut l'en

l'en punir. Les citoyens, rassemblés sous la ban- 1337.
nière de la ville, montèrent sur leurs bateaux, et voguèrent sur le lac de Zurich du côté de Raperschwyl. Les exilés joignirent leur désespoir au courage des habitans; les assaillans furent repoussés, et le Comte de Toggenbourg, qu'une querelle particulière avoit engagé à joindre ses armes à celles des Zuriquois, demeura prisonnier entre les mains des ennemis. Le Comte de Habsbourg assiégeoit alors la petite ville de Grynau située à l'extrémité du lac, et les Zuriquois s'avançèrent jusques là pour se venger sur sa personne de l'échoc qu'ils avoient reçu devant sa capitale. L'entreprise fut heureuse; le comte fut tué après un combat opiniâtre qui fit périr la plûpart des siens. Les Zuriquois rentrèrent dans leur ville contens et victorieux, mais leur joie fut troublée par le triste sort de leur allié. Il fut la victime de la fureur de ceux de Raperschwyl, qui croyoient signaler leur amour pour leur prince, en sacrifiant à ses manes ce prisonnier malheureux, qui fut coupé en mille morceaux: la république de Zurich profita de la première terreur qu'inspirèrent ses succès pour détruire plusieurs châteaux qui l'incommodoient, et fit des alliances avec l'abbé et la ville de St. Gall, et les villes de Basle, de Schaffouse, et de Constance. Elle réussit aussi à attirer dans son parti un grand nombre de maisons des chevaliers de Rhodes, aujourd'hui de Malte, dont la foi et la valeur ont été les mêmes dans tous les siècles.

Zurich jouit d'une assez grande tranquillité 1350.
pendant l'enfance du jeune Comte de Habsbourg,

1350. fils de celui qui avoit été tué au combat de Grynau, mais sa jeunesse fut empoisonnée sans peine par les conseils intéressés des exilés qui lui répétoient toujours qu'il avoit à la fois son père et sa gloire à venger. Trop foible cependant pour prendre les armes il choisit une vengeance lâche et perfide. Les exilés avoient toujours entretenu des intelligences secrettes dans leur ancienne patrie. Toutes les républiques renferment des mécontens à qui les magistrats sont odieux, des coupables qui craignent les loix, des hommes ruinés qui n'espèrent que dans la confusion générale, et des esprits ambitieux qui travaillent à fonder leur grandeur sur cette confusion. Ils se réunirent tous par les intrigues des exilés, se devouèrent à leurs intérêts, et promirent de les ramener dans Zurich embrasé et inondé du sang de tous les partisans du bourguemestre et du sénat. Huit cens soldats du comte se glissèrent dans la ville à la faveur de leurs déguisemens et se dispersèrent dans les maisons de leurs partisans. Une cavalerie choisie s'approchoit de toutes les portes, pendant que plusieurs chaloupes armées se préparoient à entrer dans le port à la faveur de la nuit. Le Comte de Habsbourg avoit communiqué ses desseins à un grand nombre de gentilshommes qui ne rougirent point d'être les complices des assassins. Il gardoit encore quelques dehors de bienséance avec les citoyens de Zurich, et l'on ne fut point surpris de le voir arriver dans la ville avec une suite très nombreuse de nobles et de militaires. Quelques uns des exilés eurent la hardiesse de le suivre, le sénat ne voulut pas les voir, et

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le peuple s'imagina qu'ils venoient pour faire leur soumission et pour recevoir la grace que leur protecteur avoit tant de fois sollicitée pour eux. Le complot se tramoit avec un secret qui déroboit aux yeux vigilans du bourguemestre les manœuvres des conjurés, dont aucun ne fut ébranlé ni par la crainte ni par les remords. Un jeune garçon fut le sauveur de l'état. Le hasard lui fit entendre les discours de quelques soldats du Comte de Habsbourg, qui se communiquoient mutuellement les ordres qu'ils avoient reçus de prendre les armes à une heure après minuit, de s'emparer de la maison de ville, et de massacrer Rodolphe Brun et toute sa faction. Il apprit jusqu'au mot de ralliement qui servoit à distinguer les séditieux. Déjà l'heure approche, le tems presse, et le danger croit à chaque instant. Ce jeune homme court chez le bourguemestre, le fait lever, et lui apprend que dans peu de momens, la liberté et les amis de la liberté vont perir. Brun prend son parti avec ce courage tranquille qui voit le danger et ne s'en étonne point. Il change d'habit avec son valet, traverse les flots séditieux, qui remplissent déjà les rues et qui n'attendent que le signal du carnage, perce jusqu'à l'hôtel de ville, s'enferme dans le clocher, et sonne le tocsin. Réveillés par ce bruit terrible, les citoyens effrayés s'arment, sortent de leurs maisons, et volent au secours de leur chef qui se défendoit dans la maison de ville, dont les conjurés travailloient à enfoncer les portes. L'allarme se répandit dans tous les quartiers de la ville, et l'on combattoit dans les ténèbres de la nuit, sans trop connoître son

1350. 24 Fevrier.

1350. danger ni ses ennemis. Les bouchers terrassoient avec leurs grandes haches tout ce qui se présentoit devant eux. Les prêtres de la cathédrale interrompirent l'office pour courir au secours de la patrie avec les armes qu'ils trouvèrent dans la sacristie. Bientôt la voix du bourguemestre fit connoître aux citoyens les objets de leur juste terreur. Mille flambeaux s'allumoient dans toutes les rues, les conjurés furent accablés du haut des maisons d'une grêle de pierres et de traits. Le jour parut enfin et découvrit le spectacle affreux du carnage d'un combat nocturne. Mais les Zuriquois victorieux virent avec transport leurs ennemis étendus à leurs pieds, le petit nombre qui restoit encore, chargé de fers, les campagnes remplies d'une cavalerie qui fuyoit avec précipitation, et le lac couvert des débris des bateaux qui s'étoient brisés dans la confusion de leur retraite. Les corps morts des conjurés demeurèrent sans sépulture, abandonnés à la fureur et aux insultes de la populace. Les prisonniers ne furent épargnés que pour éprouver le supplice qu'ils avoient si bien mérité. Dix-sept d'entre eux furent exposés sur la roue devant leurs maisons; dix-huit furent décapités devant l'hôtel de ville. Le Comte de Toggenbourg avoit péri dans le lac. Le Baron de Mazingen et un Seigneur de Landenberg furent tués les armes à la main. Le Comte de Habsbourg lui-même avec le Baron de Bonstetten étoient du nombre des prisonniers, mais on respecta encore en eux la naissance qu'ils avoient déshonorée, et l'on se contenta de les garder étroitement.

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Le Bourguemestre Brun ne laissa point à refroidir l'indignation publique. Il profita de sa première fureur pour conduire la bannière de Zurich devant la ville de Raperschwyl dont le voisinage lui avoit toujours été incommode. Les Zuriquois la prirent par capitulation, détruisirent ses murs et sa citadelle, dévastèrent toutes les terres du Comte de Habsbourg, et obligèrent tous ses sujets à leur prêter serment de fidélité. 1350. 2 Mars.

Des succès aussi rapides élevèrent la gloire de Zurich: le peuple, qui passe avec tant de facilité de la consternation à la fierté, fut ébloui de cette gloire, pendant que son sage magistrat n'en voyoit que les périls. Il savoit que le sang ou l'intérêt unissoient le Comte de Habsbourg à la maison d'Autriche et à toute la noblesse Helvétique. Pour soutenir le choc de tant d'ennemis, que l'indignation, la honte, et la jalousie alloient armer contre sa patrie, il lui cherche un nouveau rempart. La foi et la valeur des Suisses lui étoient connues; pour les intéresser en sa faveur, il proposa aux quatre cantons de recevoir Zurich dans leur confédération perpétuelle. Les Suisses eurent la sage hardiesse de mépriser le danger actuel et de le sacrifier aux avantages futurs et à l'honneur que leur promettoit une pareille alliance. Ils l'acceptèrent sans hésiter, et pour témoigner leur respect à la première ville de l'Helvétie, ils lui accordèrent cette primauté dont elle jouit encore dans la confédération.

Le fond de cette alliance est le même que dans les traités précédens, mais on s'apperçoit que les liens de l'amitié se relachent en s'étendant. Au lieu d'une 1351. Mai.

1351. obligation simple de marcher avec toutes ses forces à la première réquisition d'un allié, une diette générale doit juger de l'objet, du péril, et du secours qu'il exige, et le canton qui a reçu les avantages de ce secours doit fournir aux frais de l'expédition. Les alliés ne se dépouillent point du droit de prendre des engagemens avec les puissances étrangères; mais ils jurent que ces engagemens n'auront jamais rien de contraire à ceux qu'ils viennent de contracter. Les quatre cantons, attachés à leurs premiers nœuds, déclarent qu'ils auront toujours la préférence sur cette alliance plus récente et moins étroite.* Elle porte cependant les caractères sacrés d'une union intime, égale et perpétuelle, qui distingue la Confédération Helvétique de tous les autres traités, tristes monumens de l'ambition et de la perfidie de l'homme.

Les craintes des Zuriquois n'avoient point été sans fondement. Le Duc d'Autriche se déclara leur ennemi; c'étoit Albert, surnommé le boiteux, seul fils qui restoit encore de l'Empereur Albert. Etranger à la Suisse, qu'il ne visitoit que très rarement, il méconnut, aussi bien que les autres princes de sa maison, la force et la foiblesse de ses états éloignés. Il témoigna son indignation de

V. Tschudi, ad loc. De Watteville, Hist. de la Confédération Helvétique, tom. i. p. 262.

* C'est dans ce traité qu'il faut chercher la première idée de ce qu'on a ensuite nommé droit Helvétique, auquel chaque canton et chaque individu étoit tenu à soumettre ses différens. Les deux partis nommoient quatre arbitres tirés du corps Helvétique. Ces juges assermentés prononçoient leur arrêt. S'ils se trouvoient partagés ils choisissoient un sur-arbitre qui n'avoit que le droit d'opter entre les deux avis. Lorsque la patrie des arbitres s'y trouvoit intéressée, on avoit la précaution de les dispenser du serment de fidelité qu'ils lui avoient prêté.

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l'attentat que les Zuriquois avoient osé commettre ; 1351.
il réclama hautement la personne et les droits du Comte de Habsbourg, son parent et son vassal, et il exigea encore qu'après lui avoir rendu la liberté, ils expiassent, par une amende considérable, les outrages qu'il avoit soufferts. Les Zuriquois représentèrent vainement qu'ils avoient suivi la première des loix; qu'ils n'étoient coupables que d'avoir détourné le glaive de l'assassin ; et que le Comte de Habsbourg, cet assassin, leur devoit la vie qu'il avoit mérité de perdre. On leur répondit qu'il falloit choisir de la soumission ou de la guerre. Ils choisirent la guerre, et se préparèrent à la soutenir. Les Suisses, leurs nouveaux alliés, leur envoyèrent un secours de quinze cens hommes qui ne démentirent point la gloire de la nation. D'un autre côté, la noblesse Helvétique, qui se prêtoit avec une sorte d'enthousiasme au ressentiment de leur duc, le mit bientôt en état de lever une armée nombreuse et de marcher en personne contre la ville de Zurich.

Ce fut dans cette guerre que le Duc Albert assiégea deux fois cette capitale. C'est ainsi du moins que les historiens de la nation ont désigné des opérations militaires qui ressemblent assez peu à nos sièges. L'armée Autrichienne s'approchoit de la place pour l'investir, ceux qui cherchoient à signaler leur bravoure s'avançoient jusqu'aux portes pour défier les habitans au combat. Les Zuriquois, tranquilles sur leur foibles remparts, rioient des efforts impuissans d'un ennemi destitué de tout ce que l'art a inventé pour les attaquer. Quelquefois irrités

1351. irrités de leurs insultes ils y répondoient avec audace. Ils ouvroient les portes pour inviter l'approche des Autrichiens, et la prévenoient par des sorties fréquentes, qui ne produisoient que des combats sanglans et inutiles. Le courage de cette noblesse indépendante s'animoit dans le péril et cédoit assez facilement aux difficultés. Elle se dégoûtoit bientôt d'un siège qui ne lui annonçoit que l'ennui et la fatigue, se retiroit et entraînoit dans sa retraite le Duc d'Autriche, dont les forces principales consistoient dans le service volontaire de ses vassaux. Ce duc, trop foible pour vaincre, étoit néanmoins assez fort pour nuire. Les habitans de cette triste contrée distinguoient leur marche et leur retraite par leurs villages embrasés, leurs moissons enlevées, leurs vignes arrachées, et par les cris des malheureux qui éprouvoient la fureur du soldat livré à lui-même. Le Duc Albert avoit amené de l'Autriche quinze cens Hongrois, dont la férocité naturelle ignoroit également les loix de la discipline et celles de l'humanité. Je ne m'appesanterai point sur le détail de ces horreurs qui effrayent sans instruire. L'objet de l'histoire, c'est l'homme; on doit l'étudier jusques dans les excès qui déshonorent sa nature; mais ces excès renouvellés dans tous les siècles nous ont déjà depuis longtems appris combien il est foible et méchant.

Les Zuriquois souffroient beaucoup d'un ennemi qui poussoit ses ravages jusqu'aux pieds de leurs murs, mais ils goûtèrent quelquefois le triste plaisir d'une vengeance qui ne s'exerçoit à la vérité que sur les sujets innocens d'un prince coupable envers eux.

Dans

Dans une de ces courses que fit le bourguemestre à la tête de 1200 hommes, il brûla les bains de Bade et dévasta tout le pays des environs. Chargé du butin, il avoit repris le chemin de Zurich lorsqu'il s'engagea dans le défilé de Tatwyl sans avoir reconnu les hauteurs qui le dominoient. Elles étoient occupées par les Autrichiens, qui l'attaquèrent dans le même instant de tous côtés avec une confiance et une impétuosité qui sembloient annoncer et assurer la victoire. Rodolphe Brun fit voir dans cette occasion, qu'il y a des momens de surprise et de terreur dans lesquels l'âme la plus ferme est trahie par les sens. Il oublia le dépôt important que lui avoit confié la patrie, et pour se dérober à un péril incertain il se condamna à l'infamie qui poursuit toujours la lâcheté. Les Zuriquois, découragés par la fuite de leur chef, se crurent perdus. Ils l'étoient en effet, si son Lieutenant, Roger de Mannes, n'eut rétabli l'ordre et la confiance par un artifice heureux. " La grande bannière de la république, s'écria-t-il, s'avance pour nous dégager. Notre bourguemestre nous a quitté pour précipiter sa marche. Mais si vous m'en croyez, notre salut et la gloire de cette journée ne seront l'ouvrage que de nos mains." Aussitôt il vole par tous les rangs, il donne au bataillon Zuriquois la forme serrée et pointue d'un coin, pousse les Autrichiens, ébranlés d'un effort aussi imprévu, les enfonce et se fait un chemin sanglant pour sortir du défilé. Le combat recommença dans la plaine avec une nouvelle opiniâtreté, mais avec plus d'égalité, lorsqu'une circonstance heureuse seconda la valeur 1351.

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des Suisses. Une petite troupe de cent cinquante hommes parut tout à coup et donne sur le flanc des Autrichiens. L'imagination trompée fit voir aux deux partis la grande armée de Zurich, dont cette troupe ne formoit que l'avant-garde. Les Autrichiens cédèrent le champ de bataille qu'ils avoient si bien disputé. Sept cens morts y demeurèrent, et les vainqueurs recueillirent soixante-cinq casques couronnés, avec les bannières de Bremgarten, Mellingen, &c. Roger de Mannes rentra dans Zurich parmi les acclamations des citoyens qui apprirent en même tems son danger et sa victoire.

Au milieu de la joie publique le malheureux bourguemestre, caché dans une maison de campagne, fuyoit la lumière et les hommes. Mais la reconnoissance de ses compatriotes leur fit oublier une faute que les peuples guerriers ne savent pardonner. Toute la bourgeoisie, assemblée sous la bannière, alla le chercher avec une compassion respectueuse, et le ramena dans une ville qu'il avoit sauvé deux fois. On le remercia de n'avoir pas exposé l'état en sa personne. La politique des Zuriquois, remplie de justice et d'humanité, pardonna sa foiblesse à ses services, et lui conserva l'estime publique dont il avoit besoin pour réparer cette foiblesse, et pour être toujours utile à la république.

Les combats les plus célèbres sont bientôt oubliés, ce sont de petits traits qui se confondent avec mille traits semblables dans le grand tableau des misères humaines. Mais on ne doit point oublier que de la confusion de cette guerre sortirent

deux

deux états libres qui furent ajoutés à la confédération Helvétique par les victoires et par la modération des Suisses.

Le pays de Glaris a de grands rapports avec les cantons de Schwitz et d'Uri, dont il n'est séparé que par de hautes montagnes. Le ciel et la terre sont les mêmes; et l'on sait assez combien l'homme est esclave du climat. Dans le tems que la haute Allemagne n'étoit qu'un vaste désert parsemé d'un petit nombre de bourgs et de villages, un de ses ducs donna le territoire de Glaris avec tous ses serfs à St. Fridelin, et ce moine transporta ce présent assez peu considérable aux religieuses de Seckingen sur le Rhin, dont il étoit le directeur. Les abbesses ne firent jamais sentir à leurs nouveaux sujets le poids de la servitude. Elles ne se reservèrent que la haute justice et des redevances assez modiques. La liberté de Glaris se formoit entre leurs mains, et ses habitans établirent, sous la protection de l'abbaye, une république populaire. Nous avons déjà vu que ces bons paysans, contens d'une liberté obscure, avoient obtenu de leur souveraine la promesse de ne les jamais aliéner, et qu'au mépris de ses sermens elle les céda aux ducs d'Autriche, en nommant ces princes avocats héréditaires ou protecteurs de l'abbaye dans le pays de Glaris. Les citoyens, qui préféroient l'exil aux fers, se retirèrent les uns à Zurich, les autres dans les cantons populaires. L'on arracha à ceux qui restèrent dans le pays un serment de fidélité qu'ils ne violèrent jamais, et la maison d'Autriche trouvoit parmi eux le secours utile d'une infanterie impénétrable.

1351. ble.* Cette maison paya leurs services avec la reconnoissance ordinaire des princes:—le mépris, l'oppression et les injustices. Les impôts et les corvées se multiplièrent. L'on enleva aux habitans le choix de leur premier magistrat qui fut remplacé par un gouverneur étranger. Le feu qui prit au dépôt des archives avoit détruit un grand nombre des anciens diplomes sur lesquels se fondoit la liberté de Glaris. Ses nouveaux maîtres leur refusèrent la permission qu'ils sollicitoient de les faire rétablir, et ne cachèrent plus le dessein qu'ils avoient formé d'éteindre jusqu'à la mémoire de leurs anciens privilèges. Leurs voisins les Suisses, instruits de l'esclavage sous lequel ils gémissoient, prirent la résolution d'affoiblir leur ennemi, en lui enlevant des sujets qu'il n'étoit pas digne de gouverner. Ils entrèrent dans le pays de Glaris avec des forces assez considérables. Les officiers du duc s'enfuirent à leur approche, le peuple vint au devant de ses libérateurs, renonça aux nœuds qu'avoit brisé la tyrannie, et prêta avec transport le serment de fidélité qu'on exigeoit de lui au nom des quatre premiers cantons. Assurés de leur obéissance, les Suisses ne commandèrent aux vaincus que de reprendre leur liberté et de la mériter. Bientôt ils les élevèrent au rang de leurs alliés par un traité

Chron. Joan. Vitoduran. p. 29.

* En 1330 le Duc Othon assiégeoit la ville de Colmar en Alsace. Voici les paroles d'un historien contemporain: "Rex Bohemiæ pertransiens per circuitum castrorum Ducis, et perveniens ad aciem virorum de Glarus, vidensque illorum instrumenta bellica, et vasa interfectionis dicta Gesa, in vulgari Helnbarton; admirans ait, O quam terribilis est aspectus istius cunei, cum suis instrumentis horribilibus et non modicum metuendis!"

qui

qui fit de Glaris un des cantons du corps Helvétique. 1351.
On reconnoît cependant dans ce traité, des conditions inégales qui ne furent dictées que par une juste crainte des partisans cachés de la maison d'Autriche, et qui disparurent dès que cette crainte ne subsistoit plus. Les quatre cantons se réservent l'interprétation de toutes les difficultés, et s'attribuent jusqu'au pouvoir de changer par leur consentement unanime les articles de cette alliance. Ils dépouillent le canton de Glaris du droit de prendre des engagemens avec les puissances étrangères, mais ils assujettissent ce canton à toutes les obligations qu'ils trouveront à propos de contracter eux-mêmes. On retrouve dans ce traité l'exception de tous les droits de la maison d'Autriche, et l'exception plus sincère des services que le pays devoit à l'abbaye de Seckingen et dont il se racheta enfin quelques années après.

Enhardis par ce premier succès, les Suisses ne 1352.
songèrent qu'à pousser leurs avantages contre un ennemi qui ne savoit supporter ni la paix ni la guerre. Ils s'avançèrent dans le territoire de Zug et mirent le siège devant cette ville, dont la situation et la force l'avoient rendue une place d'armes très importante qui menaçoit la frontière des Suisses, et qui ne leur laissoit qu'une communication assez difficile avec leurs nouveaux alliés de Zurich. Le pays de Zug est une plaine favorisée par la nature, mais il n'avoit jamais connu les douceurs de la liberté. Ce patrimoine des anciens comtes de Lentzbourg, étoit entré dans la maison d'Autriche avec la succession des comtes de Kybourg ; et le peuple soumis

1352. soumis au joug respectoit ses princes par devoir et par habitude. La patience et le devouement qui font l'héroisme de la servitude lui tenoient lieu de l'amour d'une patrie qui n'existoit point pour lui. Rempli de cet esprit, il résista avec courage aux Suisses et supporta sans murmures tous les maux d'un siège opiniâtre. Lorsque les habitans se virent enfin prêts à succomber aux efforts des assiégeans ils leur demandèrent une trève de trois jours pour instruire leur souverain de leur danger. Le Duc Albert se promenoit dans les cloîtres de Konigsfeld lorsque les députés de Zug l'abordèrent. Au lieu de l'accueil qu'il devoit à de pareils sujets, il se plaisoit à leur marquer un mépris qui ne déshonoroit que lui-même. Il écouta leurs plaintes d'un air distrait, les interrompit pour donner des ordres à ses fauconniers, et leur dit, avec une indifférence hautaine, qu'ils n'avoient qu'à se rendre, et qu'il sauroit bien les reprendre. Les citoyens de Zug ne profitèrent qu'à regret des droits que leur prince leur avoit rendus : mais il fallut céder à la nécessité et traiter avec les Suisses, qui leur proposèrent de signer, au lieu d'une capitulation humiliante, une alliance perpétuelle. La modération de cette république naissante n'étoit point encore corrompue par le goût des conquêtes ; éclairée sur ses vrais intérêts, elle préféra l'amitié d'un peuple brave et libre au triste soin de garder des esclaves ; Zug devint un nouveau canton du corps Helvétique. Les peuples de son territoire établirent un gouvernement populaire, que l'union du bourg principal tempéra d'un mélange d'aristocratie,

cratie, qui laissoit dans sa constitution le germe de la discorde civile. 1352.

J'ai rassemblé les traits principaux d'une guerre qui fut plus d'une fois suspendue par les négociations et interrompue par les trèves. Albert se voyoit dépouiller de ses états héréditaires par les Suisses; pendant que Zurich opposoit toujours à sa fureur un rempart impénétrable. Ce prince foible et inquiet traitoit avec un ennemi qu'il ne savoit vaincre, violoit les traités qu'il venoit de signer, et achetoit la guerre et la paix aux dépens de sa gloire. J'entrevois dans une de ces négociations une scène assez singulière mais que les historiens ont mal su développer. Le duc d'Autriche et les Suisses ne pouvant pas s'accorder au sujet de leurs prétensions mutuelles convinrent de s'en rapporter au jugement des arbitres. Agnès, Reine de Hongrie, sœur du Duc d'Autriche et fille de l'Empereur Albert premier, fut choisie pour décider entre sa famille et une nation ennemie. Cet honneur fut déféré à quarante ans de retraite et à sa réputation de sainteté; mais elle montra par sa conduite que cette sainteté n'avoit rien de commun avec la justice. Les intérêts de son frère dictèrent la sentence qui lui accorda tout ce qu'il avoit demandé, et qui exigea des Zuriquois seize de leurs premiers citoyens pour lui répondre de l'exécution du traité. La confiance excessive des Suisses ne paroît aujourd'hui qu'une imprudence assez ridicule, mais ce ridicule est celui d'un peuple qui croit à la vertu dans un siècle corrompu. Ils se préparoient à remplir les conditions dures et injustes qu'on leur avoit

1352. imposées, lorsque le Duc se rappella que, par un oubli des plus étranges, l'article le plus essentiel avoit été négligé, et qu'on n'avoit rien stipulé en faveur du Comte de Habsbourg pour qui l'on avoit entrepris la guerre. Furieux de ce que les Suisses lui refusoient la liberté de son parent, il reprit les armes, et renonça, par sa perfidie, à tous les avantages qu'il trouvoit dans la sentence arbitrale. Bientôt il fallut négocier de nouveau; un arbitre moins intéressé prononça un arrêt plus impartial; c'étoit Louis, Margrave de Brandenbourg, et fils du feu Empereur Louis de Bavière. Il rendit la liberté au Comte de Habsbourg sans rançon, mais aussi sans dédommagement, il confirma toutes les alliances des Suisses, mais il n'affranchit point les sujets de la maison d'Autriche de l'obéissance à leur souverain. Il devoit prévoir et sans doute il prévoyoit que les deux partis ne s'accorderoient jamais sur l'interprétation des derniers articles qui semblent se contredire. Le sort de Zug et de Glaris devint une source de difficultés qui se terminèrent bientôt par une nouvelle guerre.

1353. Toutes ces tentatives inutiles d'Albert lui apprirent enfin qu'il étoit trop foible pour réussir dans une entreprise qu'il ne pouvoit ni exécuter ni abandonner. Il s'adressa à l'Empereur, lui représenta le danger de ces alliances particulières qui se formoient dans le sein de l'empire sans le consentement de son chef, et lui fit entrevoir avec terreur, cette indépendance féroce qui s'étoit formée dans les montagnes de la Suisse, qui descendoit déjà dans la plaine, et qui s'insinuoit avec impunité

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dans toutes les provinces de l'Allemagne. Cet Empereur n'étoit plus Louis de Bavière. Charles, Roi de Bohème et petit-fils de Henri VII. occupoit depuis six ans un trône qu'il devoit à ses profusions et à la faveur des prêtres. Il avoit acheté cette faveur par des bassesses qui avilirent sa dignité, et la comparaison de son caractère timide et artificieux avec la franchise intrépide de son prédécesseur l'exposa au mépris des peuples. La postérité reconnoît qu'avec un esprit éclairé il avoit l'âme petite et foible. Il écouta avec trop de complaisance les plaintes du Duc d'Autriche, partit du fond de la Bohème, et se rendit à Zurich dans le dessein de briser les nœuds d'une confédération qu'il voyoit d'un œil d'inquiétude et de jalousie. Mais avant que de se déclarer l'ennemi ouvert des Suisses il commença par des moyens plus assortis à son caractère. Il se para de l'impartialité d'un Médiateur qui ne cherchoit qu'à terminer une guerre si funeste aux provinces de la haute Allemagne, et proposa aux Suisses de soumettre à sa décision tous leurs différens avec l'Autriche. Ce peuple, à qui les artifices de son ennemi avoient enfin inspiré la défiance, pénétra sans peine les desseins de l'Empereur, qui ne les avoit pas assez bien dissimulés. Ils lui répondirent avec une fermeté respectueuse " qu'ils consentoient à le rendre juge de cette triste et longue querelle, mais qu'ils exceptoient la question de leurs alliances. Que ces alliances, justifiées par leurs privilèges et par les loix de l'Empire, étoient le fondement de leur sureté et de leur liberté, et qu'ils n'exposeroient 1353.

jamais au jugement des hommes ces nœuds chers et indissolubles qui ne pouvoient déplaire qu'à leurs ennemis et ceux de la justice." Les insinuations de l'Empereur ni ses menaces ne purent jamais les faire départir de cette réponse.

1354. Une résistance aussi opiniâtre irrita enfin l'orgueil de l'empereur. Il voulut parler en vainqueur aux peuples qui avoient refusé de l'écouter comme juge et comme médiateur. Le Duc d'Autriche, charmé d'une résolution aussi conforme à ses intérêts, se préparoit à joindre les drapeaux de Charles avec toutes les forces de sa maison. L'on voyoit sous les mêmes drapeaux les troupes Bohémiennes qui suivoient leur roi, et les corps auxiliaires que les princes et les villes libres de l'empire ne pouvoient refuser à la réquisition de leur chef. L'exagération a porté cette armée formidable jusqu'au nombre de cent mille hommes, mais les historiens les plus exacts nous assurent qu'elle étoit composée de quatre mille cavaliers et de quarante mille fantassins. Elle s'approcha de Zurich et investit la ville par deux camps séparés, dont l'un fut composé des troupes des princes et l'autre de celles des villes. Les Zuriquois, étonnés de voir fondre sur eux toutes les forces de l'Allemagne avec l'empereur à leur tête, ne songèrent cependant qu'à se défendre avec fermeté. Le bourguemestre encouragea, par sa conduite et par ses discours, un peuple aguerri qui combattoit pour sa liberté et pour ses foyers. Quinze cens Suisses augmentèrent cette petite troupe qui se croyoit invincible. Brun profita de cet enthousiasme, fit ouvrir toutes

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les portes, et se campa fièrement sous les remparts à la vue d'un ennemi étonné de son audace, qui n'étoit point une imprudence téméraire. Il savoit que cette armée nombreuse cachoit dans son sein le principe de sa foiblesse et de sa destruction; qu'elle étoit sans union et sans obéissance, et que ce souverain de la Chrétienté ne traînoit à sa suite tant de princes puissans que pour éprouver à chaque instant leur discorde et leur indocilité. L'événement ne trompa pas les espérances de ce sage magistrat. Le point d'honneur, ce principe utile et dangereux, qui sacrifie l'intérêt général à la gloire de l'individu, fit naître une mésintelligence entre les nations différentes de l'armée de l'empire, qui se disputoient l'honneur et le danger de la première attaque. Les Bohémiens demandoient à se signaler sous les yeux de leur prince; l'Evêque de Constance déclaroit au nom des Suabes qu'ils ne céderoient jamais le privilège que Charlemagne avoit accordé à leurs ayeux. Les Autrichiens insistoient que c'étoit à eux de venger leurs injures et celles de leur souverain. L'assaut ne se donna point et Zurich fut sauvé. Les troupes des villes ne firent de leur côté que des efforts assez foibles. La vue de l'étendard de l'empire, que le bourguemestre avoit arboré sur les murs, les fit rougir de la lâche complaisance avec laquelle elles avoient suivi les drapeaux d'une foule de princes, ennemis de la liberté et de toute ville impériale. Elles se retirèrent malgré les remontrances de l'Empereur et du Duc d'Autriche. L'Empereur lui-même suivit bientôt leur exemple; il reprit le chemin de la Bo- 1354.

1354. hème, et laissa sans gloire une entreprise sur laquelle l'Allemagne avoit les yeux ouverts. Le Duc Albert s'opiniâtra encore, mais ses efforts impuissans ne servirent qu'à redoubler sa honte.

Charles sentit bientôt qu'il avoit déshonoré la majesté impériale par une démarche assez contraire à ses vrais intérêts. Peu content de lui-même, il cherchoit à haïr le Duc d'Autriche, l'auteur de sa faute et de son repentir. L'ancienne jalousie de leurs deux maisons s'aigrissoit par leurs reproches mutuels, et la haine ne succède que trop facilement à la vaine amitié des grands. L'Empereur, mécontent d'Albert, vit d'un œil moins sévère cette confédération ennemie de l'Autriche. Il s'offrit de nouveau pour médiateur avec une sincérité qui persuada aux Suisses de lui rendre une partie de leur confiance. Mais ce prince, ami timide et ennemi peu redoutable, ménagea toujours le Duc d'Autriche qu'il n'aimoit plus, et n'osa jamais prononcer l'arrêt clair et définitif qu'on lui demandoit. Toutes ses sentences portoient le caractère de la foiblesse et de l'obscurité, et la variété d'interprétations dont elles étoient susceptibles sembloit faite pour éterniser les négociations et la discorde. Les ministres Autrichiens mirent dans ces négociations toute la subtilité qu'on nomme prudence dans les cours; mais leurs arts insidieux se brisèrent contre la franchise ferme et simple des Suisses. Je n'engagerai point mon lecteur dans les sombres labyrinthes d'une politique inutile; il lui suffira de savoir qu'Albert, accablé d'age et d'infirmité, quitta enfin les rênes du gouvernement, et

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que ses deux fils Rodolphe et Leopold, qui avoient moins de préjugés à vaincre que leur père, conclurent avec les cantons une trève de onze ans qui fut renouvellée plusieurs fois dans la suite. Zug et Glaris y conservent leur alliance avec le corps Helvétique, sans renoncer aux services qu'ils doivent à la maison d'Autriche, et cette maison pourra nommer parmi les citoyens le premier magistrat du pays. Ces deux républiques avoient brisé leurs fers; mais il leur restoit encore des nœuds qui ne furent déliés que par les mains de la victoire. 1354.

Il y avoit longtems que les Bernois connoissoient les Suisses, et qu'ils sentoient tout le prix de leur amitié, mais ce ne fut qu'au milieu de cette guerre qu'ils recherchèrent leur alliance. Elle fut préparée par un événement qui n'annonçoit que la discorde. Quelques paysans, sujets des Bernois, se plaignirent de leurs injustices, et sollicitèrent la protection de leurs voisins du canton d'Underwald, un appui que la générosité plutôt que la politique leur accorda assez facilement. Les Bernois marchèrent en force pour réduire ces peuples révoltés, et les trouvèrent campés aux environs du lac de Brientz avec un secours assez considérable qu'ils avoient reçu du pays d'Underwald. Après un combat opiniâtre l'avantage se déclara in faveur de ceux de Berne; les rebelles se soumirent, les Suisses se retirèrent dans leurs montagnes, et portèrent leurs plaintes devant la diette générale de leurs compatriotes des trois premiers cantons. Les Bernois parurent dans cette assemblée. Ils parlèrent en vainqueurs mais en

1352. vainqueurs qui ne cherchoient que la paix et la justice. Leur ton de raison et de franchise désarma le courroux des Suisses: " Ils ne rougirent point de rappeller toutes les obligations qu'ils leur avoient, et ne refusèrent point de prendre pour médiateur et pour juge un peuple dont ils connoissoient l'équité." Les esprits se rapprochèrent, on vit renaître l'amitié et la confiance. L'on avoit commencé par les plaintes, on finit par une alliance étroite et perpétuelle qui associa Berne à la confédération Helvétique. Je ne rappellerai point les conditions de ce traité, il ne différoit des premiers engagemens des Suisses que par une circonstance qui fut dictée par l'éloignement des lieux. C'est la solde d'un sous par jour que les confédérés promettoient aux troupes de leurs alliés dont ils demanderoient le secours. Les Bernois ne contractent cette alliance qu'avec les trois premiers cantons, mais ces cantons deviennent un point de réunion qui joint les intérêts de Berne à ceux de Lucerne et de Zurich; ils s'engagent les uns et les autres à se fournir des secours mutuels sur la réquisition de leurs amis communs. L'exécution de ce dernier article fut néanmoins suspendue, et la bannière de Berne suivit à regret les drapeaux de l'Empereur et de l'Autriche jusques sous les murs de Zurich.

L'alliance des Bernois ajouta un grand poids à la confédération, dont les racines profondes s'étendoient depuis le lac de Constance jusqu'à celui de Neufchâtel, et qui se trouvoit composée de cinq communautés populaires et de trois villes des plus considérables

considérables de l'Helvétie. Celle de Berne étoit déjà la plus puissante des trois ; mais cette puissance bornée et mal-assurée n'annonçoit qu'assez foiblement sa grandeur future. Elle ne consistoit alors que dans une bourgeoisie aguerrie plutôt que nombreuse, dans la possession des deux petites villes d'Arberg et de Lauppen, et dans les services auxquels les paysans de Hasli et du Bas Sibental, avec leur Seigneur le Baron de Weissembourg, s'étoient obligés envers eux. Mais elle avoit droit de tout espérer de la sagesse de ses magistrats et de l'esprit de son peuple. L'amour de la patrie régnoit au fond de tous les cœurs, et par une illusion qui fait la vertu des républiques le citoyen confondoit ses intérêts avec la gloire et le bien de l'état. Berne apporta dans les conseils des Suisses une politique plus ferme, plus réfléchie et plus éclairée; mais elle y apporta en même tems ses desseins intéressés, le goût des conquêtes, et une ambition moins soumise aux loix de la justice qu'à celles de la prudence.

On the passage relating to William Tell, Mr. Gibbon in the original manuscript marked an intention of introducing a Note respecting a Publication by M. Téophile Emanuel de Haller, eldest son of M. Albert de Haller, which however he omitted, or neglected to insert. M. de Haller, the son of Téophile Emanuel, has favoured me with the following account: That his father published a speech, which he made as orator of an assembly of young patricians of Berne, called L'Etat Extérieur: an institution well calculated to prepare and bring forward in eloquence those who from their hereditary rank might aspire to the principal offices of state. In the speech, M. de Haller disputed the

the authenticity of the story of William Tell, more for the purpose of exercising his talent for discussion, than because he doubted the fact, of which so many testimonials and chapels erected at the time on the spot, and other documents, left little doubt. It was usual for the speakers to embrace either side of a question according as they thought they could best distinguish themselves. The Canton of Uri, however, was highly offended, and demanded satisfaction from the Canton of Berne. M. de Haller absented himself from Berne for some time, and afterwards wrote another tract to prove the authenticity of the story; which satisfied the Canton of Uri, and the affair was forgotten. M. de Haller adds, concerning the suggestion that the story of William Tell was taken from the Danish history, that it is very improbable, even if such a circumstance had occurred in a very remote period in Denmark, that it should have been known in Switzerland at the time of Tell, in 1307, when that country had no connexion whatever with distant nations.

Mr. Coxe, in his interesting account of Switzerland, supports the story of William Tell, but seems to admit that the circumstance respecting the apple may be doubtful, and that it may have been borrowed from the probably fabulous story of Toko, mentioned by Saxo Grammaticus, and said to have happened in 965. But the most intelligent, and those best acquainted with the affairs of Switzerland, and the two late and most enlightened historians of that country, Muller and Planta, seem to be in general satisfied of the authenticity of the story of the man who has been for ages universally considered throughout the cantons as their great deliverer from Austrian tyranny. Mr. Planta observes that the popular tale of the apple, which Tell was ordered to shoot at on the head of his infant son, is wholly omitted by Muller.

The story of Toko, as related by Saxo Grammaticus, is not exactly the same as that of William Tell; and the opinion of M. de Haller seems well founded, that at that early period, the Swiss had not the slightest intercourse with, nor probably any knowledge of, the most northern nations of Europe; and as it was before the invention of printing, such communication of Danish history was still more improbable. S.

DOUTES

DOUTES HISTORIQUES SUR LA VIE ET LE RÈGNE DU ROI RICHARD III. PAR M. HORACE WALPOLE.*

M. Walpole est fils cadet du célèbre ministre de ce nom. Sa naissance et ses talens lui ouvroient la route des premiers emplois; mais il a préféré, aux vaines poursuites de l'ambition, les plaisirs plus surs et plus doux de la société et des lettres. Ses ouvrages d'imagination sont marqués par le goût, la légèreté, et par le ton d'un homme de condition qui semble badiner avec les muses. Mais il s'est distingué par deux ouvrages plus considérables, et d'un genre nouveau qu'il a créé lui-même. Avant lui l'histoire littéraire, abandonnée aux manœuvres de la littérature, n'avoit présenté que des nomenclatures sèches, ou des recherches minutieuses et puériles. La noblesse savante de M. Walpole a amusé les gens du monde, et a mérité l'attention des philosophes. Des traits intéressans mais ignorés, des vues fines et nouvelles sont embellies par le plus séduisant coloris. Les grands noms de Bacon, de Clarendon, et de Shaftesbury, y sont dignement célèbres, et une foule d'écrivains oubliés dès longtems, reçoit des mains de son historien une immortalité qu'elle se promettoit vainement de ses propres travaux. A cet ouvrage M. Walpole en a fait succéder un second, c'est l'histoire des artistes Anglois, sujet très ingrat pour tout

* This was written by Mr. Gibbon, in the year 1768, for the Mémoires Britanniques, a periodical work.

autre

autre que pour lui. L'Angleterre, qui adopte Holbein et Vandyck, n'a jamais eu une école de peinture, et les efforts qu'elle fait encore annoncent ses vœux plutôt que ses succès. Un antiquaire laborieux (M. Vertue) avoit employé un travail de trente ans à l'histoire des arts de son pays, et ses recueils, dont M. Walpole fit l'acquisition, lui inspirèrent l'idée de les mettre en œuvre. C'est l'aimable Fontenelle qui devient l'interprète du savant Vandale. Aux éloges qui conviennent également aux deux ouvrages de notre auteur, il faut ajouter pour celui-ci l'amour et la connoissance des beaux arts qu'il a toujours aimés et protégés. Avec tant de mérite, il est permis d'avoir quelques défauts, et ce sont précisément les défauts d'un homme d'esprit que les Anglois ont réproché à M. Walpole, des pensées trop recherchées, un style coupé et épigrammatique, des antithèses un peu trop fréquentes.

Ces critiques peuvent avoir quelquefois raison. L'imagination d'Ovide l'a trahi assez souvent. Le pinceau du Guide n'est pas toujours correct; mais l'homme de goût, frappé des graces vives et touchantes qui brillent dans leurs productions, oublie sans peine leurs défauts ménus.

Pour donner à nos lecteurs une idée juste de la manière de cet agréable écrivain, nous lui communiquons en entier la préface de son ouvrage. Elle renferme d'ailleurs des réflexions ingénieuses, sur l'histoire en général, réflexions plus intéressantes pour les étrangers, que les discussions particulières sur l'histoire d'Angleterre.*

* For the preface see Mr. Walpole's original work.

M. Wal-

M. Walpole s'est proposé un dessein digne du'n antiquaire curieux et d'un ami de la justice. Il veut justifier Richard III. Roi d'Angleterre, des accusations affreuses, dont la postérité a chargé sa mémoire. Des historiens, selon notre critique, trop crédules ou trop prévenus, lui ont imputé le meurtre de Henri VI. du jeune Prince de Galles, de son propre frère le Duc de Clarence, de ses neveux le Roi Edouard V. et le Duc d'Yorc, et enfin celui de sa femme la Reine Anne. Ils comptent encore parmi les assassinats les exécutions de Hastings, de Rivers, de Vaughan, et de Grey, dans lesquels ce tyran négligea jusqu'aux apparences de la justice. Pour achever ce noir portrait, ils associent en sa personne toutes les difformités du corps avec tous les vices de l'âme. Shakespeare a ajouté de nouveaux traits à ce caractère effrayant, et les crimes de Richard, représentés sur nos théâtres depuis un siècle et demi, se sont établis dans tous les esprits avec une autorité que l'histoire seule ne leur auroit donné. Un seul critique (Buck) s'est élevé contre le sentiment général; mais son ton de panégyriste a révolté tous les esprits. M. Walpole défend la même cause avec plus de modération et plus d'habileté.

Il remarque d'abord qu'il n'y a que trois historiens de Richard qui puissent mériter le nom de contemporains; Jean Fabian, l'auteur de la Chronique de Croyland, et le fameux Thomas More. Les deux premiers n'ont que le seul mérite de l'être. C'étoient un moine et un bourgeois, l'un et l'autre ramassoient tous les bruits populaires sans

examen

examen et sans choix. Après avoir témoigné un juste mépris pour des autorités aussi minces, M. Walpole essaye de ruiner celle de More. Il veut nous faire regarder son histoire du règne d'Edouard V. comme le pendant de son Utopie, comme la première tentative d'un jeune homme qui essayoit ses forces, imitoit les historiens de l'antiquité, dont il s'étoit nourri, et qui s'attachoit à l'élégance bien plus qu'à l'exactitude. Notre critique remarque que l'Archevêque Morton, qui protégea la jeunesse de More, mourut lorsque celui-ci n'avoit que vingt ans, et qu'enfin ce prélat étoit intéressé à noircir le caractère du prince malheureux que ses intrigues avoient perdu.

Ces soupçons sont très ingénieux; peut-être le sont-ils un peu trop. Si l'on rejette le témoignage des auteurs parcequ'ils sont intéressés, et celui des spectateurs parcequ'ils sont peu exacts, toute l'histoire deviendra un problême, ou plutôt un roman. Grafton, Hollinshed, Stowe, &c. ne sont que des copistes, dont chacun a cependant ajouté quelques nouveaux traits à ceux qu'il a trouvés dans l'original.

Nous ne suivrons point M. Walpole dans son examen de la plûpart des crimes de Richard; examen qui montre avec avantage toute la variété de ses connoissances et les ressources de son esprit. Des crimes imputés à Richard, les uns étoient inutiles aux intérêts de son ambition; les autres y étoient même contraires. Il y en a qui sont en contradiction avec les dates les mieux établies. Il résulte enfin de cet examen que nous sommes très-peu autorisés à regarder Richard comme le meurtrier

trier de Henry VI. du Prince de Galles, du Duc de Clarence, et de la Reine Anne. L'assassinat de ses jeunes neveux, crime plus atroce en lui-même, mieux établi et suivi des conséquences les plus importantes, mérite de nous arrêter plus longtems. Dans le tableau historique de la conduite de Richard que nous allons tracer, M. Walpole, bien loin de reconnoître l'assassin, veut à peine y appercevoir l'usurpateur.

Edouard IV. Roi d'Angleterre, mourut le 9 April, 1483. De ses deux fils, Edouard l'ainé avoit treize ans ; Richard Duc d'Yorc le cadet n'en avoit que neuf. Deux partis puissans prétendoient au gouvernement du jeune roi et du royaume. La Reine Mère avoit joui d'un crédit immense sous le règne d'un époux qui l'avoit tirée de l'obscurité pour la placer sur le trône. Elle avoit profité de sa faveur pour enrichir sa famille ; mais ce crédit et ces richesses avoient révolté l'ancienne noblesse, qui envioit à la fois et qui méprisoit ces hommes nouveaux. Elle se réunit auprès de Richard Duc de Glocester. Ce prince rusé et ambitieux n'eut pas beaucoup de difficulté à tromper la Reine Mère. Il l'engagea à congédier les troupes assemblées pour escorter le jeune roi dans son voyage de Ludlow Castle à Londres, l'accompagne lui-même avec de grandes démonstrations de respect, se rend bientôt maître de sa personne ; et fait arrêter le Comte de Rivers et les autres parens de la Reine. Justement effrayée des dangers qui la menacent, cette princesse se réfugie dans l'église de Westminster avec son fils cadet. Mais toujours foible

foible et irrésolue, elle renonce aux privilèges qu'on n'auroit jamais osé violer, et les remet entre les mains du Protecteur; c'est ainsi qu'il faut désormais nommer le Duc de Glocester, qui prit ce titre et l'administration de l'état avec le consentement du conseil privé. Les exécutions du Comte de Rivers, de Vaughan, et de Grey, servirent à cimenter sa nouvelle puissance, mais tout le monde fut étonné de la mort du Lord Hastings, l'ami du Protecteur, qui l'avoit associé à ses desseins. Tout étoit violent, subit et irrégulier dans cette exécution.

Jusques ici notre critique est assez content de la conduite de Richard. Sa naissance lui donnoit un juste titre à la régence, et l'autorisoit à employer les moyens les plus violens contre ceux qui vouloient la lui disputer. L'exécution des parens de la reine est excusée par la nécessité et par les mœurs d'un siècle barbare. Quant à celle de Hastings, M. Walpole suppose avec un peu trop d'indulgence, que Richard n'auroit jamais sacrifié le meilleur de ses amis, si cet ami perfide n'avoit pas tramé une conjuration contre sa personne.

Cette supposition me paroît des plus gratuites, et la mort de Hastings ne peut s'expliquer que d'une manière peu favorable à Richard. Ce seigneur étoit ennemi de la reine, mais il conservoit un fort attachement pour les enfans d'Edouard. Il ne pouvoit se trouver en opposition avec l'ambition du Duc de Glocester, que lorsque ce prince, peu content de la régence, aspiroit à la couronne.

Les moyens dont il se servoit, selon More, pour y par-

y parvenir, sont à la fois violens, indécens et ridicules. Un prédicateur mercénaire (le Docteur Shaw) avança dans un sermon, que par l'adultère de la mère d'Edouard IV. et par un premier contrat de ce prince avec Elizabeth Lucy, le Duc de Glocester étoit le seul héritier de la maison d'Yorc; que le Duc de Buckingham harangua les bourgeois de Londres, qu'ils le reçurent très froidement; que là-dessus le maire offrit la couronne à Richard, qui fit quelques difficultés avant que de l'accepter.

Tout ce récit porte aux yeux de M. Walpole les caractères d'un roman, et d'un roman très-mal imaginé; que Richard ait voulu flétrir l'honneur de sa mère, princesse vertueuse, pour laquelle il eut dans la suite beaucoup d'égards; qu'une troupe de bourgeois ait donné la couronne d'Angleterre. D'ailleurs, More ne peut ici se concilier avec les monumens les plus assurés. Un registre du Parlement, déterré depuis peu, nous assure que le premier contrat d'Edouard ne regardoit point Elizabeth Lucy, maîtresse reconnue de ce prince; mais Lady Eléonore Butler d'une des premières familles du royaume. Ce même titre ajoute que le Protecteur accepta la couronne qui lui fut déférée par une assemblée des trois ordres de l'état. Tout se passa dans les règles, et ce grand événement ne ressemble pas mal à la révolution de 1688, qui mit le Prince d'Orange sur le trône. Telle est du moins la comparaison de M. Walpole.

Les princes déposés passent assez rapidement du trône au tombeau; tel aussi a été le sort des en-

fans d'Edouard, si nous en croyons More et la foule des historiens. A leur témoignage notre ingénieux critique oppose les réflexions suivantes. 1. Dans les premiers jours de son règne, Richard témoignoit beaucoup d'égards pour son neveu ; mais de ces égards qui montroient une sévérité dédaigneuse. Un registre de la garderobe, qu'on a communiqué à M. Walpole, indique le détail des robes et autres ornemens destinés à l'usage du Seigneur Edouard, fils du feu Roi Edouard IV. pour la cérémonie du sacre de son oncle. Ce titre est effectivement des plus singuliers ; mais la conséquence qu'on en veut tirer me paroît des moins décisives. 2. Le récit de More est peu juste et peu vraisemblable. Richard confie ses inquiétudes à un page, qui lui recommande un certain Jacques Tyrell, dont l'ambition mal récompensée le rendoit propre à tout. Richard goûte l'idée, appelle ce Tyrell, le fait chevalier, et l'envoye à Londres pour assassiner ses neveux. Cependant nous savons d'ailleurs que ce Tyrell étoit déjà Chevalier et Grand Ecuyer du Roi. 3. Henri VII. si intéressé à noircir son rival, paroît peu assuré de ce crime. L'acte du Parlement qui condamne le meurtre de Richard, lui reproche seulement et en termes vagues, d'avoir répandu le sang des enfans. On ne fit point d'enquêtes alors, et celles qu'on fit dans la suite paroissent très suspectes. Cet argument a beaucoup de poids, et le silence de Henri VII. et de son Parlement est assurément très difficile à expliquer. 4. More lui-même avoue qu'on douta longtems si ces enfans périrent du tems de Richard. 5. La

5. La Chronique de Croyland suppose que ces jeunes princes vivoient encore lorsque Richard se fit sacrer de nouveau à Yorc. Le registre du Parlement semble insinuer la même chose. Selon More cette cérémonie suivit l'assassinat des enfans, et le peu d'exactitude de cet auteur doit affoiblir son témoignage. Mais la curiosité inquiete des lecteurs demandera toujours: " Si ces enfans n'ont pas été les victimes de la cruauté de leur oncle, rendez-nous compte de leur sort, que sont-ils devenus, pourquoi ont-ils disparu?" &c. Toute hypothèse qui ne satisfait point à ces questions paroîtra foible et défectueuse. M. Walpole essaye de garantir la sienne de cet inconvénient. Edouard V. a pu mourir à la Tour de mort naturelle; sa santé étoit mauvaise et chancelante, et le chagrin ne contribue à l'affermir. D'ailleurs on soupçonnoit du tems de More que ce jeune prince survécut à Richard. Si l'usurpateur Henri le trouva vivant, le caractère de ce tyran jaloux et cruel nous annonce assez clairement le sort du malheureux Edouard. Je crains qu'on ne reproche à notre Pyrrhonien, qui réduit partout ailleurs les faits à des problèmes, de convertir ici ses soupçons en certitudes. Quant à Richard Plantagenet, le lecteur instruit peut prévoir sans difficulté l'hypothèse de M. Walpole. Perkin Warbeck, ce jeune prétendant qui ébranla plus d'une fois le trône de Henri VII. est à ses yeux le vrai Duc d'Yorc. Voici les principaux titres qui ont engagé notre savant critique à le reconnoître. 1. Warbeck paroissoit tout ce que le jeune Plantagenet auroit dû être. La ressemblance

avec Edouard IV. le souvenir exact de la cour Angloise, &c.; tout sembloit annoncer en lui le vrai héritier de la maison d'Yorc. 2. Il réussit partout à inspirer une confiance qu'un imposteur n'auroit jamais obtenue. Le Roi d'Ecosse lui donna en mariage une de ses parentes, la Duchesse de Bourgogne le reconnoît pour son neveu, et soutint ses intérêts avec chaleur. Le Chevalier Guillaume Stanley, qui avoit mis la couronne sur la tête de Henri, aussi bien que plusieurs autres partisans de la Rose blanche, abandonnèrent le roi pour suivre le fils de leur bienfaiteur, et périrent sur un échafaud toujours convaincus qu'il l'étoit. 3. Henri lui-même se conduisit à l'égard de Perkin (lorsqu'il fut entre ses mains) de la manière la plus propre à confirmer toutes les prétensions de ce jeune homme. Tout étoit incertain, obscur, et mystérieux dans le procédé du roi, qui sembloit craindre de découvrir la vérité. Il n'osa jamais le confronter avec la Reine mère, ses filles, et les seigneurs de la cour. C'étoit cependant le moyen le plus sûr et le plus naturel d'exposer l'imposture; c'étoit encore celui que Henri lui-même avoit employé à l'égard de Lambert Simnel dont personne n'a depuis épousé les intérêts. 4. Le conte que Henri débita enfin sous le nom de l'Histoire de Perkin Warbeck est pleine d'absurdités et de contradictions. M. Walpole en relève quelques unes avec beaucoup de force et de vivacité. Il remarque même que le Chancelier Bacon, historien fort estimé de Henri VII. en a été si peu content qu'il a bien voulu inventer un autre qui n'est pas plus vraisemblable. Tous les

écrivains

écrivains ont cependant adopté l'idée d'une imposture nécessaire à la gloire de Henri, et M. Carte étoit le seul qui eut encore osé s'éloigner du sentiment général.

Il est difficile de quitter M. Walpole, mais il faut le quitter. Observons seulement qu'il réduit la difformité monstrueuse de Richard à quelques défauts assez légers. Il étoit petit de taille, son visage étoit court, et ses épaules un peu inégales. Un dessein fort ancien que M. Walpole a fait graver, et le témoignage d'un moine très passionné à l'égard de Richard, lui fournissent ces traits adoucis. La vieille Comtesse de Desmond le dépeignoit d'une manière encore plus favorable. Elle se souvenoit d'avoir dansé avec lui et se rappelloit qu'à son frère Edouard près, il étoit l'homme le mieux fait de l'assemblée. M. Walpole n'a donné ses observations que sous le titre modeste de Doutes Historiques. Cet aimable critique doit sentir mieux que personne que dans un sujet aussi obscur, la vérité, et même la vraisemblance, sont enveloppées de milles nuages, que tout y est problème, doute, objection et réponse. C'est surtout aux yeux d'un homme de génie, instruit de l'histoire de son pays, que les points de vue se multiplient à l'infini. Les argumens de M. Walpole nous avoient ébloui sans nous convaincre. Les réflexions suivantes nous ont ramené au sentiment général; elles sont de M. Hume, qui nous les a communiquées avec la permission d'en enrichir nos Mémoires.

Il règne en général une grande obscurité sur les circonstances des guerres entre les deux Roses;

mais la narration de Thomas More jette beaucoup de lumières sur toutes les transactions du règne de Richard, et sur le meurtre des deux jeunes princes ses neveux. La magnanimité, la probité, et le grand sens de cet auteur rendent son témoignage assuré; et il n'y a point d'historien ancien ou moderne qui doive avoir plus de poids. On peut aussi le regarder au juste titre comme contemporain; car quoiqu'il n'eut que cinq ans lorsque les deux princes furent massacrés, il vécut et fut élevé parmi les principaux acteurs du règne de Richard; et on voit clairement par son récit qui est souvent très circonstancié, qu'il en tenoit les particularités des témoins oculaires eux-mêmes. On ne sauroit donc se refuser à son autorité, et elle doit emporter la balance sur cent légers doutes, scrupules, et objections, car on n'a point formé contre lui d'objection solide, et on n'a pu le convaincre encore d'aucune erreur. Il dit, à la vérité, que les partisans du Protecteur, et en particulier le Docteur Shaw, répandirent le bruit d'un premier contrat d'Edouard IV. avec Elizabeth Lucy, tandis qu'il paroît par des titres que le Parlement déclara les enfans d'Edouard illégitimes, sous prétexte d'un premier contrat avec Lady Eléonore Butler. Mais il faut remarquer qu'on n'essaya pas seulement de prouver l'un ou l'autre de ces contrats; et pourquoi les flatteurs et partisans du Protecteur n'auroient-ils pas répandu tantôt un bruit, tantôt un autre? More les cite tous les deux, et les traite aussi légèrement qu'ils le méritent. M. Carte trouve incroyable que Richard ait engagé le Docteur Shaw

Shaw à calomnier la Duchesse d'Yorc sa mère, avec laquelle il étoit en très bonne intelligence. Mais si l'on trouve effectivement de la difficulté à le croire, pourquoi ne supposeroit-on pas que le Docteur Shaw ayant pris l'idée générale de son sermon du Protecteur ou de ses amis, choisit lui-même les chefs particuliers et les choisit avec fort peu de jugement? La disgrace qu'il éprouva ensuite paroît appuyer cette supposition.

2. Si l'on refuse à More la qualité de contemporain relativement au protectorat du Duc de Glocester, ou ne peut la lui disputer quant à l'imposture de Perkin; il étoit alors homme fait, et il avoit toutes les facilités nécessaires pour connoître, examiner, et se décider sur la vérité; ainsi en nous assurant que Richard fit massacrer le Duc d'Yorc, il nous assure, en effet, de la manière la plus claire, que Perkin qui prit son nom étoit un imposteur.

3. Un autre grand génie a traité avec soin ce point d'histoire; génie qui est regardé avec justice comme un de ceux qui fait le plus d'honneur à notre nation, et qui est effectivement un des génies les plus sublimes; c'est le Chancelier Bacon dont je veux parler. Il fait au long l'histoire de Perkin Warbeck, et le traite positivement d'imposteur, sans témoigner le moindre doute à cet égard. Si l'on nous objecte que Milord Bacon n'étoit pas contemporain, et que nous devons former nos jugemens, non d'après les matériaux que lui-même employa, nous répondrons qu'il paroît clairement que Bacon composa son histoire,

histoire exacte et travaillée avec soin, sur plusieurs papiers et titres qui sont maintenant perdus, et qu'en conséquence en doit toujours le citer comme un écrivain original. Supposé que l'opinion de M. Carte fût fondée, il seroit bien étrange que parmi tous les papiers que M. Bacon parcourut, il n'eut pas trouvé la moindre raison de soupçonner Perkin d'être le vrai Plantagenet. On n'avoit plus d'intérêt alors à noircir Richard III. et d'ailleurs Bacon est un historien droit, qui n'est point partial pour Henri, puisque c'est de lui seul que nous tenons les détails du gouvernement tyrannique de ce prince. Tout ce que l'on peut seulement lui reprocher, c'est qu'en traçant son caractère, il ne l'a pas blamé aussi fortement que les faits qu'il rapporte paroissent l'exiger. Qu'on me permette de remarquer en passant, comme une singularité, combien l'histoire Angloise doit à quatre grands hommes qui ont possédé la première dignité de la magistrature, More, Bacon, Clarendon, et Whitlocke.

4. Mais si l'on exige des témoignages contemporains, on peut sur cet article en présenter des plus forts, et des moins suspects. La reine, son fils le Marquis de Dorset, homme d'un grand sens; le Chevalier Edouard Woodville, frère de la reine; le Chevalier Thomas St. Leger, qui avoit épousé la sœur du roi; le Chevalier Robert Willoughby; le Chevalier Giles d'Aubeney; le Chevalier Thomas Arundel; les Courteney; les Cheyney; les Talbot; les Stanley; et en un mot tous les partisans de la maison d'Yorc, parmi lesquels on compte

compte les personnes les plus illustres de la nation, étoient si persuadés du meurtre des deux princes qu'ils s'adressèrent au Comte de Richmond, l'ennemi mortel de leur famille, et de leur parti. Ils formèrent le projet de le placer sur le trône; projet insensé, et qui les perdoit si le prince étoit vivant; et ils promirent de lui donner en mariage la Princesse Elizabeth, comme héritière de la couronne, qui n'y avoit de droit que par la mort de ses frères. Y a-t-il une seule de ces personnes qui, en écrivant les mémoires de son tems, n'eut assuré que Richard avoit fait mourir ses neveux? Et qu'avons nous besoin de leurs écrits?—leurs actions nous montrent, bien plus sûrement encore, leurs véritables sentimens.

5. Mais nous avons une autre autorité contemporaine plus sûre encore, et d'une personne des plus intéressées à connoître la verité, c'est celle de Richard lui-même. Il résolut d'épouser sa nièce (alliance très extraordinaire en Angleterre) pour unir par la son titre au sien propre. Il savoit donc que cette princesse avoit un droit réel à la couronne; car pour ce qui regarde sa prétendue illégitimité, comme on n'en donna jamais de preuves, et qu'on n'essaya pas même d'en donner, la nation en traita la déclaration avec le plus grand mépris, et sur le même pied que quantité d'actes parlementaires, si fréquens dans ce période, qui étoient scandaleux, et sans aucune autorité. On ne songea même pas à casser cet acte lorsque Henri et Elizabeth furent sur le trône.

6. Nous devons aussi regarder comme un témoignage

gnage contemporain l'opinion généralement reçue, et dans le pays et chez l'étranger. On étoit si persuadé du meurtre des deux princes, que lorsque Richard notifia à la cour de France son avénement au trône, cette cour fut frappée d'horreur de l'abominable parricide qu'il avoit commis en faisant mourir ses neveux, ainsi que nous l'apprend Philippe de Comines; et ces sentimens se manifestèrent avec force, puisque comme nous le dit le même auteur, la cour ne voulut pas faire la moindre réponse à la notification du ministre.

7. Les mêmes raisons qui persuadèrent aux contemporains la vérité de ce parricide subsistent encore, et doivent être pour nous les preuves les plus claires. Ces deux jeunes princes, après avoir disparu tout d'un coup de la Tour, ne se montrèrent point ailleurs. Chacun disoit: " Ils n'ont pas échappé à leur oncle, puisqu'il ne fait aucune recherche; il ne les a point fait transporter ailleurs, sans quoi il le déclareroit pour se justifier de l'accusation de les avoir fait mourir. Il ne s'exposeroit pas inutilement à l'infamie, et au danger attaché au nom de meurtrier, sans acquérir la sécurité qui est le prix de ce crime; ils étoient sous sa garde, c'est à lui à en répondre; s'il ne les représente point, comme il a un intérêt bien clair à leur mort, le bon sens doit nous engager à le regarder comme leur meurtrier. Son usurpation manifeste, et ses autres actions perfides et cruelles ne nous font rien attendre de mieux de sa part. Il ne pouvoit pas dire comme Cain, 'Suis-je le garde de mes neveux?'" Ces raisonnemens, solides dès le commencement, prenoient

prenoient de jour en jour une nouvelle force, par le silence soutenu de Richard, et la profonde ignorance où l'on étoit sur le séjour des princes. Il s'écoula deux ans depuis cette époque jusqu'à la fin du règne du roi, et il n'auroit pu certainement mieux renverser les projets du Comte de Richemond, et justifier son propre caractère, qu'en produisant les princes ses neveux.

8. Si après des évidences aussi lumineuses, il étoit nécessaire de produire des preuves, qui dans tout autre cas paroîtroient considérables et plus valides, je citerois les témoignages de Dighton, et de Tyrell; il n'est pas naturel surtout que ce dernier, qui étoit gentilhomme, se soit exposé lui-même aux justes reproches que lui attiroit un si grand crime, par une imposture, qui ne paroît pas même lui avoir acquis la faveur de Henri.

9. Le Duc d'Yorc ne pouvoit à l'age de neuf ans s'échapper sans l'assistance de quelques personnes plus agées que lui. N'auroient-elles pas averti sur le champ de ce grand événement la Reine Douarière sa mère, la Duchesse de Bourgogne sa tante, et tous ceux qui étoient attachés à la maison d'Yorc?

10. Le silence total qui a régné sur ceux qui avoient aidé au Duc d'Yorc dans sa fuite, et sur le lieu de sa résidence pendant neuf ans, est encore une preuve suffisante de l'imposture de Perkin.

11. Le récit même de Perkin est destitué de toute vraisemblance. Il dit que les assassins massacrèrent son frère; mais qu'ils eurent compassion de lui, et lui permirent de s'enfuir. On trouve ce récit dans tous les historiens de ce tems-là.

12. Per-

12. Perkin fit lui-même une entière confession de son imposture, et ne la fit pas moins de trois fois. La première lorsqu'il fut mis au carcan à la cité et à Westminster ; et la troisième (qui fait une preuve bien complette) au pied de la potence où il fut pendu. On ne trouve pas la moindre insinuation que ces confessions lui ayent été arrachées par la torture, et lorsqu'il fit la dernière il n'avoit certainement rien de plus à redouter.

13. Si Henri n'avoit pas été bien convaincu que Perkin étoit un ridicule imposteur, désavoué par toute la nation, il ne l'auroit pas laissé vivre une heure depuis qu'il l'eut en son pouvoir ; encore moins lui auroit-il pardonné deux fois. La manière dont il traita l'innocent Comte de Warwick, qui n'avoit aucun droit au trône, donne bien de la force à cette raison.

14. Nous trouvons bien clairement la source des impostures de Perkin dans les intrigues de la Duchesse de Bourgogne. Elle avoit reconnu et supporté auparavant Lambert Simnel, reconnu généralement pour imposteur. Nous remarquons que M. Carte, pour conserver le poids du témoignage de la duchesse en faveur de Perkin, supprime entièrement ce fait important : effet bien frappant des préjugés de parti, et preuve de l'envie qu'avoit cet auteur de noircir Henri, qui n'avoit pas un droit héréditaire à la couronne.

15. On ne produisit jamais dans le tems même la moindre preuve que Perkin fut Richard Plantagenet. Richard disparut à l'age d'environ neuf ans ; Perkin ne parut pas avant d'être homme fait ; quelqu'un

quelqu'un à sa vue pouvoit-il être convaincu qu'il étoit Richard? Perkin savoit, à la vérité, quelques anecdotes sur l'enfance de Richard et la cour d'Angleterre; mais tout ce qu'un enfant de neuf ans pouvoit avoir retenu lui avoit été suggéré fort aisément par la Duchesse de Bourgogne, Frior, secrétaire de Henri, ou quiconque avoit été à la cour dans ce tems-là. Il est vrai que plusieurs personnes de distinction y furent d'abord trompées; mais le mécontentement qu'inspiroit le gouvernement de Henri, et l'enthousiasme général qu'on avoit pour la maison d'Yorc, rendent assez raison de cette illusion passagère. Tous les yeux étoient ouverts longtems avant le supplice de Perkin.

16. La circonstance de la découverte que l'on fit à la Tour de deux corps morts, sous le règne de Charles II. n'est certainement point indifférente. On les trouva dans la même place où More, Bacon, et d'autres anciens écrivains nous assurent que les deux jeunes princes furent enterrés. Les os de ces cadavres étoient d'une grosseur proportionnée à l'age des princes. La place secrette et irrégulière (puisqu'elle n'étoit pas en terre sainte) où ils furent enterrés, prouve que ces enfans avoient été assassinés secrettement. Et quels enfans, excepté ceux qui touchent de près à la couronne, pourroient être exposés, dans la Tour, à une mort violente? En comparant toutes les circonstances, nous avons raison d'inférer que ces cadavres étoient ceux d'Edouard et de son frère, et telle fut aussi l'inférence qu'on en tira dans le tems de la découverte.

ANTI-

ANTIQUITIES

OF THE

HOUSE OF BRUNSWICK.

The following Letter, from Mr. Gibbon, without any Address to it, was found with the Manuscript of the Antiquities of the House of Brunswick: *there can be little doubt of its being the Copy of a Letter to M.* Langer, *Librarian to the Ducal Library of* Wolfenbuttel; *and it is here inserted as relating to them.*

Mr. Gibbon *to Mr.* Langer.

Sir, Rolle, 12th October, 1790.

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, labours, 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 labour bestowed on it. I might thus be carried beyond my prescribed bounds; but I should be carried gently, without foresight and without constraint.

This suspicion was justified in my first excursion,

sion, 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, which 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 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 downfall 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 connection as well as of splendour, 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 reflexions 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;

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 tease 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 favourite 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 honour 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 honour? I expect, Sir, your answer; and request that it may be speedy and frank. Should you condescend to assist my labours, 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 an 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 entrust to you alone.

ANTIQUITIES

OF THE

HOUSE OF BRUNSWICK.

CHAP. I. SECT. I.

An English subject may be prompted, by a just and liberal curiosity, to investigate the origin and story of the House of Brunswick, which, after an alliance with the daughters of our kings, has been called by the voice of a free people to the legal inheritance of the crown. From George the First and his father, the first Elector of Hanover, we ascend, in a clear and regular series, to the first Duke of Brunswick and Lunenburgh, who received his investiture from Frederick the Second, about the middle of the thirteenth century. If these ample possessions had been the gift of the Emperor to some adventurous soldier, to some faithful client, we might be content with the antiquity and lustre of a noble race, which had been enrolled nearly six hundred years among the Princes of Germany. But our ideas are raised, and our prospect is opened, by the discovery, that the first Duke of Brunswick was rather degraded than adorned by his new title, since it imposed the duties of feudal service on the free and patrimonial

estate, which alone has been saved in the shipwreck of the more splendid fortunes of his House. His ancestors had been invested with the powerful duchies of Bavaria and Saxony, which extended far beyond their limits in modern geography: from the Baltic Sea to the confines of Rome they were obeyed, or respected, or feared; and in the quarrel of the Guelphs and Ghibellines, the former appellation was derived from the name of their progenitors in the female line. But the genuine masculine descent of the Princes of Brunswick must be explored beyond the Alps: the venerable tree, which has since overshadowed Germany and Britain, was planted in the Italian soil. As far as our sight can reach, we discern the first founders of the race in the Marquisses of Este, of Liguria, and perhaps of Tuscany. In the eleventh century, the primitive stem was divided into two branches; the elder migrated to the banks of the Danube and the Elbe; the younger more humbly adhered to the neighbourhood of the Adriatic: the dukes of Brunswick, and the kings of Great Britain, are the descendants of the first; the dukes of Ferrara and Modena were the offspring of the second.

This short review may explain and justify the threefold division of these Memoirs, which appropriates a separate book to—I. The Italian Descent; II. The German Reign; and III. The British Succession of the House of Brunswick. The obscure interval, from the first duke to the first elector, will be connected on either side with the more splendid scenes of their ancient and modern history. The comparative date and dignity of

of their pedigree will be fixed by a fair parallel with the most illustrious families of Europe. Even the flowers of fiction, so profusely scattered over the cradle of the princes of Este, disclose a remote and decreasing light, which is finally lost in the darkness of the fabulous age. But it will be prudent, before we listen to the rude or refined tales of invention, to erect a strong and substantial edifice of truth on the learned labours of Leibnitz and Muratori.

The genius and studies of Leibnitz have ranked his name with the first philosophic names of his age and country; but his reputation, perhaps, would be more pure and permanent, if he had not ambitiously grasped the whole circle of human science. As a theologian, he successively contended with the sceptics, who believe too little, and with the papists, who believe too much, and with the heretics, who believe otherwise than is inculcated by the Lutheran confession of Augsburgh. Yet the philosopher betrayed his love of union and toleration: his faith in Revelation was accused, while he proved the Trinity by the principles of logic; and in the defence of the attributes and providence of the Deity, he was suspected of a secret correspondence with his adversary Bayle. The metaphysician expatiated in the fields of air: his pre-established harmony of the soul and body might have provoked the jealousy of Plato; and his optimism, the best of all possible worlds, seems an idea too vast for a mortal mind. He was a *physician*, in the large and genuine sense of the word: like his brethren, he amused himself with creating a globe;

a globe; and his *Protogæa*, or Primitive Earth, has not been useless to the last hypothesis of Buffon, which prefers the agency of fire to that of water. I am not worthy to praise the *mathematician:* but his name is mingled in all the problems and discoveries of the times; the masters of the art were his rivals or disciples; and if he borrowed from Sir Isaac Newton the sublime method of fluxions, Leibnitz was at least the Prometheus who imparted to mankind the sacred fire which he had stolen from the gods. His curiosity extended to every branch of chemistry, mechanics, and the arts; and the thirst of knowledge was always accompanied with the spirit of improvement. The vigour of his youth had been exercised in the schools of *jurisprudence;* and while he taught, he aspired to reform, the laws of nature and nations, of Rome and Germany. The annals of Brunswick, of the empire, of the ancient and modern world, were present to the mind of the *historian;* and he could turn from the solution of a problem, to the dusty parchments and barbarous style of the records of the middle age. His genius was more nobly directed to investigate the origin of languages and nations; nor could he assume the character of a *grammarian*, without forming the project of an universal idiom and alphabet. These various studies were often interrupted by the occasional *politics* of the times; and his pen was always ready in the cause of the princes and patrons to whose service he was attached: many hours were consumed in a learned correspondence with all Europe: and the philosopher amused his leisure in the composition of

of French and Latin *poetry*. Such an example may display the extent and powers of the human understanding, but even *his* powers were dissipated by the multiplicity of his pursuits. He attempted more than he could finish; he designed more than he could execute: his imagination was too easily satisfied with a bold and rapid glance on the subject which he was impatient to leave; and Leibnitz may be compared to those heroes, whose empire has been lost in the ambition of universal conquest.

When he was about thirty years of age, (1676,) the merit of Leibnitz was discovered and adopted by the dukes of Hanover, at whose court he spent the last forty years of his life, in free and honourable service. In this station he soon became the author, or at least the architect of a monument, which they were ambitious of raising to the glory of their name. With the view of preparing the most authentic documents for the History of the House of Brunswick, he travelled over the provinces of Germany and Italy, their ancient seats. In this learned pilgrimage, he consulted the living and the dead, explored the libraries, the archives, the monasteries, and even the tombs, and diligently collected or copied the books, the manuscripts, and the charters of every age. As the curiosity of the historian had not been limited to the proper bounds of his subject, the various treasures which he had imported were published in several volumes, with as much speed and care as the multitude of his avocations would allow; and it may be deemed either

either a praise or a reproach, that the raw materials are often less valuable than the observations and prefaces of the editor himself. In the year 1695, the nuptials of the Prince of Modena with a Princess of Hanover engaged him to dispel the errors and fables of preceding genealogists, and to restore the true connection of the kindred branches, which were thus united, after a separation of more than six hundred years. This occasional pamphlet was designed as the prelude of the great Latin work which he meditated on the Brunswick antiquities. With a genius accustomed to draw lines of communication between the most distant sciences, he traced, in his Introduction, the revolutions of the country and its inhabitants; of the country, from the natural remains of fossils and petrifactions; of the inhabitants, from the national vestiges of language and manners. The story of a province and of a family swelled, in his capacious mind, into the annals of the western empire: the origins of the Guelphs of Bavaria, and the Marquisses of Este, would have been interwoven in their proper place; and the narrative would have been deduced from the reign of Charlemagne (A. D. 769,) to the last emperor of the Saxon line (1025.) But the term of an antediluvian life would have been scarcely adequate to the labours and projects of Leibnitz: the imperfect manuscript of his annals was buried in the library of Hanover; and the impression, though long since promised, is still refused to the curiosity of the public. But the ideas and papers of that great man were freely communicated to his disciple

disciple and successor Eccard, and the researches more particularly belonging to the house of Brunswick have formed the basis of the *Origines Guelficæ*, which were compiled by the industrious historiographer. The rashness of Eccard, who changed his service and religion, condemned his work, till envy and malevolence had subsided, to a long oblivion; nor was it till many years after his decease that the *Origines Guelficæ* were printed in five volumes in folio, by the care of the Electoral librarians. The hands of the several workmen are apparent; the bold and original spirit of Leibnitz, the crude erudition and hasty conjectures of Eccard, the useful annotations of Gruber, and the critical disquisitions of Scheid, the principal editor of this genealogical history.

In the construction of this domestic monument, the Elector of Hanover, ten years after the return of Leibnitz, had dispatched a second missionary (1700) to search the archives of his Italian kinsmen. Their archives were in the most deplorable state: but the princes of Este were awakened by shame and vanity, and their subject Muratori was recalled from Milan, to reform and govern the ducal library of Modena. The name of Muratori will be for ever connected with the literature of his country: above sixty years of his peaceful life were consumed in the exercises of study and devotion; his numerous writings on the subjects of history, antiquities, religion, morals, and criticism, are impressed with sense and knowledge, with moderation and candour: he moved in the narrow circle

circle of an Italian priest; but a desire of freedom, a ray of philosophic light sometimes breaks through his own prejudices and those of his readers. In the cause of his prince, he was permitted, and even encouraged, to explore the foundations, and to circumscribe the limits, of the temporal power of the bishops of Rome: and his victorious arguments in the dispute for Commachio accustomed the slave to an erect posture and a bolder step. One of his antagonists, the learned Fontanini, had been provoked, in the heat of controversy, to cast some reflections on the family of Este, as if they had been no more than simple citizens of Padua, who, in the thirteenth century, were invested by the popes with the title and office of Marquis of of Anconia. Truth and honour required an answer to this invidious charge; and the firmest answer was a simple and genuine exposition of facts. The courts of Brunswick and Modena were joined in the same family interest; and their trusty librarians, Leibnitz and Muratori, corresponded with the confidence of allies and the emulation of rivals. But the speed of the German was outstripped in the race by the perseverance of the Italian: if the conjectures of Muratori were less splendid, his discoveries were more sure; and he could examine, with the leisure of a native, the monuments and records which his associate had formerly viewed with the haste of a traveller. After a diligent inquiry of three years, both at home and abroad, he gave to the world the first volume of the *Antichità Estense*, a model of genealogical criticism; and in the

the second volume, which was delayed above twenty years, he continues the descent and series to his own times. The more strenuous labours of his life were devoted to the general and particular history of Italy. His Antiquities, both in the vulgar and the Latin tongue, exhibit a curious picture of the laws and manners of the middle age; and a correct text is justified by a copious Appendix of authentic documents. His Annals are a faithful abstract of the twenty-eight folio volumes of original historians; and whatsoever faults may be noticed in this great collection, our censure is disarmed by the remark, that it was undertaken and finished by a single man. Muratori will not aspire to the fame of historical genius: his modesty may be content with the solid, though humble praise of an impartial critic and indefatigable compiler.

With such guides, with the materials which they have provided, and with some experience of the way, I shall boldly descend into the darkness of the middle age; and while I assume the liberty of judgment, I shall not be unmindful of the duties of gratitude.

An old charter of the reign of Charlemagne and the beginning of the ninth century, has casually preserved the memory of BONIFACE the Bavarian; the count or governor of Lucca, the father of the marquisses of Tuscany, and the first probable ancestor of the house of Este and Brunswick. His name and country, his title and province, I shall separately consider: and these considerations will explain

explain the state of Italy in his time, and that of his immediate descendants.

1. In the origin of human speech, a method must have been wanted, and sought, and found, of discriminating the several individuals of the same tribe, who were mingled in the daily offices, even of savage life. In every language the invention of proper and personal names must be at least as ancient as the use of appellative words. The truth of this remark is attested by the ancient continent from India to Spain, from the lakes of Canada to the hills of Chili, the same distinctions were familiar to the inhabitants of the New World; and our navigators who have recently explored the islands of the South Sea, add their testimony to the general practice of mankind. As soon as a new-born infant has enjoyed some days, and begins to promise some years of life, he is distinguished as a social being from his present and future companions: the friends of the family are convened to congratulate the parents and to welcome the stranger; and the festival has been usually connected with some religious ceremony; the sacrifices of the Greeks, Romans, and barbarians; the circumcision of the Jews, and the baptism of the Christians. The primitive choice of every word must have had a cause and a meaning: each name was derived from some accident or allusion, or quality of the mind or body; and the titles of the savage chiefs announced their wisdom in council, or their valour in the field. Such in the book of nature and antiquity are the heroes of Homer; and the happy flexibility

flexibility of the Greek tongue can express in harmonious sounds all possible combinations of ideas and sentiments. But in the lapse of ages and idioms, the true signification was lost or misapplied: the qualities of a man were blindly transferred to a child, and chance or custom were the only motives that could direct this arbitrary imposition. The Christians of the Roman empire were a mixture of Jews, of Greeks, and of Latin provincials: their profane names were sanctified by baptism; those of the Bible were respectable and familiar; and the casual affinity with an apostle or martyr might encourage the pious youth to imitate his virtues. But in the three centuries which preceded the reign of Charlemagne, the western world was overwhelmed by a deluge of German conquerors. After their conversion to Christianity, they long adhered, from pride or habit, to the idiom of their fathers; and their Teutonic appellations, with a softer accent and a Latin termination, were almost exclusively used in the baptism of princes and nobles. Till the tenth or twelfth century, the Old was abandoned to the Jews, and the New Testament to the people and clergy. Adam and David, Peter and Paul, John and James, George and Francis, were neglected as unknown, or despised as plebeian; and Boniface is the only name of ecclesiastical origin which the chiefs of barbaric race condescended to assume. This honourable exception may be justly ascribed to the fame and merit of St. Boniface the First, archbishop of Mentz or Mayence, the missionary of

Rome, the reformer of France, and the apostle of Germany, who lost his life in preaching the Gospel to the Frisians. He was born in England, and in his own baptism he had been styled Winfrid: but with the episcopal character the Saxon received the more Christian appellation of Boniface, which had been illustrated by a martyr and a pope. Of the Hessians, Thuringians, and Bavarians, whom he reclaimed from idolatry, many were ambitious even of a nominal conformity with their patron: and from his age and country, the count of Lucca might be one of the fortunate infants who were baptized by the apostle of Bavaria.

2. The Christian priests who subdued the conquerors of the West, had inculcated the duty of damning their idolatrous ancestors, and persecuting their dissenting subjects. But the toleration which they denied to religious prejudice, was freely extended to the institutions of civil or barbaric life. The Romans of Italy, the great body of the clergy and people, were still directed by the codes of Theodosius and Justinian. The laws of the Lombards were promulgated for their own use; after the fall of their kingdom, they still preserved their national jurisprudence; and the victorious Franks enjoyed the benefit without imposing the obligation of the Salic and Ripuarian codes. The three great nations who successively reigned in Italy, were every where mingled, and every where separate. A similar indulgence was granted to the smaller colonies of Goths, Alemanni, or *Bavarians;* and so perfect was the practice of civil toleration,

ration, that every freeman, according to his birth or choice, might embrace the law by which he himself and his family would be tried. In the acts which have escaped to our times, Count Boniface and his descendants profess to live according to the nation and law of the Bavarians: but this profession rather defines the origin of his blood, than the place of his nativity; and it is possible that some generations of his ancestors might have already felt the milder influence of climate and religion. The name of the Bavarians first rises into notice amidst the dying agonies of the Western Empire: but the tribe or troop of adventurers which assumed that name, soon swelled to a powerful kingdom, and covered the province of Noricum from the Danube to the Alps. The vicinity of Italy provoked their desires; the alliance of the Lombards encouraged their hopes: they joined the standard of the invader; and on the confines of Modena and Tuscany the memory of their ancient settlement is not totally extinct. If we compare, however, the smallness of the colony with the numbers of the nation, it may seem more probable that Count Boniface was born in Bavaria, perhaps of noble and idolatrous parents; and that his services were rewarded by Charlemagne with the government of an Italian province. The eye of the vigilant and sagacious emperor pervaded the vast extent of his dominions; and the merit of every subject, in whatsoever country or condition he had been cast, was assigned to the station most beneficial for himself and the state. While the kingdoms of the

West obeyed the same sceptre, a native Frank might command on the banks of the Tyber; the frontiers of Britanny were guarded by a loyal Lombard, and the Saxon proselyte would signalize his new zeal for Christianity against the Saracens of Spain. Charlemagne affected to consider all his subjects with the impartial love of a father: but he was not unwilling to transplant a powerful chief into a foreign soil, and he cherished a secret preference of the men and the nations whose sole dependence was on the royal favour. The Franks were jealous of the elevation of an equal; the Lombards might not easily forgive the triumph of a conqueror; but the Alemanni and Bavarians, who had been long oppressed, were devoted, by loyalty and gratitude, to the service of their benefactor.

3. I am ignorant of the parents of Boniface the Bavarian; of his character and actions I am likewise ignorant. But his official title describes him as one of the principal ministers and nobles of the kingdom of Italy. The Latin appellations of dukes and counts were transferred with the latitude of foreign words to the judges and leaders of the Barbarians: these different titles were applied to the same person or station: they varied according to the fashion of the age and country; and it was not till after the ninth century that the dukes, assuming a clear pre-eminence of dignity and power, stood foremost on the steps of the throne. In the vulgar and legal idiom, the temporal peers (I anticipate the expression of more recent times) were

were styled princes, and in their families the kings and emperors of the West might solicit a wife, or bestow a daughter, without degrading the majesty of their rank. It was at once their privilege and their duty to attend the national council; nor could any law acquire validity or effect without the consent and authority of these powerful nobles. In their respective districts of ample or narrow limits, each duke or count was invested with the plenitude of civil and military power, and this union of characters must be ascribed rather to the imperfection of the arts than to the talents of the men. They presided in open courts of justice, and determined all criminal and civil causes, with the advice of their plebeian assessors, their *scabini*, who were somewhat less illiterate than the judge himself. At the royal summons they reared their standard, assembled their freemen and vassals, and marched at their head on every occasion of danger and honour. Such taxes as could be levied on a rude and independent people were shared between the supreme and subordinate chief, and there exists an agreement by which a Lombard duke was permitted to reserve a moiety of the revenue for his public and private use. The prerogative of appointing and recalling these provincial magistrates was esteemed a sufficient pledge of their obedience; and the servants of Charlemagne might obey without reluctance the first of mankind. But the memory of a favour was lost in the grant of an office; and the grant of an office was insensibly consolidated into the right of a freehold possession.

The counts and dukes were amenable to the circuits of the *missi*, or royal inquisitors: but they were more able to maintain, than willing to suffer, an act of injustice; and it was gradually admitted as a constitutional maxim, that they could not be deprived of their dignity without a charge, a trial, and a conviction of felony. The founder of the Western Empire might sometimes reward the son by the gift or the reversion of his father's province; a dangerous reward, which was often extorted from the fears, rather than from the bounty of succeeding princes. They could not despoil the legitimate heir of his lands, his followers, and his popular name, and it was deemed more prudent to secure the public peace by the indulgence of his private ambition.

4. The province entrusted to the vigilance of Count Boniface is one of the most fertile and fortunate spots of Italy. It is bounded by the rivers Magra and Arno, by the sea and the Apennine; and in the old days of independence, this tract of country had been the debateable land between the Ligurians and Etruscans, till it was finally annexed by Augustus to the region of Etruria. The harbour of Luni is capable of sheltering the navies of Europe; the circumjacent hills of Carara have supplied an inexhaustible store of white marble for the noblest works of sculpture and architecture, and Lucca itself is situate almost on the banks of the Ausar and Serchio, a river which, flowing ten miles farther to the south, is finally lost under the walls of Pisa, in the waters of the Arno. In the best

best age of the commonwealth, the sixth century of Rome, an allotment of sixty thousand acres was divided among two thousand citizens, who were soon associated with the ancient natives: but the colony of Lucca finally preferred the title and privileges of a municipal town. After suffering some injury from the barbaric storm, Lucca appears to revive and flourish under the Lombards, as the seat of a royal mint, and the metropolis of the whole province of Tuscany. The republic, less extensive, as it should seem, than the command of Boniface, now contains one hundred and twenty thousand inhabitants, who are enriched by the exportation of oil and silk. But their riches are the fruits of industry, and their industry is guarded by liberty and peace. I am inclined to believe, that this small and happy community is more wealthy and populous than was formerly the Tuscany of Charlemagne; and even in its decay the state of Tuscany still possesses more inhabitants and more treasure, than could have been found in the disorderly and desolate kingdom of the Lombards.

From the interposition of Ildenrand, Count of Lucca, it may be suspected that at the time of his father's decease, Boniface the Second had not acquired sufficient strength and maturity for the vacant office: but these friends, or rivals, who had exercised the government of Lucca, were soon superseded by the establishment of the lawful heir; and the youth approved himself worthy of his name and honours. The example and impunity of treason could never tempt his loyalty; and

while the empire of Lewis the Pious was relaxed by weakness, or agitated by discord, Boniface asserted the glory of the French and the Christian arms. He had been entrusted with the defence of the maritime coast and the isle of Corsica against the Mahometans of Africa, and his right to command the service of the neighbouring counts may entitle him to the appellation of Duke or Marquis of Tuscany, which was assumed by his descendants. With a small fleet he sailed from Pisa, in search of the robbers of the sea; they had vanished on his approach: he cast anchor on the friendly shores of Corsica, and after providing himself with expert pilots, he steered his intrepid course for Africa, and boldly landed on the coast between Carthage and Utica. The Aglabites, who reigned in Africa as the nominal vicegerents of the caliphs, were astonished and provoked by the insolence of the Christians, whose valour had been hitherto confined to a defensive war. Their camp was immediately surrounded by a formidable host of Arabs and Moors: five times did they mount to the assault: they were repulsed five times with slaughter and shame. The field was covered with the bodies of their slain; in the hot pursuit some adventurous Franks became the victims of their own rashness; but the more prudent chief was satisfied with victory; he embarked the troops, the captives, and the spoil, and returning in triumph to the port of Luni, or the mouth of the Arno, left an example of successful enterprise which was long remembered by the Moslems of Afric, and seldom

seldom imitated by the Christians of Italy. The birth, character, and adventures of the Empress Judith, will be introduced with more propriety in the story of the Guelphs, and I shall only observe, that after his abject fall and fortunate restoration, Lewis the Pious might still tremble for the safety of a beloved wife. She was confined in a monastery of Tortona, in the power of a rebellious son; and if the ambition of Lothaire was disappointed, the blood of a step-mother might be a grateful offering to his revenge. Boniface, with some loyal subjects, perceived her danger, and flew to her relief. By their celerity and courage Judith was rescued from prison, and they guarded her passage over the Alps till she met the embraces of an impatient husband. This gallant act, which deserved the gratitude of the emperor, exposed the Count of Lucca to the displeasure of Lothaire, who was still master of the kingdom of Italy, and who denied the investiture of their fiefs to all the accomplices of the escape of Judith. Boniface retired to France, where his exile was alleviated by the most honourable employments. In the civil wars, after the death of Lewis, he might secure his pardon without forfeiting his allegiance; and there is reason to believe, that he ended his days in the government of Tuscany. The sword of chivalry was consecrated to the service of religion and the fair; and the African victor, the deliverer of the empress, had fulfilled the duties of a perfect knight.

His son and successor, Adalbert the First, has a more

more unquestionable right to the appellation of Duke and Marquis of Tuscany. The title of Marquis, or rather Margrave, was introduced into Italy by the French emperors; the Teutonic etymology of the word implies the count or governor of a *march* of a frontier province: his station gave him at least a military command over several of his equals; and in the division of the monarchy the number and importance of these hostile limits was continually multiplied. Yet the life of Adalbert is much less pure and illustrious than that of his father: either an historian was wanted to his actions, or his actions afforded no materials for history; and it is only by the glimmering of old charters, that, during thirty years, his existence is visible. The decay of genius and power in each imperial generation, had confirmed the independence of the hereditary governors; till the failure of the eldest branch, in the person of Lewis the Second, concluded a century of domestic peace, and opened an endless series of revolutions. The election of the kings of Italy was decided by the voices and by the swords of the factious nobles: they chose the object, the measure, and the term of allegiance; and the name of the candidate whom they supported, was a sufficient apology for every act of violence and rapine. A pope of an active and ambitious spirit, John VIII., most bitterly complains of the two marquisses, or tyrants, of Lambert of Spoleto, and of Adalbert of Tuscany, who were brothers in alliance, in arms, and in sacrilege. They solicited the aid of the miscreant

miscreant Saracens, invaded the ecclesiastical State, entered the city, profaned the churches, extorted an oath of fidelity from the Romans, and dared to imprison the successor of St. Peter. After the departure of these public robbers, as they are styled, without much injustice, by the pontiff, he affected to display their guilt and his own danger: the sacred relics were transported from the Vatican to the Lateran palace: the altar was clothed in sackcloth, and the doors of the temple were inhospitably shut against the devotion of the pilgrims. By the apprehension of a second insult John VIII. was driven from the apostolical seat: he fled by sea to the usual asylum of France, offered the two worlds to whosoever would avenge his quarrel, and in the Synod of Troyes proclaimed the vices and pronounced the excommunication of the two marquisses of Spoleto and Tuscany, the enemies of God and Man. Some political events gave a new turn to his interest and language; *the most glorious* Adalbert and his wife (so lately a robber and an adulteress) are recommended in his epistles to the love and protection of the friends of the church. From such invective and such praise it might be inferred that calumny is a venial sin, or that every sin is obliterated by a reconciliation with the Pope. A casuist less indulgent, I shall not so easily absolve the sacrilegious Marquis of Tuscany: he lived in an age of the darkest superstition, and his assault on the Vatican is truly criminal, since it was condemned by the prejudices of his own conscience.

In

In the dignity of Duke and Marquis of Tuscany he was succeeded by his son, the second Adalbert, who has been only distinguished from the first by the nice microscope of chronological criticism. Such and so great was the pre-eminence of his wealth and power, that he alone among the princes of Italy was distinguished by the epithet of the *rich;* an epithet of ambiguous praise, since it expresses the liberality of fortune rather than of nature. He married Berta, the daughter of Lothaire king of Austrasia or Lorraine, who was the great grandson of Charlemagne: a distinction rather honourable than singular; since many of the princes of the age were descended by the females from the Imperial stem. His independence was built on the ruins of the empire of Charlemagne: the failure of lawful heirs enlarged the scene of contention: the sceptre was alternately won and lost in a field of battle, and the Italians, from a maxim of policy, entertained the competition of two kings. The dukes of Friuli and Spoleto long disputed the crown; and while Berengarius reigned at Verona, his rivals Guido and Lambert were seated on the throne of Pavia. These princes, the father and son, were the uncle and cousin of Adalbert; but he supported or deserted their standard with licentious perfidy, and one of his attempts did not much redound to the honour or advantage of the Marquis of Tuscany. He marched to surprize Lambert, who hunted without suspicion in a forest near Placentia: but he forgot that discipline and sobriety are most

essential

essential to secret enterprize. The tents of the Tuscans, who deemed themselves secure of their royal game, resounded with drunken and lascivious songs; their intemperance subsided in sleep; and at the dead of night they were surprized by the vigilant Lambert, at the head of no more than one hundred horse. The Marquis, who could neither fight nor fly, was dragged from his shelter among the mules and asses of the baggage, and his shame was embittered by the rude pleasantry of the conqueror. "Thy wife Berta," said he, "had promised that thou shouldest be either a king or an ass. A king thou art not, but thy second title I shall not dispute; and wisely hast thou chosen a place of refuge among the animals of a similar species." The death of Lambert restored the captive to liberty and dominion: but the character of Adalbert was still the same, and the state of Italy long fluctuated with the vicissitudes of his interest or passions. Berengarius, who was oppressed by his service, sometimes accused and sometimes imitated the example of his ingratitude. A new pretender, Lewis king of Arles, was defeated, and dismissed, and recalled, and again established and again dethroned as he was the friend or enemy of the Marquis of Tuscany. In a moment of seeming concord, the new sovereign visited Lucca, where he was entertained with the ostentation of expense, which vanity will often extort from avarice and hatred. As Lewis admired the numerous and well-dressed ranks of the Tuscan soldiers, the attendance of the palace, and the luxury

luxury of the banquet, he softly whispered, "This Marquis is indeed a king, and it is only in a vain title that I am superior to my vassal." By the diligence of flattery or malice this whisper was re-echoed: the pride of Berta was offended, her fears were alarmed; she alienated her husband's mind; he conspired with the disaffected nobles; and a hasty, perhaps a harmless saying deprived the unfortunate king of Arles of the crown of Italy and his eyes. Adalbert the Second died at Lucca, in a mature age, and his real or imaginary virtues are inscribed on his tomb. We are solicited to believe, that he was formidable to his enemies, liberal to his soldiers, just to his subjects, and charitable to the poor; that his memory was embalmed in the tears of a grateful people; and that the public happiness was buried in his grave. An epitaph is a feeble evidence of merit; yet an epitaph on the dead may prove somewhat more than a panegyric on the living.

Adalbert the Second left behind him three children, two sons, Guido and Lambert, the eldest of whom was acknowledged as Duke and Marquis of Tuscany, and one daughter, Hermenegarda, who married and survived a prince of equal rank on the confines of Piedmont. The pride and power of Berta were not impaired by her husband's death; and to her passions I should impute an unequal contest with the emperor and king of Italy, who by fraud or force imprisoned the mother and her son in the fortress of Mantua. But her faithful clients refused to surrender the cities and castles

castles committed to their trust: a treaty was negociated; the captives were released; their possessions were restored; and I must applaud the moderation, perhaps the courage, of Guido, who sincerely submitted to forgive and to be forgiven. Of the death of the emperor, Berengarius, who was stabbed in his palace by a private villain, Guido was neither the author nor the accomplice: but in the subsequent election his voice had a free and decisive weight; and the laudable motives of filial or fraternal tenderness might prompt him to gratify his mother, by supporting the claim of Hugh, or Hugo, Count of Provence, her son by a former husband. The Marquis commanded the sea-ports of Tuscany; his sister, an active and popular widow, could shut or open the passes of the Alps. A royal pretender, Rodulph of Burgundy, was chased beyond the mountains: by the unanimous choice of the nobles, Hugh was invited and proclaimed: he landed at Pisa; and the sons of Adalbert were proud to salute their brother as king of Italy. But this event, which seemed to consolidate the fortunes, was the immediate cause of the downfal of their house. The new monarch insensibly betrayed a faithless and ungrateful character: his vices were scandalous, his talents mean; and if his ambition was sometimes checked by fear, it was never restrained by humanity or justice. The death of Berta dissolved the union between the children of her first and her second nuptials. The mild and moderate Guido expired in the prime of life. The Duchy of Tuscany was

was occupied by Lambert: but in a hasty and indecent marriage with Marozia, his brother's widow, the king of Italy trampled on the prejudices of mankind. Hugh was already conscious of the public hatred and contempt: he might justly dread the courage, the ambition, the popularity of the Marquis; and his avarice was stimulated by the hopes of a rich forfeiture. Regardless of a mother's fame, he invented, or encouraged the report, that the obstinate barrenness of the wife of Adalbert had tempted that impious woman to procure and substitute two male infants, whom she educated as her own: and the arbitrary sentence of the king, who disclaimed Lambert as a brother, must have denied his right to the succession of Tuscany. Had this cause been argued before a tribunal of law and reason, the advocate for the Marquis would have pleaded the long and tranquil possession of his name and state, and have deprecated the injustice of a charge, which was not advanced till after the decease of both his parents. The orator would have painted in the most lively colours, the absurdity of the supposition, the difficulty of fascinating the eyes and silencing the tongues of a jealous court, and the strong improbability that the Duchess of Tuscany should have *twice* risqued the danger and shame of a discovery. He would have authenticated the circumstances of her pregnancy and delivery; and after establishing his defence on argument and fact, he might have tried to awaken the tender and indignant feelings of the audience. Instead

of

of such a tedious process, the intrepid Lambert cast down his gauntlet, and challenged to single combat the false accuser of his own and his mother's fame. The challenge was accepted; a champion arose; the lists were opened; and such was the goodness of his cause, or the vigour of his arm, that the Marquis obtained an easy victory in the judgment of God. Even this judgment was not respected by the tyrant. Instead of embracing his genuine brother, he loaded the conqueror with irons, confiscated his dominions, and deprived him of his eyes; while the nobles of Italy, who so often resisted the execution of the laws, most basely acquiesced in this act of cruelty and injustice. The unhappy prince survived his misfortune many years, but he was already dead to his enemies and the world. In a civilized society, the mind is more powerful than the body; and the influence of strength or dexterity is far less extensive than that of eloquence and wisdom. But among a people of barbarians, the blind warrior, who is no longer capable of managing a horse, or of wielding a lance, must be excluded from all the honours and offices of public life.

Such were the five descents in the Bavarian line of the Counts of Lucca and Marquisses or Dukes of Tuscany. The fourth generation of the posterity of Boniface coincides with the age of the Marquis d'Adalbert, who may be styled the third of that name, if we can safely rivet this intermediate link of the genealogical chain. After a long hesitation and various trials, the active curio-

sity of Leibnitz subsided in the opinion that Adalbert the Third, the unquestionable father of the House of Este and Brunswick, was the son of the Marquis Guido, and the grandson of Adalbert the Second: and that his right of succession to the Duchy of Tuscany, which had been superseded by his tender years, was finally lost in the calamity of his uncle. In a mind conscious of its powers, and indulgent to its productions, this idea struck a deep and permanent root. As an historian, Leibnitz was acquainted with the stubborn character of facts: as a critic, he was accustomed to balance the weight of testimony: as a mathematician, he would not prostitute the name of demonstration: but he affirmed that his opinion was *probable* in the highest sense; and the philosopher could not patiently tolerate a sceptic. These historical inquiries he compared to the labour of an astronomer, who frames an hypothesis, such as can explain all the known phænomena of the heavens, and then exalts his hypothesis into truth, by exposing the errors of every other possible supposition. From the library of Hanover, the discovery was transmitted to that of Modena, with an earnest desire of literary, or at least of political union, and the pedigree of Adalbert the Third was ratified by the consent of Leibnitz and Muratori. Yet in this dark and doubtful step of genealogy, impartial criticism may be allowed to pause, and even the silence of a contemporary writer may incline the scale against many loose and floating atoms of modern conjecture. The first fifty years of the tenth

tenth century are illustrated by the labour and eloquence of Liutprand, bishop of Cremona, who exposes, with a free and often satirical pen, the characters and vices of the times. He relates the death of Guido, and the succession of Lambert, without insinuating that the former left any children, or that the latter was appointed guardian of their minority. He deplores the fate of Lambert, without informing the reader of the escape of his nephew; by what resources of flight or defence, of prayer or negociation, he escaped the cruelty of the tyrant, and lived to propagate the glories of his race. The Marquis Otbert, the undoubted son of Adalbert the Third, is honourably mentioned; and it might be reasonably expected, that some hint should have been given of his lineal descent from the Tuscan princes, whose names and actions had been already celebrated in the history of Liutprand. Nor can the order of time, that infallible touchstone of truth, be easily reconciled with the hypothesis of Leibnitz. Guido, Marquis of Tuscany, was the third husband of the insatiate Marozia: her second was killed in the year nine hundred and twenty-five; and ten or twelve months must be granted for the shortest widowhood, the term of pregnancy, and the birth of her son Adalbert. No more than thirty-six years after his birth, *his* son, the Marquis Otbert, appears in the world as a statesman and a patriot. Such a precipitate succession, which crowds two generations into one, is repugnant to the whole experience of ages: a fact so strange and improbable could only be forced on our belief

by the absolute power of positive and authentic evidence.

In this inquiry, I should disdain to be influenced by any partial regard for the interest or honour of the House of Brunswick: but I can resign, without a sigh, the hypothesis of Leibnitz, which might seem to exhibit the *nominal* rather than the *natural* ancestors of the son of Guido. This doubtful expression is not founded on the absurd and malicious fable, that the two last Marquisses of Tuscany were stolen, in their infancy, from an obscure, and perhaps a plebeian origin: Berta was their genuine mother; and their pedigree would not be tainted with suspicion, if the right of the father could be ascertained with the same clearness and certainty. But in these barbarous times, the valour of the men appears to have been maintained with more high and jealous care than the chastity of the women; and such was the peculiar infelicity of the Marquis Guido, that his wife, his mother, and his two grandmothers, are all accused, in their respective generations, of a slight, or scandalous deviation from the line of virtue. In the Pontifical Epistles, the wife of Adalbert I. is branded with the opprobrious name of adulteress; and without insisting on the Pope's infallibility, it may be fairly urged, that as the character of a public robber was applied to the sacrilegious enemy of Rome, the vices of Rotilda must have afforded some ground or colour for private reproach. The mother of Berta, the famous Valdrada, long fluctuated between the state of a wife and the shame of

of a concubine. She might be innocent in the judgment of conscience and reason; but her pretended marriage with Lothaire, King of Lorraine, was repeatedly annulled by the sentence of the Roman Pontiff. By an obstinate resistance, her fame might have been preserved: a false and fruitless penitence could only aggravate her sin; and she became alike guilty in the eyes of the church and of the public, when she continued to dwell in the embraces of her lover, after a lawful queen had been restored to the honours of his throne and bed. The pleasures of Berta were subservient to her ambition; and Adalbert the Second appears to have been endowed with the patient virtues of a husband. By the liberal freedom with which she imparted to the nobles of Tuscany every gift in her power to bestow, the duchess secured their grateful attachment in the hour of danger; and at the age of threescore, she might be justly vain that her favours were precious, her lovers fond, her friends and clients still mindful of their past obligations. As the infidelity of Hermenegarda could sully only the blood of another family, it is almost needless to mention that the daughter of Berta most faithfully copied the example of her mother. But the satirical eloquence of Liutprand is unable to paint the vices of Marozia, wife of the Marquis Guido: "from her early youth," (exclaims the bishop,) "she had been inflamed by all the fires of Venus; and again and again did she exact from her lovers the payment of their debts." Her family was powerful at Rome: by the corruption of Marozia,

of her mother, and of her sister, the church and state were polluted and oppressed: their favourites, and their children, were successively promoted to the throne of St. Peter; and in the spiritual Babylon, the city of the Seven Hills, a more inquisitive age would have detected the scarlet whore of the Revelations. The son of Marozia, the grandson of Berta, and the great-grandson of Rotilda, might be perplexed in the discovery or the choice of his true progenitors.

The hypothesis, that Adalbert III. was the son of the Marquis Guido, will not endure the test of a critical inquiry: but I am disposed to embrace the general opinion of Leibnitz and Muratori, and to believe with them, that the families of Este and Brunswick are descended from a younger branch of the House of Tuscany. A charter commemorates the name of Boniface, son of Adalbert I. and brother of Adalbert II.: his existence is certain; his marriage probable; and, according to the custom of nations, the respectable name of a grandfather and uncle would be naturally repeated in the person of his son. In the last years of the ninth century, we may fix the birth of Adalbert III. who will stand, in the corresponding degree, as the first cousin to the Marquis Guido: the order of nature will be restored, and in the succeeding generation a sufficient space will be left for the growth and maturity of Otbert I. By this early separation from the original stem, we avoid the more scandalous vices of Berta and Marozia. The silence of Liutprand will no longer surprise or embarrass the critic:

critic: Boniface, and his son Adalbert the Third, were neither the sovereigns nor the heirs of Tuscany: their private fortunes were less splendid, and more secure, than those of the Marquisses, their elder kinsmen; and their names, not conspicuous, perhaps, by crimes or virtues, might escape the memory or the pen of the general historian. As the objections diminish, the presumptive proofs of a connection between the Houses of Tuscany and Este leave a deeper impression on the mind. The repetition of the name of Adalbert has already been noticed as a family feature. In the kingdom, the name of Adalbert was less rare, however, than the title of Marquis, of such recent use and such local application, but which was uniformly used, from the tenth to the fifteenth century, as their hereditary and proper style, by the Princes of Este. The military governors, who commanded on the Alpine or Greek limits, do not suggest any traces of conformity; and our ignorance of the province which was ruled by Adalbert III. and his immediate descendants, will be tempted to believe, that the vague appellation of Marquis, which was common to all, might be cherished by their vanity, as a perpetual attribute and memorial of the long-lost dominion of Tuscany. But the circumstance of the clearest and most substantial presumption arises from the rent-roll of their ancient estates, which were spread over the heart of Tuscany, the counties of Lucca and Luna, and even the Isle of Corsica, a remote dependance of the government of Boniface II. Tradition has preserved the name

and limits of the *Terra Obertenga*, so often cited in old charters as the lands of the Marquis Otbert I.; and if he received them from his father, it will not be difficult to suppose that they were originally granted to Boniface III. as the portion or patrimony of a younger brother. The perfect and easy coalition of the Marquisses of Tuscany and Este is resisted only by a single obstacle; and the resistance is less insuperable than it may appear at the first glance: the former adhered to the law and nation of the Bavarians, whilst the nation and law of the Lombards was professed by the latter. But we must not forget, that in the barbaric jurisprudence of Europe, a national character might be either conveyed by descent, or adopted by choice; and that each family, each individual, might select and renounce the name and institutions of these political sects. The Bavarians, a minute colony, were almost invisible in the mighty kingdom of the Lombards: their decreasing numbers could not secure a regular supply of judges and witnesses: an Italian prince would be desirous of obliterating the remembrance of his foreign origin, and the smaller rivulets were gradually lost in the master-stream. Such a change of law and nation is agreeable to reason and practice; but in this particular instance, it may not be presumed, it cannot be proved; and the objection must be allowed to counterbalance some grains of probability in the opposite scale.

Section II.

A judicious critic may approve the Tuscan descent of the families of Este and Brunswick; but a sincere historian will pronounce, that the Marquis Adalbert is their first unquestionable ancestor; that he flourished in Lombardy or Tuscany in the beginning of the tenth century; that his character and actions are buried in oblivion; and that his name and title alone can be placed at the head of an illustrious pedigree.

This pedigree is animated by his son the Marquis Otbert I., and his life is connected with the revolutions of Italy. If the records of the times were more numerous, they might confirm the probability of his descent from the Marquisses of Tuscany, since the earliest date of his name and honours coincides with the fall of their oppressors, and the first year, or even month of a new reign. The tyrant Hugh had fled beyond the Alps, loaded with the curses and treasures of the Italians: his son Lothaire, a feeble youth, had passed away like a shadow, and after a vacancy of twenty-four days, the Marquis Berengarius, grandson to the emperor of the same name, was exalted to the throne. A grant of four castles was made to the bishop of Modena; and in the original deed of gift the new monarch is pleased to declare, that the advice and request of his trusty and well-beloved the Marquis Otbert had moved him to this act of liberality or devotion. His power at court may be ascribed to the recent

recent merits of the election; and the advocate on the behalf of others would not be mute or unsuccessful in his own cause. Of the favours which he received, or of the services which he performed, I am alike ignorant: but at the end of nine years, the counsellor and favourite of Berengarius was transformed into a fugitive and a rebel, who escaped to the Saxon court, inflamed the ambition of Otho, and soon returned with an army of Germans, to dethrone a sovereign, perhaps a benefactor, of his own choice. His conduct appears, at the first glance, to be tainted with ingratitude and treason; and his guilt may be aggravated by the reflexion, that he imposed a foreign yoke on his country, and prepared the long calamities of tyranny and faction. At the distance of eight centuries, I shall not vindicate the pure and rigid patriotism of the father of the House of Brunswick. According to the experience of human nature, we may calculate a hundred, nay a thousand chances, against the public virtues of a statesman: the Marquis viewed the King of Italy, first as an equal, and afterwards as an enemy; and in the loose governments of the feudal system, the duties of allegiance were proudly violated by the members of an armed and lawless aristocracy.

Yet our imperfect view of the history of the times will afford some apology, and may allow some praise for the flight and rebellion of Marquis Otbert. 1. The patriot who, in the cause of political freedom, is false to gratitude and honour, offends against the natural feelings of mankind; but

but if those feelings are violated by a tyrant, they applaud the sword of the rebel, or even the dagger of the conspirator. Berengarius was a bad subject, and a worse prince: and the most opposite vices were reconciled in the dissolute and flagitious character of his wife Villa. From the revenge or justice of his predecessor, he had been saved by the blind humanity of Lothaire the son of Hugh, who cherished the faithless enemy of his crown and life. His suspicious death was followed by the persecution of his widow Adelais, the sister of the King of Burgundy. At the age of eighteen a beautiful and innocent princess was stripped of her land, her jewels, and her apparel, exposed to the brutal repetition of blows and insults, and cast into a subterraneous dungeon, where she endured, above four months, the last extremities of distress and hunger. A pleasing and pathetic tale might be formed of her miraculous escape with a damsel and a priest; of their concealment among the rushes of the lake Benacus, where they were supported many days by the charity of a fisherman; and of her rescue by a generous knight, who conducted the princess to his impregnable fortress of Canossa, and defied the vengeance of the King of Italy. The romance would conclude with the arrival of a victorious lover, a royal deliverer: the nuptials of Otho and Adelais were celebrated at Pavia, and her singular adventures were a prelude to the future glories of the Empress and the Saint. The arms of Otho had been seconded by the revolt of the Italians; but in this revolt the name of Otbert

is

is not mentioned; and we should rather accuse than admire the patient loyalty of the Marquis. Before he renounced his obedience and gratitude, the unrepenting tyrant had accomplished the measure of his sins; the church and state, the rich and the poor, were the indiscriminate victims of the cruelty and avarice of Berengarius. 2. In his first victorious expedition, the prudence or magnanimity of Otho had declined the rigour of absolute conquest, and was content to be styled the Protector of an injured nation. A prostrate enemy was spared and forgiven: after waiting three days before the palace gates, Berengarius was admitted to the royal presence, and the golden sceptre of the kingdom of Italy was again delivered to his hands. But he pronounced an oath of fidelity, a solemn engagement, that he would be ready, in council and in the field, to obey the commands of his sovereign, and that he would govern his people with more equity and mildness than he had hitherto displayed. By this unequal treaty, the right of Otho was established, to judge and punish the crimes of his feudatory: the Marquis Otbert is no longer a rebel, who solicits the aid of a foreign prince, and all the vassals of Italy might lawfully appeal from their immediate to their supreme lord. 3. The appeal was urged by the most respectable deputies of the church and state, and their voice was the voice of the kingdom of Italy. The Roman pontiff dispatched his apostolical legates to complain of the temporal and spiritual wrongs which St. Peter and St. Paul had long suffered from

from the tyranny of Berengarius. An Archbishop of Milan stood before the King of Germany, to deliver the sentiments of the oppressed clergy. The *illustrious* Marquis Otbert (I copy the words of the historian) spoke in the name and in the cause of his peers; and the powers of these ambassadors were ratified by the secret letters and messengers of almost all the counts and bishops of Italy. 4. In the second, as in the first expedition, Otho yielded to the call of justice and freedom: but in the passes of the Trentine Alps, his march was stopped a day and a night by the seeming opposition of sixty thousand Italians. The suspicions of Berengarius had been appeased by their ready obedience to his summons; and in this martial assembly they were the masters of the throne and the representatives of the people. A temperate negociation was, however, proposed: the timely abdication of the father might have softened their hatred; and they had consented to acquiesce under the government of his son Adalbert. The obstinate despair of the old king provoked them to abjure his name and family: they sheathed their swords, and opened their gates: a hundred banners waved round the royal standard of Saxony: the deliverer was saluted king of Italy, and he received the *Iron Crown* in the cathedral of Milan. The pope confirmed the revolution; and after a vacancy of twenty-eight years, the title of Emperor of the Romans was revived in the person of Otho the Great. 5. The benefits or mischiefs which might arise from the union of Italy and Germany could be decided only by

by experience; nor could the foresight of the Marquis Otbert anticipate the experience of three hundred years. It was enough for a mortal statesman to obey the wishes, and consult the happiness, of the present generation, by placing in the hands of wisdom and power the sceptre of the Italian kingdom.

In one of the annual odes which still adorn or disgrace the birth-days of our British King, the Laureat, with some degree of courtly, and even poetic art, has introduced the founder of the Brunswick race:

> "When Otbert left the Italian plain,
> And soft Ateste's green domain,
> Attendant on Imperial sway,
> Where Fame and Otho led the way,
> The genius of the Julian hills,
> (Whose piny summits nod with snow,
> Whose Naiads pour their thousand rills
> To swell th' exulting Po,)
> An eager look prophetic cast,
> And hail'd the hero as he pass'd."

By a lofty prediction of fame and empire, this benevolent genius exalts the courage of the hero, and displays the future greatness of his posterity, from the nuptials of Azo, to the succession of British kings:

> "Proceed. Rejoice. Descend the vale,
> And bid the future monarchs hail!
> Hail, all hail, the hero cried,
> And Echo, on her airy tide,
> Pursu'd him, murmuring, down the mountain's side."

I shall

I shall not presume to inquire whether such distinct and distant views of futurity may not surpass the prescience of a mountain god: but I am compelled to vindicate my own accuracy, by observing some geographical and historical errors of the mortal bard. The possessions of Otbert were not situate in the Venetian plain, but among the mountains of Tuscany; and we shall soon discover, that the green domain of Este, or Ateste, was acquired by the marriage of his grandson. In his attendance, "where Fame and Otho led the way," he would have passed, not the Julian, but the Rhætian Alps; he must have followed the high road of Verona and Trent, the great and customary passage between Italy and Germany. The name of the Julian Alps is confined to a low range of hills, soon bounded by the north eastern extremity of the Adriatic, and which opposed, in the tenth century, a feeble barrier to the inroads of the wild Hungarians. The streams which issue from those hills are lost in the sea, or intercepted by the neighbouring rivers; and of their thousand rills, not a drop can be mingled with the waters of the Po. Even the motive and the date of the passage of Otbert are wantonly corrupted. The patriot, entrusted with the cause of Italy, is degraded into an adventurer, who seeks his fortune in the Emperor's service: and he bids an everlasting farewell to the country which he was most impatient to revisit and deliver. The poet may deviate from the truth of history, but every deviation ought to be

be compensated by the superior beauties of fancy and fiction.

Among the followers of his triumphal car, the servants of his fortune, Otho could distinguish the patriot fugitives who had risqued their lives and estates to assert his rights, and the freedom of Italy. The most illustrious of these, the Marquis Otbert, was rewarded with riches and honours; and there is some reason to believe that his vague title was applied to the province of Liguria, which, according to the Roman geography, included the cities of Milan and Genoa. But the descendant of Adalbert I. might advance an equitable, though not a legal claim, to the Duchy of Tuscany: and some suspicion will taint the pedigree of a favourite, who neglects to ask, or fails to obtain, the restitution of a patrimonial dignity. Our surprise will be increased and removed by the discovery of the same fact. Hugh, King of Italy, had granted the Tuscan Duchy, first to his brother, and then to his bastard; it was inherited by the son of that bastard: and succeeding monarchs, the tyrant Berengarius, and the German Otho, respected the possession of these fallen and unpopular princes. So strange an indulgence must have been founded on some secret, but powerful motive; and the same motive, could it now be revealed, might explain either the modest indifference, or the unavailing request, of Otbert himself. But the Marquis (shall I say?) of Liguria was invested with an office far more worthy of his abilities, and far more expressive of the royal confidence. The Count of

of the sacred palace was the prime minister of the kingdom of Italy; and it was observed, in classic style, that the Dukes, the Marquisses, and the Counts submitted to the pre-eminence of his consular Fasces. In an age, when every magistrate was a noble, and every noble was a soldier, the Count Palatine often assumed the command of armies; but in his proper station, he represented the judicial character of the Emperor, and pronounced a definitive sentence, as the judge of all civil and criminal appeals. The city of Pavia, and the castle of Lomello, were his ordinary residence: but he visited the provinces in frequent circuits, and all local or subordinate jurisdiction was suspended in his presence. This important office was exercised above twelve years by the Marquis Otbert: the public acts, the few that have escaped, announce the proceedings of his tribunal at Lucca, Verona, &c.; and he continued to deserve and enjoy the favour of the Emperor. If, in the decline of life, the lassitude of camps and courts had tempted him to seek a cool and independent solitude, I should praise the temper of the philosopher; but the firmest minds are enslaved by the prejudices of the times, and the retreat of Otbert was inspired by the basest superstition. Under the monastic habit, in a Benedictine abbey which he had richly endowed, the Marquis laboured to expiate the sins of his secular life. Pride and ambition are the vices of the world: humility is the first virtue of a monk; and the descendant of princes, the favourite of kings, the judge of nations,

tions, was conspicuous among his brethren in the daily labour of collecting and feeding the hogs of the monastery. His sanctity was applauded: but if he listened to that applause, the penitent was entangled in a more subtle snare of the dæmon of vanity.

After the resignation of the Count Palatine, his office was given to favour or merit: but his patrimonial estates were inherited by the Marquis Otbert, who can only be distinguished by the epithet of the Second, from the similar name and title of his father. The life of the second Otbert was tranquil or obscure: he was rich in lands, in vassals, and in four valiant sons, Azo, Hugh, Adalbert, and Guido: but their valour embittered his old age, and involved the family in treason and disgrace. The reigns of the three Othos, a period of forty years, had been a transient season of prosperity and peace. But on the failure of their direct line, the Germans maintained their right of conquest, the Italians revived the claim of independence, and both were ambitious and resolute to establish a king of their own nation and choice. The princes and lords of Italy were all of barbaric origin; but as it happens, in the progress of nobility, the strangers of the second were despised by those of the third or fourth generation: and the old settlers, who could boast some ages of usurpation, esteemed themselves the ancient natives, the true proprietors of the soil. In the hostile diets of Mentz and Pavia, two hostile kings were elected, Henry the Saxon, and Arduin the Lombard; and they

they disputed the Iron Crown in a civil, or rather a social war, of ten years. The German invaders were long checked, and sometimes defeated, in the passes of the Alps: but their strength and numbers finally prevailed. The fortunate Henry obtained the title of Emperor, and afterwards of Saint; Arduin was degraded and saved by the monastic habit: and his adherents were pardoned or punished, according to the measure of their guilt or power. Among these adherents, the first to erect the standard, and the last to bow the knee, were the Marquis Otbert II., his four sons, and his grandson Azo II., the immediate founder of the lines of Brunswick and Este. The distance of their fields of battle may prove the extent of their influence, and the obstinacy of their struggle; they made a vigorous stand in the neighbourhood of Pavia, they raised a dangerous insurrection at Rome, and they were vanquished and made prisoners in the plains of Apulia. A judicial act recites their crimes, and pronounces their condemnation. The six Marquisses were convicted, by the law of the Lombards, of conspiring against the king's life: and such conspiracy was punished, according to the same law, with confiscation and death. Their collateral offences, murder, rapine, and sacrilege, are the inevitable consequences of civil war: but the violation of some oath which had been extorted in the hour of distress, exposed them to the more ignominious reproach of treason and perjury. Yet their lives were spared by the clemency of the pious Emperor: the portion of

their lands which had been dedicated to pious uses, he could not restore; but he generously forgave the ample forfeiture which had devolved to the state: and when they resumed their seats in the assembly of the peers, they professed themselves the grateful and loyal servants of their benefactor.

But as the Saxon Henry left neither children nor kinsmen to inherit their obedience and gratitude, the sons of Otbert II. used, or abused, their freedom, and again opposed the election of Conrad the First, emperor of the Franconian line. In the hope of foreign aid they offered the iron crown, and promised the Roman Empire, to Robert, King of France: and the Marquis Hugo, the second brother, was entrusted with this important embassy: but the son of Hugh Capet was of an inactive temper: his new kingdom was unsettled; and with his approbation, the Italian deputies transferred their offer to William of Aquitain, a vassal not less powerful than his sovereign. The Duke of Aquitain behaved, on this momentous occasion, with a just temperance of courage and discretion. He accepted the crown for his family, protesting that under his reign Italy should enjoy such days as she had never known. His foremost troops were dispatched beyond the Alps, and he visited Rome under the pretence of a pilgrimage. But on a nearer prospect of the scene, the Duke of Aquitain was satisfied that he could neither encounter his antagonist, nor confide in his party. The temporal peers were inclined to his cause, but the Archbishop

Archbishop of Milan, and the most important prelates, had been promoted by the House of Saxony: they were steady to the German interest; and William rejected the sole effectual measure, that of filling their vacant seats with his own ecclesiastics. He prudently withdrew from the unequal and ruinous contest. In a farewel epistle, he acknowledges the truth and constancy of *one* Italian lord, and this singular expression involves the sons of Otbert in the national reproach of levity or falsehood. During his embassy in France, the Marquis Hugo had been pressed by the monks of Tours to restore some abbey lands which he had usurped in the neighbourhood of Milan. At the distance of six hundred years and six hundred miles, that superstitious rebel was subdued by the apprehension of the vengeance of St. Martin.

By such exploits the memory, or at least the names of the four sons of Otbert II. has been preserved from oblivion. Azo I. the eldest brother, propagated the race; and by his first marriage with the niece of Hugo, Marquis of Tuscany, that chief acquired a rich patrimony, and a commanding influence in the Venetian province. The character of Hugo, his power, and his long reign, had given him a respectable place among the princes of the times: but the title of *Great*, the title of Alexander, Pompey, and Charlemagne, becomes ridiculous when it is necessary to ask, and difficult to find, the reason of the appellation. From the upper to the lower sea, his command extended over the middle regions of Italy: with the right he grasped the

Duchy of Tuscany, with the left that of Spoleto; till on the voluntary or compulsive resignation of the latter, he contracted his domain within the limits of hereditary sway. In the exercise of arms Hugo was strong and fortunate, and in the siege and chastisement of Capua he appeared with dignity as the minister of imperial justice; but the same sword might be turned against his sovereign; and Otho III. is said to have betrayed a secret satisfaction when death delivered him from so formidable a vassal. Far different were the feelings of the clergy and people of Tuscany. The former bewailed an humble votary and a liberal benefactor; a convent at Florence, in which his tomb has been long shewn, is one of the seven monasteries which he richly endowed with lands, slaves, and gold and silver plate, for the service of the altar. In the opinion of the age these virtues were more pleasing in the eye of the Deity than the justice and humanity which he displayed in his temporal administration. The Marquis of Tuscany loved praise, and hated flattery: a nice touchstone which discriminates vanity from the love of fame. In the chase, on a march, he often rode away from his attendants; visited the cottages; conversed with the peasants and passengers, to whom his person was unknown; questioned them freely concerning the character and government of their prince; and enjoyed the sincere and simple effusions of their gratitude and veneration. The birth of Hugo may at once be styled base and illustrious; since he was the doubtful offspring of the bastard son of the King

King of Italy of the same name; but his life was deemed of such importance to mankind, that the knowledge of its approaching term was communicated from heaven to earth by a special revelation. After his decease, the Duchy of Tuscany was delegated to a stranger; but a female might succeed to his private estates; and his sister had married Peter Candianus, the fourth Doge or Duke of Venice, of his name and family. In that early period of the republic the magistrates were arbitrary and feeble, and the elective Dukes were alternately the tyrants and victims of a tumultuous democracy. By this connection with the Tuscan Marquis, the pride of Candianus was elated: he assumed the manners of a feudal lord; levied a body of Italians, and insulted a free city with the arms and licentiousness of his mercenary guard. A furious multitude encompassed his palace: the gates and the soldiers resisted their assault: they fired the adjacent houses, and in the attempt to escape, the Duke and his infant son were transpierced with a thousand wounds. Such scenes were then frequent at Venice: they may reconcile our minds to the silent and rigid order of the modern aristocracy. The duties of the widow of Peter Candianus were to revenge an husband, and to educate a daughter, of the same name as her own. The daughter, Valdrada, became the wife of the Marquis Albert-Azo the First; and it is apparent, from the date of the birth of their eldest son, Albert-Azo II. that these nuptials were consummated in the lifetime, and approved by the consent of a wealthy and

childless uncle, who could only hope to live in the posterity of his niece.

The north-eastern region of Italy, which began to be vivified by the rising industry and splendour of Venice, extends from the shores of the Adriatic to the foot of the Alps. Had experience confirmed the prolific virtues of the climate; did the Venetian hens lay one or two eggs every day; did the ewes drop their lambs twice or thrice in a year; were the women delivered of two or three infants at a birth, the land must soon be overstocked and exhausted. After translating the Greek fables into simple truth, we shall still acknowledge one of the most pleasant and plentiful regions of Italy, a soil productive of grass, corn, and vines, a generous breed of horses, and innumerable flocks of sheep, more precious by the fineness of their wool. Padua, the first of the fifty cities of Venetia, had been so often trampled by the passage of the barbarians, that few vestiges remained of the ancient splendour which, in the tide of human affairs, she afterwards recovered and surpassed. Fifteen miles to the south of Padua, Albert-Azo the First fixed his permanent and principal seat in the castle and town of Ateste, or *Este*, formerly a Roman colony of some note: and by an harmless anticipation we may apply to his descendants the title of Marquis of Este; which they did not however assume till the end of the twelfth century. From Este, their new estates, the inheritance of Hugo the Great, extended to the Adige, the Po, and the Mincius. Their farms and cattle were scattered over the plain:

plain: many of the heights, Montagnana, Monselice, &c. were occupied by their forts and garrisons; and they possessed a valuable tract of marsh land, the island (as it may be styled) of Rovigo, which almost reaches to the gates of Ferrara. The first step in the emigrations of the family was from the neighbourhood of the Tuscan to that of the Adriatic sea.

The name and character of the Marquis Albert-Azo the Second, shine conspicuous through the gloom of the eleventh century. The most remarkable features in the portrait are, 1. His Ligurian marquisate; 2. His riches; 3. His long life; 4. His marriages; 5. His rank of nobility in the public opinion. The glory of his descendants is reflected on the founder; and Azo II. claims our attention as the stem of the two great branches of the pedigree; as the common father of the Italian and German princes of the kindred lines of Este and Brunswick.

1. The fair conjecture that the two Otberts, the father and son, commanded at Milan and Genoa with the title and office of Marquis, acquires a new degree of probability for Azo I. and ascends to the level of historic truth in the person of Azo II. Before the middle of the eleventh century the ruins of Genoa had been restored; its active inhabitants excelled in the arts of navigation and trade: their arms had been felt on the African coast, and their credit was established in the ports of Egypt and Greece. Their riches increased with their industry, and their liberty with their riches. Yet they

they continued to obey, or at least to revere, the majesty of the emperors. In an act, as it should seem, of the year one thousand and forty-eight, the Marquis Albert-Azo presides at Genoa in a court of justice, and his assessors, the magistrates of the city, are proud to style themselves the consuls and judges of the sacred palace. The royal dignity of Pavia was gradually eclipsed by the wealth and populousness of Milan, the first of the Italian cities that dared to erect the standard of independence. The government of Milan was divided between the two representatives of St. Ambrose and of Cæsar. The veneration of the flock for the shepherd was fortified by the temporal state and privileges of the archbishop, and his annual revenue of fourscore thousand pieces of gold supplied an ample fund for benevolence or luxury. The civil and military powers were exercised by the Duke or Marquis of Milan, (for these titles were promiscuously used,) and the voice of tradition is clear and positive that this hereditary office was vested in the ancestors of the house of Este. Some of the prerogatives which they assumed are expressive of the rigour of the feudal system: they were the heirs of all who died childless and intestate, and a fine was paid on the birth of each infant who defeated their claim: their officers levied a tax on the markets, and their minute inquisition exacted the first loaf of bread from each oven, and the first log of wood from every cart-load that entered the gates. Yet an old historian, more forcibly affected with the calamities of his own days, deplores the long

long lost felicity of their golden age, which had been equally praised by the blessings of the feeble and the curses of the strong. They drew their swords for the service of the prince and people, but their reign was distinguished by long intervals of prosperity and peace. The distant possessions and various avocations of the Duke or Marquis often diverted him from the exercise of this municipal trust: his powers were devolved on the viscounts and captains of Milan; these subordinate tyrants formed an alliance, or rather conspiracy, with the *valvassors*, or nobles of the first class; and the people was afflicted by the discord or the union of a lawless oligarchy. A private insult exasperated the patience of the plebeians: they rose in arms, and their numbers and fury prevailed in the bloody contest. The captains and nobles retired; but they retired with a spirit of revenge; collected their vassals and peasants of the adjacent country; encompassed the city with a circumvallation of six fortresses, and in a siege or blockade of three years reduced the inhabitants to the last extremes of famine and distress. By the interposition of the Emperor and the Archbishop, the peace of Milan was restored: the factions were reconciled; they wisely refused a garrison of four thousand Germans; but they acquiesced in the civil government of the empire. The Marquis again ascended his tribunal, and that Marquis is Albert-Azo the Second. A judicial act of the year one thousand and forty-five attests his title and jurisdiction; and as the representative of the Emperor, he imposes a fine

a fine of a thousand pieces of gold. The progress of Italian liberty reduced his office to the empty name of Marquis of Liguria, and such he is styled by the historians of the age. In the next century, his grandson, Obizo I. is invested by the Emperor Frederick I. with the honours of Marquis of Milan and Genoa, as his grandfather Azo held them of the empire; but this splendid grant commemorates the dignity, without reviving the power, of the House of Este.

2. Like one of his Tuscan ancestors, Azo the Second was distinguished among the princes of Italy by the epithet of the *Rich*. The particulars of his rent-roll cannot now be ascertained: an occasional, though authentic deed of investiture, enumerates eighty-three fiefs or manors which he held of the empire in Lombardy and Tuscany, from the marquisate of Este to the county of Luni: but to these possessions must be added the lands which he enjoyed as the vassal of the church, the ancient patrimony of Otbert (the *Terra Obertenga*) in the counties of Arezzo, Pisa, and Lucca, and the marriage portion of his first wife, which, according to the various readings of the manuscripts, may be computed either at twenty, or at two hundred thousand English acres. If such a mass of landed property were now accumulated on the head of an Italian nobleman, the annal revenue might satisfy the largest demands of private luxury or avarice, and the fortunate owner would be rich in the improvement of agriculture, the manufactures of industry, the refinement of taste, and the extent

extent of commerce. But the barbarism of the eleventh century diminished the income, and aggravated the expense, of the Marquis of Este. In a long series of war and anarchy, man, and the works of man, had been swept away; and the introduction of each ferocious and idle stranger had been over-balanced by the loss of five or six perhaps of the peaceful industrious natives. The mischievous growth of vegetation, the frequent inundations of the rivers, were no longer checked by the vigilance of labour; the face of the country was again covered with forests and morasses; of the vast domains which acknowledged Azo for their lord, the far greater part was abandoned to the wild beasts of the field, and a much smaller portion was reduced to the state of constant and productive husbandry. An adequate rent may be obtained from the skill and substance of a free tenant, who fertilizes a grateful soil, and enjoys the security and benefit of a long lease. But faint is the hope, and scanty is the produce of those harvests, which are raised by the reluctant toil of peasants and slaves, condemned to a bare subsistence, and careless of the interests of a rapacious master. If his granaries are full, his purse is empty; and the want of cities or commerce, the difficulty of finding or reaching a market, obliges him to consume on the spot a part of his useless stock, which cannot be exchanged for merchandize or money. The member of a well-regulated society is defended from private wrongs by the laws, and from public injuries by the arms of the state;

state; and the tax which he pays is a just equivalent for the protection which he receives. But the guard of his life, his honour, and his fortune was abandoned to the private sword of a feudal chief; and if his own temper had been inclined to moderation and patience, the public contempt would have roused him to deeds of violence and revenge. The entertainment of his vassals and soldiers, their pay and rewards, their arms and horses, surpassed the measure of the most oppressive tribute, and the destruction which he inflicted on his neighbours was often retaliated on his own lands. The costly elegance of palaces and gardens was superseded by the laborious and expensive construction of strong castles, on the summits of the most inaccessible rocks; and some of these, like the fortress of Canossa in the Apennine, were built and provided to sustain a three years siege against a royal army. But his defence in this world was less burthensome to a wealthy lord than his salvation in the next: the demands of his chapel, his priests, his alms, his offerings, his pilgrimages, were incessantly renewed; the monastery chosen for his sepulchre was endowed with his fairest possessions, and the naked heir might often complain, that his father's sins had been redeemed at too high a price. The Marquis Azo was not exempt from the contagion of the times: his devotion was amused and inflamed by the frequent miracles which were performed in his presence; and the monks of Vangadizza, who yielded to his request the arm of a dead saint, were ignorant of the value of that inestimable

mable jewel. After satisfying the demands of war and superstition, he might appropriate the rest of his revenue to use and pleasure. But the Italians of the eleventh century were imperfectly skilled in the liberal and mechanic arts: the objects of foreign luxury were furnished at an exorbitant price by the merchants of Pisa and Venice; and the superfluous wealth, which could not purchase the real comforts of life, was idly wasted on some rare occasions of vanity and pomp. Such were the nuptials of Boniface, Duke or Marquis of Tuscany, whose family was long afterwards united with that of Azo, by the marriage of their children. These nuptials were celebrated on the banks of the Mincius, which the fancy of Virgil has decorated with a more beautiful picture. The princes and people of Italy were invited to the feast, which continued three months: the fertile meadows, which are intersected by the slow and winding course of the river, were covered with innumerable tents, and the bridegroom displayed and diversified the scenes of his proud and tasteless magnificence. All the utensils of service were of silver, and his horses were shod with plates of the same metal, loosely nailed, and carelessly dropped, to indicate his contempt of riches. An image of plenty and profusion was expressed in the banquet: the most delicious wines were drawn in buckets from the well; and the spices of the east were ground in water-mills like common flour. The dramatic and musical arts were in the rudest state; but the Marquis had summoned the most popular singers, harpers, and buffoons,

buffoons, to exercise their talents on this splendid theatre. Their exhibitions were applauded, and they applauded the liberality of their patron. After this festival, I might remark a singular gift of the same Boniface to the Emperor Henry III., a chariot and oxen of solid silver, which were designed only as a vehicle for a hogshead of vinegar. If such an example should seem above the imitation of Azo himself, the Marquis of Este was at least superior in wealth and dignity to the vassals of his compeer. One of these vassals, the Viscount of Mantua, presented the German monarch with one hundred falcons, and one hundred bay horses, a grateful contribution to the pleasures of a royal sportsman. In that age, the proud distinction between the nobles and *princes* of Italy was guarded with jealous ceremony: the Viscount of Mantua had never been seated at the table of his immediate lord; he yielded to the invitation of the emperor; and a stag's skin, filled with pieces of gold, was graciously accepted by the Marquis of Tuscany as the fine of his presumption.

3. The temporal felicity of Azo was crowned by the long possession of honours and riches: he died in the year one thousand and ninety-seven, aged upwards of an hundred years; and the term of his mortal existence was almost commensurate with the lapse of the eleventh century. The character, as well as the situation of the Marquis of Este, rendered him an actor in the revolutions of that memorable period: but time has cast a veil over the virtues and vices of the man, and I must be content

content to mark some of the æras, the mile-stones of his life, which measure the extent and intervals of the vacant way. Albert-Azo the Second was no more than seventeen when he first drew the sword of rebellion or patriotism, when he was involved with his grand-father, his father, and his three uncles, in a common proscription. In the vigour of manhood, about his fiftieth year, the Ligurian marquis governed the cities of Milan and Genoa, as the minister of imperial authority. He was upwards of seventy when he passed the Alps to vindicate the inheritance of Maine for the children of his second marriage. He became the friend and servant of Gregory VII. and in one of his epistles, that ambitious pontiff recommends the Marquis Azo as the most faithful and best beloved of the Italian princes; as the proper channel through which a king of Hungary might convey his petitions to the apostolic throne. In the mighty contest between the crown and the mitre, the Marquis Azo and the Countess Matilda led the powers of Italy, and when the standard of St. Peter was displayed, neither the age of the one, nor the sex of the other, could detain them from the field. With these two affectionate clients the Pope maintained his station in the fortress of Canossa, while the emperor, barefoot on the frozen ground, fasted and prayed three days at the foot of the rock: they were witnesses to the abject ceremony of the penance and pardon of Henry IV.; and in the triumph of the church, a patriot might foresee the deliverance of Italy from the German yoke. At

the time of this event the Marquis of Este was above fourscore; but in the twenty following years he was still alive and active amidst the revolutions of peace and war. The last act which he subscribed is dated above a century after his birth; and in that act the venerable chief possesses the command of his faculties, his family, and his fortune. In this rare prerogative of longevity Albert-Azo II. stands alone; nor can I recollect in the *authentic* annals of mortality a single example of a king or prince, of a statesman or general, of a philosopher or poet, whose life has been extended beyond the period of an hundred years. Nor should this observation, which is justified by universal experience, be thought either strange or surprising. It has been found, that of twenty-four thousand newborn infants, seven only will survive to attain that distant term; and much smaller is the proportion of those who will be raised by fortune or genius, to govern or afflict, or enlighten, their age or country. The chance that the same individual should draw the two great prizes in the lottery of life, will not easily be defined by the powers of calculation. Three approximations, which will not hastily be matched, have distinguished the present century, Aurungzeb, Cardinal Fleury, and Fontenelle. Had a fortnight more been given to the philosopher, he might have celebrated his secular festival; but the lives and labours of the Mogul king and the French minister were terminated before they had accomplished their ninetieth year. A strong constitution may be the gift of nature; but

but the few who survive their contemporaries must have been superior to the passions and appetites which urge the speedy decay and dissolution of the mind and body. The Marquis of Este may be presumed, from his riches and longevity, to have understood the economy of health and fortune.

4. I remember a Persian tale of three old men, who were successively questioned by a traveller as he met them on the road. The youngest brother, under the load of a wife and a numerous family, was sinking into the grave before his time. The second, though much older, was far less infirm and decrepid: he had been left a widower and without children. But the last and eldest of the three brothers still preserved, at an incredible age, the vigour and vivacity of the autumnal season: he had always preferred a life of celibacy. The enjoyment of domestic freedom could not however contribute to the longevity of the Marquis Azo: he married three wives; he educated three sons; and it is doubtful whether chance or prudence delayed his first nuptials till he had at least accomplished the fortieth year of his age. These nuptials were contracted with Cuniza, or Cunegonda, a German maid, whose ancestors, by their nobility and riches, were distinguished among the Suabian and Bavarian chiefs; whose brother was invested by the Emperor Henry III. with the Duchy of Carinthia, and the Marquisate of Verona, on the confines of the Venetian possessions of the House of Este. The marriage of Azo and Cunegonda was productive of a son, who received at his bap-

tism the name of GUELPH, to revive and perpetuate the memory of his uncle, his grandfather, and his first progenitors, on the maternal side. I have already defined the ample domain which was given as a marriage-portion to the daughter of the Guelphs: but on the failure of heirs male, her fortunate son inherited the patrimonial estates of the family, obtained the dukedom of Bavaria, and became the founder of the eldest, or German branch, of the House of Este, from which the Dukes of Brunswick, the Electors of Hanover, and the Kings of Great Britain, are lineally descended. After the decease of Cunegonda, who must have departed this life in the flower of her age, the Marquis of Este solicited a second alliance beyond the Alps: but his delicacy no longer insisted on the choice of a virgin; the widower was contented with a widow; and he excused the ambiguous stain which might adhere to his bride by a divorce from her first husband. Her name was Garsenda, the daughter, and at length the heiress of the Counts of Maine. She became the mother of two sons, Hugo and Fulk, and the younger of these is the knowledged parent of the Dukes of Ferrara and Modena. The same liberal fortune which had crowned the offspring of the first, seemed to attend the children of the second nuptials of the Marquis Azo: but *their* fortune was hollow and fallacious, and after the loss of their Gallic inheritance, the sons of Garsenda reluctantly acquiesced in some fragments of their Italian patrimony. Matilda, the third wife of Azo, was another widow

of

of noble birth, since she was his own cousin in the fourth degree: but this consanguinity provoked the stern and impartial justice of Gregory VII. His friend was summoned to appear before a synod at Rome: the inflexible priest pronounced a sentence of divorce, and whatsoever idea may be formed of the Marquis's vigour, at the age of seventy-eight, he might submit, without much effort, to the canons of the church. Besides his three sons, Azo had a daughter named Adelais, who was educated in the family of the Countess Matilda. But the damsel is only mentioned to attest the miraculous virtue of Anselm, Bishop of Lucca: she was relieved in the night from a violent fit of the cholic, by the local application of a pillow, on which the Saint had formerly reposed his head.

V. A wealthy Marquis of the eleventh century must have commanded a proud hereditary rank in civil society. In the judgment of the Pope, the Emperor, and the Public, Albert-Azo was distinguished among the princes, and the first princes, of the kingdom of Italy. His double alliance in Germany and France may prove how much he was known and esteemed among foreign nations; and he strengthened his political importance by a domestic union with the conquerors of Apulia and Sicily. I shall not repeat the story of the Norman adventurers, nor shall I again delineate the character and exploits of Robert Guiscard, which, to the readers of the History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, are sufficiently familiar. But

as Duke Robert had four daughters, the choice of his other three sons-in-law may serve as a test, a touchstone, of the comparative weight and value of the House of Este. Michael, Emperor of the Greeks, was the first name in the Christian world. Raymond, Count of Barcelona, was the independent sovereign of a warlike people; and the meanest of the three, a French Baron, of military renown, was the cousin of the Kings of France and Jerusalem, the brother-in-law of the King of Navarre and Arragon. Such were three of the sons, by alliance, of the Norman conqueror, who had previously rejected a proposal for the eldest son of the Emperor Henry IV.: the marriage of a fourth daughter will be most accurately represented in the words of the Apulian poet: "While the hero resided within the walls of the Trojan city, he received the visit of a certain noble Lombard Marquis, accompanied by many nobles of his country. Azo was his name. The object of his journey was to request that the Duke's daughter might be granted as a wife to Hugo, his *illustrious* son. The Duke convened an assembly of his chiefs, and with their consent and advice, the daughter of Robert was delivered to the son of Azo. The nuptial rites were solemnized in due form, and the festival was celebrated with gifts and banquets. After the consummation of the marriage, the Duke solicited his Counts and powerful vassals to bestow a free gift, which might grace the joyful departure of the bride and bridegroom, and he enforced his demand, by reminding them that no subsidy whatsoever

soever had been given to her sister, the Greek Empress. The demand of a tribute was entertained with a murmur of surprise and discontent; but all opposition was fruitless, and they presented their sovereign with mules and horses, and various offerings. He bestowed them on the husband of his daughter, with an addition from his own treasures: a fleet was prepared, and both the father and son were transported with great honour to their native shores." This evidence of a contemporary poet, or rather historian, who had no temptation to flatter the Princes of Este, would alone be sufficient to establish the nobility and splendour of their family, the family of Brunswick, beyond the distant term of seven hundred years. If the Marquis Azo were the first of his race whose name and memory had been preserved, we might acquiesce in our ignorance, with a just persuasion of the dignity and power of his unknown ancestors. Of these illustrious ancestors, the zeal and diligence of Leibnitz and Muratori have discovered four probable, and four certain degrees. After the examination of their proofs, a scrupulous critic may suspect, that in deriving the Marquisses of Este from those of Tuscany, "the ascent of reason has been aided by the wings of imagination;" but he must confess, that since the beginning of the tenth century, the series of generations flows in a clear and unbroken stream.

Section III.

The eldest of the three sons of the Marquis

Azo, the fortunate Guelph, was transplanted from his native soil, to become the root of the German, and, in the fulness of time, of the British line, of the family of Este. By his two younger brothers, Hugo and Fulk, the Italian succession was propagated: but the race of Hugo expired in the second degree; the posterity of Fulk still survives in the twentieth generation. The ancestors of Guelph, on the father's and the mother's side, and the series of his descendants in Bavaria and Saxony, form the antiquities of the House of Brunswick, and the proper subject of this historical discourse: but our curiosity will naturally embrace the collateral branch of the Princes of Este, Ferrara, and Modena, who have not been unworthy of their first progenitors, and more powerful kinsmen. Without confining myself to the rigid servitude of annals, without resting on every step of a long pedigree, I shall concisely display the most interesting scenes of their various fortunes.

As the right of female succession began to prevail in the feudal system of France, Garsenda, the second wife of Azo, might claim the duchy or county of Maine, which had been successively possessed by her father, her brother, and her nephew. Her pretensions were legitimate; but the heiress of Maine had been married into a distant land: her arms were feeble, her vassals factious, her neighbours unjust. William, Duke of Normandy, a famous name, was tempted by the prospect of a fertile and adjacent territory: he muttered some pretence of a gift or alliance: but ambition

bition was his only motive, and his only title was superior strength. Four years the Cenomani, the people of Maine, reluctantly bowed under his iron sceptre; but after the forces of Normandy had been transported beyond the sea, they were encouraged by the absence, rather than awed by the success and glory of the conqueror of England. They solicited the Marquis of Liguria to assert the rights of his wife and son. Azo listened to their call: after the expulsion or massacre of the Normans, the cities and castles were delivered into his hands, the Bishop escaped to the English court, and his new subjects admired the riches and liberality of their deliverer. But in a short time the reign of a stranger became odious and contemptible to the haughty Franks: they discovered that his treasures were exhausted; he perceived that their faith was wavering; and Azo fondly imagined that all discontents would be appeased, and that all parties would be reconciled by his own departure. In the vain hope that the Cenomani would be attached to the daughter and the heir of their ancient princes, he left Garsenda and her infant Hugo under the care of a powerful baron, the guardian of his son, and the husband, as it were, of his wife. But this suspicious or scandalous connection provoked the indignation of the people; the young prince was dismissed to Italy; Garsenda disappears; and the county of Maine was torn by domestic feuds, till the presence of the conqueror united his rebels in the calm of servitude. Azo still retained a bitter remembrance of his loss and disgrace;

disgrace; and his enemy the Bishop, on a pilgrimage to Rome, was arrested by the revenge, and released by the piety, of the Ligurian Marquis. The death of King William, and the discord of his sons, revived the spirit of the Cenomani, and their deputies invited the sons of Azo to resume the peaceful possession of their lawful inheritance. Hugo again passed the Alps; but the first acclamations again degenerated into the murmurs of the people, and the anathemas of the clergy. The new Count was destitute of every resource that could reward the service, engage the esteem, or enforce the obedience, of his turbulent vassals. The honour of his alliance with the daughter of Robert Guiscard had been soon obliterated by the shame and scandal of a divorce; his countrymen exposed him, with pleasure, to the toils and dangers of a transalpine reign; and the warlike natives of Gaul despised the effeminate manners of an Italian lord. His fears were increased, and his flight was hastened, by the artful eloquence of a rival, who insinuated that his mild and moderate temper was ill-formed to struggle with the furious passions of the Barbarians. The son of Garsenda trembled at the approach or the sound of an hundred thousand Normans, sold his patrimony for a sum of ten thousand pounds, and escaped to Italy, where he soon lost a battle and an army, in the service of the Countess Matilda. A writer of the times, who has preserved the memory of this ignominious event, contrasts the treason or cowardice of the man with the nobility of his race. I must

must retract the assertion, that all the Princes of Este have been worthy of their name and ancestry; Hugo is an exception; but in the space of seven hundred years Hugo is a single exception.

After the decease of his father Azo, the star of the House of Este appears "shorne of its beams;" their riches and power are visibly diminished, and the *Marquisses* of that name no longer stand foremost in the revolutions of Italy. In the annals of the twelfth century their actions are seldom recorded: and as this oblivion coincides with the increasing light of history, we must seek the probable causes in the division of their property, and the ascendant of the municipal republics. 1. After the acquisition of the Duchy, or rather kingdom of Bavaria, Guelph, the son of Azo, might have generously waved the right of primogeniture, and resigned to his younger brothers the Italian estates of the family, as an equivalent for the loss of their Gallic inheritance. But such generosity is seldom found in the selfish conduct of princes or brothers; and instead of offering, or accepting, an equal and equitable partition, he claimed as his own the entire property of their common parent. If Guelph were an hypocrite, he might colour his avarice by a pious attachment to the relics of his fathers: and a demand so repugnant to the maxims of natural justice, seems, however, to have been supported by the matrimonial contract of his mother Cunegonda, which had left no provision for the children of a second marriage. In that lawless age, a civil process was decided by the sword.

Hugo

Hugo and Fulk had the advantage of actual possession and personal influence, and the latter of these princes was the heir, the sole heir, of the courage of their ancestors: they armed their vassals, occupied the passes of the Alps, and opposed the descent of the Duke of Bavaria, though he was assisted by the allied powers of the Duke of Carinthia and the Patriarch of Aquileia. The sons of Garsenda yielded at length to the weight of numbers; but their resistance procured more favourable conditions. They preserved a rich domain, from the banks of the Mincius to the Adriatic sea; they resigned the ample estates of Lombardy and Tuscany to their elder kinsmen, the German Guelphs, and their supreme dominion was acknowledged by the Marquisses of Este, till the yoke was lightened and removed by time and distance, and the rapid downfall of Henry the Lion. The law of the Lombards, which was still professed in the Italian branch, disclaimed all right of primogeniture, and the portion of Hugo and Fulk was again divided into equal lots among their eight sons. In the beginning of the thirteenth century, these collateral lines were indeed united in the person of Azo VI., the great grandson of Fulk; but he was far from uniting the whole inheritance of his ancestors. Many feudal possessions had devolved on the failure of heirs male to the superior lord: many allodial estates had been conveyed, by marriage, into strange families. Much wealth had been consumed, much land had been alienated, to supply the expense of luxury and war: and

and of all that had been consecrated to pious uses, not an atom could revert to the temporal successor. 2. As I am not writing the history of Italy, I shall not here attempt to delineate the rise and progress of the republics, which revived in that country the spirit of popular freedom and commercial industry. Their revolt against the Cæsars of Germany was embraced as a national cause: in the successful war against Frederic Barbarossa, their independence was maintained by the authority of the church, and the arms of the nobles; and among the nobles, the Marquisses of Este were still conspicuous in their decay. Obizo the youngest, but the last survivor of the five sons of Fulk, appeared at the congress of Venice with a retinue of an hundred and eighty A.D. 1177. followers: he had been engaged in the league of Lombardy; and such was his patriotic guilt, that when the emperor had yielded every thing in the peace of Constance, the pardon of the Marquis Obizo was one of the last acts of his clemency. A.D. 1183. As we may not suspect these feudal lords of any tender regard for the liberties of mankind, it may be fairly supposed that they acted from the passion or the interest of the moment, without discerning that they themselves would be trampled under the feet of the plebeian conquerors. Their pride was insulted, and their poverty was exposed, by the private and public luxury of trade: their subjects of the open country were encouraged to rebel, or tempted to desert; and as soon as the prejudice of rank had been dissolved, the scale of power was rudely weighed down by the last and most numerous

rous class of society. Even the inhabitants of Este, his peculiar patrimony, presumed to dispute the jurisdiction of the marquis: and at the distance of fifteen miles, they found an example and a support in the populous city of Padua, which was able to levy an army, and to support a loss of eleven thousand of her sons. The institution of the university must have contributed to the wealth, and perhaps the improvement, of Padua: from the provinces of Italy, from the kingdoms of France, Spain, and England, many thousand students were annually attracted by the reputation of the various professors; and more than five hundred houses were requisite for the accommodation of the strangers. The lessons of the schools might serve only to perpetuate the reign of prejudice, but the inhabitants were enriched and enlightened by a familiar intercourse with the nations of Europe. In this city, the haughty ancestors of Obizo I. had erected their tribunal, as the lieutenants of the emperor: but Obizo himself was honoured by the choice of a free people, who elected him their *podesta*, or supreme magistrate. In the time of his great-grandson Aldobrandino, a dispute had arisen between the city of Padua and the Marquis of Este. The Paduans raised an army, summoned their allies of Vicenza, invaded his territory, besieged the castle of Este, battered the walls, and even the palace, with their military engines, and imposed the terms of a hard and humiliating capitulation. The marquis was reduced to adopt the name and obligations of a simple burgher, to swear that he would faithfully

fully obey the laws and ordinances of the commons, and to reside some months or weeks of every year within the walls of a democracy, in which the lowest magistrate was his superior, and the poorest fellow-citizen his equal. The shame of this temporary submission could only be alleviated by the example of his equals: the Patriarch of Aquileia, with two suffragan bishops, had solicited the honour of being admitted among the citizens of Padua; and the Count of the Sacred Palace, the immediate representative of Imperial majesty, was detained as a captive and a subject, within the walls of Pavia. The popular states of Lombardy triumphed in the fall of the aristocracy; and the Marquis of Montferrat was the only noble who had strength and courage to maintain his hereditary independence.

Liberty had raised the minds of the Italians; but faction, her ugly and inseparable sister, corrupted the peace and prosperity of the growing republics. They fought against the Emperor, against their neighbours, against themselves: the necessity of order and discipline compelled them to name a foreign dictator; and the nobles, most eminent in arms, in policy, in power, often became the captains, and sometimes the tyrants, of the independent cities. The Marquisses of Este, and the Eccelins of Romano, were the two leading families of the Trevisane or Veronese March: the memory of their ancestors, and the habits of command, inspired that lofty and martial demeanour which struck the plebeian with involuntary awe; and they

they were sure to gain the hearts of the multitude, when they softened their pride into artful and popular condescension. The first Eccelin was a gallant knight and a dexterous politician: in Palestine and Lombardy he was elected standard-bearer or general of the confederate armies; and in the great rebellion against Frederic I. he deserved the confidence of the cities, without forfeiting the esteem of the Emperor. The civil and military virtues of his son, Eccelin the Second, were adorned with the gifts of Eloquence: he was the public and private adversary of the House of Este; and as soon as the Marquis Azo VI. had declared himself chief of the Guelphs, the Ghibelline faction acknowledged the Count of Romano for their leader. When the Emperor Otho IV. descended into Italy, his court was attended by the rival chiefs; and their interview describes the manners of the time. Eccelin complained, that in a neutral city, in a moment of truce or friendship, his life had been treacherously attacked. "I was walking," said he, "with the Marquis of Este, on the place of St. Mark in Venice. On a sudden I was assaulted by the swords and daggers of his followers: my friends were slain or made prisoners in my sight; and it was with extreme difficulty that I could disengage my right arm from the strong grasp of my perfidious companion." The Marquis explained or denied the fact; but in these hostile altercations, Azo twice declined a challenge of single combat. He could not draw his sword against Eccelin, without violating the majesty of

of the Imperial presence; and among his vassals he had many more noble than Salinguerra. His reasons might be good; his courage was unquestionable; but—Azo twice declined a challenge of single combat. The next day, as the two leaders were riding on either side of the Emperor, he commanded them to salute each other. "Sir Eccelin, salute the Marquis; Sir Marquis, salute Eccelin;" and the command was given in the French tongue, which even in that age appears to have been the fashionable dialect. They obeyed: but the superior dignity of the Marquis was maintained, by his receiving and returning the compliment without vailing his bonnet to the humble salute of Eccelin. They soon joined in familiar converse; and before they had rode two miles, the suspicious Emperor, who had been alarmed by their discord, began to be apprehensive of their union. His apprehensions were groundless; and their deadly feuds, in council, in the field, in the cities, continued to rage, with alternate success, till they both slept in the tranquillity of the grave. Their possessions and their quarrels were inherited by their sons, Azo VII. and Eccelin the Third; but in a contest of forty years the Marquis of Este was long oppressed by the genius and fortune of his rival. The excommunication of Frederic II. exasperated and justified the hostilities of the two factions. From a sermon, a bull, or a crusade, the chief of the Guelphs, the friend of the Pope, might derive some occasional aid: but the leader of the Ghibellines was more strongly supported by the

power, and often by the presence, of a warlike Prince, who filled the Trevisane March with his armies of Germans and Saracens. By the authority of the Emperor, his own arts, and the assistance of foreign troops, Eccelin became the captain and tyrant of the cities of Verona, Vicenza, Padua, Trevigi, Feltri, Belluno, Trent, and Brescia: after the loss of his patron, he maintained ten years his independent reign, and proudly boasted, that since Charlemagne, no prince had possessed such absolute sway over the Lombard states. The utmost efforts of his malice and revenge were directed against the Marquis of Este. "Strike the head of the serpent, and you are master of the body," was his frequent exhortation; from a hill near Padua, he pointed to the towers of Este, and shewed the Emperor the hostile territories which were spread over the plain. Destitute of strength and succour, Azo was compelled to solicit pardon, to swear fidelity, and to purchase a precarious respite, by the captivity, perhaps the death of Rinaldo, his only son, who was delivered as an hostage, into the hands of Frederic the Second. The town and castle of Este were at length besieged by the forces of Eccelin: his artillery consisted of fourteen great battering engines, which cast stones of twelve hundred pounds weight; and his pioneers, who were drawn from the silver mines of Carinthia, opened a subterraneous passage for the entrance of five hundred soldiers. The garrison capitulated; and instead of a total ruin, the fortifications were repaired by Eccelin, who affected to

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reverence the dignity of the place. He had been praised as an hero; he was gradually, and at length generally, abhorred as a tyrant. The seeming virtues of his youth were stained by the jealous and unrelenting cruelty of his old age: and whatsoever deductions may be allowed on a list of fifty thousand victims, his name will be for ever recorded with the savage monsters of Sicily and Rome. The hatred of mankind began to prevail over their fears; and after a long persecution, and a firm resistance, Azo found the moment of victory and revenge. His odious rival had been invited by one of the factions of Milan: the conspiracy was discovered, the enterprize failed: but on his return to Brescia, in the passage of the Adda, at the well-known bridge of Cassano, he was intercepted by the troops of Mantua, Cremona, and Ferrara, under the banner of the Marquis of Este. After a short combat, the valiant Eccelin (he deserves that praise) was wounded in the foot, and taken prisoner: the few remaining days of his life were embittered by the insults of the multitude, and the more insulting pity of the conqueror. Azo VII. was hailed as the saviour of Lombardy: but he derived more glory than advantage from the tyrant's fall. The cause of the Ghibellines revived under new leaders: the cities of the Trevisane March were usurped by the new families of Scala and Carrara; and instead of asserting their ancient right to the government of Milan, the rising ambition of the Visconti was promoted by the arms and alliance of the marquisses of Este.

It was in the state of Ferrara that they first established a princely dominion, on the basis, and finally on the ruins, of a popular government. The flat country, which is intersected by the branches of the Po, had formerly been a wild morass, impervious to the Roman highways. About the middle of the seventh century, twelve solitary villages coalesced into a fortified town, on the banks of the river: the safe and convenient situation attracted a crowd of settlers; their labours were rewarded by the conversion of the fens into rich and productive land; and the rising colony was distinguished by the seat of a bishop, and the privileges of a city. After the death of the Countess Matilda, Ferrara tasted the blessings and the mischiefs of liberty: the patricians and the plebeians, the Guelphs and the Ghibellines, disputed, in arms, the command of the republic: thirty-two towers of defence were erected within the walls; and in forty years the factions were ten times alternately expelled. Among the thirty-four noble families of Ferrara, the pre-eminence of wealth and power was claimed by the rival houses of the Adelardi and Taurelli. About the year one thousand one hundred and eighty, the former were reduced to an infant daughter: the proposal of a conciliatory marriage was rejected by their adherents: the heiress was delivered into the hands of Obizo I.: and his grandson Azo VI. was elected as the future husband of the maid; and the future chief of the name and party of the Adelardi. Marchesella died at the age of eight years, before nature would allow

allow her to produce a child, or the law would permit her to subscribe a will: but the whole inheritance of her fathers was yielded to the Marquis of Este, and his gratitude, or ambition, distributed the fiefs among his friends and followers. By this step, he acquired a commanding influence at Ferrara: Azo VI. was declared perpetual lord and governor of the republic; and the act, which is still extant, betrays the madness of party, by the grant of absolute and unconditional power. From this power, his son was degraded to the humiliating permission of an annual visit; a popular and prosperous state was again established by the Ghibellines, and it was not till after thirty-two years of revolutions that the sovereignty of the House of Este was fixed by the valour and conduct of the seventh Azo. At the head of the confederated forces of the Pope, of Venice, and of Bologna, he marched against Ferrara: but a humane conqueror might lament that the revolution was effected by the calamities of a siege, and condemned by the retreat of fifteen hundred citizens. These evils were indeed compensated by the wisdom and justice of twenty-four years: his funeral was honoured by the tears of the opposite faction; and at the age of seventeen, his grandson, Obizo II. succeeded to the office, or rather the inheritance, of his father. The reputation of Obizo II. engaged the turbulent republics of Modena and Reggio to accept him for their prince; and at the time of his decease, three populous cities, with their ample territories, were subject to the sway of the

A. D. 1208.

A. D. 1240.

A. D. 1264.

marquisses of Este. Modena and Reggio were indeed lost by the imprudence of his son, the levity of the people, and the arts of the Ghibellines; and the separation lasted thirty years in the one, and an hundred in the other, before the rebellious children were reconciled to their parent. But the submission of Ferrara was pure and permanent, and the lapse of time insensibly erased the forms and maxims of the old republic. After the death of Azo VIII., whose last will preferred a bastard
A. D. 1308. to a brother, Ferrara was oppressed by the avarice of the Venetians, the ambition of the pope, and the Catalan mercenaries of the king of Naples: but the spirit of patriotism and loyalty still lived in the hearts of the citizens, and they soon rose to the deliverance and defence of their country under the banner of the *white eagle*. This constant affection is at once the praise of the subject and sovereign. This praise is the more precious, as it must almost be confined to the subjects of the marquisses of Este. They were ranked among the princes of Italy at a time when the families which afterwards emerged to greatness were confounded with the meanest of the people. They were the first who after the twelfth century acquired by popular election the dominion of a free city. And they still subsist with splendour and dignity, while the tyrants more conspicuous in their day have left only a name, and for the most part an odious name, to the annals of their country.

The states of Ferrara, Modena, and Reggio were fairly won and recovered by the labour and fortune of

of the Marquisses of Este. But the liberality of the popes and emperors was an easy and profitable virtue: they granted the right to those who had the actual possession, bestowed the title where the substance was lost, and confirmed their pretensions by resigning to others what they were unable to obtain or to hold for their own use. The court of Rome was informed of the merit and reputation of Azo VI.; and he accepted from the two sovereigns of Christendom, from pope Innocent III. and the emperor Otho IV. a double investiture of the marquisate of Ancona, which extended over twelve dioceses and counties between the Adriatic and the Apennine. But this splendid gift was no more than the right without the power of subduing a warlike people, in strong opposition to the church and the empire. This enterprize, which might seem above the strength of Azo, was vigorously prosecuted by his eldest son the Marquis Aldobrandino, who raised the supplies of the war by pawning his younger brother to the usurers of Florence. The war was suspended by his untimely death; the conquest was never achieved; the pledge was never redeemed, and in the third generation the vain title of Marquis of Ancona was silently dismissed. The fens of Ferrara might have been included within the limits of the exarchate, the successors of St. Peter might allege the donations of Constantine, of Pepin, of Charlemagne, and of the Countess Matilda: but in the first century after their election, the Marquisses of Este acknowledged no superior, save God and the people.

It was in a moment of distress and exile, that they accepted from Clement V. the title of Vicars of the Church: that they submitted to hold the feudatory possession of Ferrara by an annual payment of ten thousand gold florins. They regained their sovereignty without the aid, and against the efforts, of the court of Rome: the treaty was however ratified, and if the tribute suffered some occasional abatement, they could never break the chain of feudal dependence, which was at length fatal to the house of Este. After the recovery of Modena and Reggio, they obtained on more easy terms the title of vicars of the empire: and the natives of Italy, like those of India, continued to reverence the seal and subscription of their impotent king. Before the end of the fourteenth century, the German emperors, who had been accustomed to the traffic of avarice and vanity, were tempted to revive in Italy the long-forgotten
A. D. 1395. title of duke: and at the price of an hundred thousand gold florins the Visconti of Milan were exalted above the heads of their equals. Twenty-two years afterwards, the exclusive dignity of the Dukes of Milan was somewhat impaired by the
A. D. 1417. similar honours of the Dukes of Savoy. The third candidate was Borso Marquis of Este, the twelfth in lineal descent from the old Marquis Albert-Azo the Second: his reign was wise and fortunate, and the proverb which he left behind him, "This is not the time of Duke Borso," is far more glorious than all the trappings of mortal pride. In the year one thousand four hundred and fifty-two, by the Empe-

Emperor Frederic the Third, he was created Duke of Modena and Reggio. Eighteen years afterwards the ambitious imitation of Pope Paul the Second conferred on Borso the superior title of Duke of Ferrara; and the crowns, the mantles, and the sceptres used in these pompous investitures, were second only to the majesty of kings. In the sixteenth century, a Duke was imposed on the republic of Florence by the arms and authority of Charles V.; and the genius of the great Cosmo soon gave him a rank in the political system of Europe. A dispute for precedency arose between the Dukes of Ferrara and Florence; and if the Este could boast the nobility of their race, and the priority of their creation, the Medici might plead the wealth, the extent, and perhaps the independence, of the state over which they reigned. The courts of Rome and Vienna long balanced their respective claims without risking a final sentence; and the dispute could be appeased only by the invention of the new title and prerogatives of Grand Duke of Tuscany. In this frivolous contest the A. D. 1569. powers of France and Spain were interested, and had it been decided by arms, such a war would have added a chapter to the annals of human vanity.

While the honours of the House of Este were multiplied by popes and emperors, a republic insulted and almost oppressed the Dukes of Ferrara. Had Venice been prudent, Venice would have been content with the riches of commerce and the command of the sea. But this maritime empire served only

only to stimulate the ambition of an Italian conquest: discipline and wealth obtained an easy victory over weakness and discord; and in the fifteenth century the provinces of *Terra Firma* were added to the dominion of St. Mark. Nicholas the Third, Marquis of Este, and Lord of Ferrara, made a feeble effort to assist the Carrara princes, and to
A. D. 1405. save the important barrier of Padua. The Venetians instantly filled the Po with armed vessels; his territories were ravaged; his capital was starved, till he left his allies to their fate; implored the mercy of the senate, and resigned himself to such conditions as resentment and avarice could impose. After a servitude of fourscore years, his son Hercules I. was accused of a generous, or criminal revolt: the superior forces of Venice encompassed Ferrara by sea and land, and if a league of the Italian powers protected him from total ruin, the duke was bound by the new treaty in a closer and more
A. D. 1482 —1484. weighty chain. 1. A superior title, and more ample sway, might compensate for the loss of property and command in the neighbourhood of Padua. But Este was still dear and sacred to the princes of that name: the transient recovery of the castle, the town, and the fief, had delighted
A. D. 1389. their hereditary pride, and it was not without regret that they beheld that ancient possession, the source of their title, for ever melted into the Venetian state. The *Polesine*, or island of Rovigo, which had once been mortgaged for sixty thousand ducats to the Venetians, was irrevocably ceded by Hercules I.; and not a vestige remained of the patri-

patrimonial estates to the north of the Po, which had been acquired five hundred years before by the marriage of Albert-Azo I. 2. The goods and persons of the Venetians who descended the Po, were exempt from all tolls and duties whatsoever: every stranger was shielded under that respectable name; and even the peasants of the borders began to claim the immunities of St. Mark. The same grievance which impaired the revenue, attacked the sovereignty of the Duke of Ferrara, since he was forbidden to raise any forts or barriers, which might obstruct a free passage through his territories either by land or water. 3. With the avarice of a trading power, Venice aspired to a monopoly of salt in the Adriatic gulf. The duke was rigorously deprived of the use and profits of his salt-works of Commachio; and his subjects were compelled to purchase in a foreign market one of the necessaries of life, which nature had so profusely scattered on their own shores. 4. A citizen of Venice resided at Ferrara with the title of *Vicedominus;* he was the proper judge of his countrymen; but the arrogance of his behaviour insulted the prince, his daily usurpations interrupted the course of justice, and his last act was the imprisonment of a native and a priest. Peace was oppressive; but war might have been fatal to the House of Este. The three last sovereigns of Padua, a father and his two sons, had been strangled in the prisons of Venice; the remains of the Carrara and Scala families were proscribed; and the deliberate cruelty of the senate was justified by the examples of ancient Rome.

Twenty-

Twenty-five years after the last treaty of Hercules I. his son and successor Alphonso I. embraced the fairest hope of liberty and revenge. In the league of Cambray, the four great potentates of Europe united their arms against a single republic; the Pope, Julius II.; the Emperor, Maximilian of Austria; Lewis XII. King of France and Duke of Milan; and Ferdinand, King of Arragon and Naples. Each of the allies had suffered some injuries, had lost some territories, and they all considered the prosperity of Venice with the same sentiments of indignation and envy which are excited in the breast of a noble by the luxury and insolence of a wealthy merchant. While Maximilian delayed, while Ferdinand dissembled, while the Pope pronounced his excommunications, the King of France, at the head of his invincible cavalry, had passed the Alps, and on the banks of the Adda, the mercenary bands of St. Mark were trampled under their horses' feet. The firmness of Rome after a great defeat was not imitated by the senators of Venice: they despaired of the republic, evacuated in a day the conquests of an age, and abandoned to the confederates the division of the spoil. Under the wing of these confederates, Alphonso, Duke of Ferrara, had acceded to the league of Cambray, and accepted the office, or rather the title, of Standard-bearer or General of the Church. The first act of hostility was to vindicate his independence: the county of Rovigo yielded to his attack; and he received from the Emperor the investiture of Este. In this public shipwreck Venice was saved by

by the zeal of her nobles, and the fidelity of her subjects: the nobles sacrificed their lives, or at least their fortunes, in their own cause; the subjects, without speculating on the theory of government, had long enjoyed, and now regretted the wisdom and justice of a parental aristocracy. The metropolis was impregnable and rich; the transmarine provinces were untouched; the navy was entire; new armies were purchased; the allies began to feel suspicion, and to affect pity; and the deliverance of Padua announced the rising fortunes of the republic. While the Venetians strove to resist or disarm their more formidable enemies, the rebel Alphonso (such was the style of the senate) was marked as the object of vengeance, to which his station exposed him on every side. Against the advice of their wisest counsellors, their admiral Angelo Trevisano, with eighteen gallies, and a train of brigantines, entered the mouth of the Po, spread desolation on either bank, and prepared with forts and bridges the passage of the army and the siege of Ferrara. But the army was called away by a seasonable diversion; and the fleet was destroyed by the valour and conduct of the Duke himself, and his brother the Cardinal Hippolito. Under the shelter of the dikes they had planted their long batteries, which supported an incessant fire; and the affrighted Venetians were suddenly oppressed by the armed vessels which issued from the city. The admiral ignominiously fled with the great standard of St. Mark; two gallies escaped, three were burnt or sunk, and the

the remaining thirteen followed the triumph of the conqueror, who immediately assaulted and demolished all the works of the siege. His victory might be ascribed to his superior artillery, and that superiority was the effect of his own skill and industry. Three hundred cannons were cast in his foundery, and deposited in his arsenal; he liberally entertained the best engineers; and the well-adapted fortifications of stone, of earth, and of water, had rendered Ferrara one of the strongest places in Italy. The French, who served with their ally, celebrate the politeness, the knowledge, the magnificence of the Duke: and Alphonso expended above three hundred thousand ducats to reward the service, and to secure the friendship, of the Gallic chiefs.

But their friendship soon became dangerous to the House of Este, when the same confederates who had joined with France for the destruction of Venice, conspired with Venice for the expulsion
A.D.1510. of the French. The new league was formed and sanctified by Julius II., who secretly aspired to deliver Italy from the barbarians; and the fidelity of the Duke of Ferrara to his first engagements exasperated the fiercest and most ambitious of the successors of St. Peter. Alphonso was degraded from the rank of a vassal and a Christian: his rich forfeiture was devoured by the avarice perhaps of a papal nephew, and his sentence of condemnation was extended to both worlds. Against him the temporal and spiritual arms of Rome were equally
A.D.1511. directed: his city of Modena was occupied: in the

the depth of a severe winter the presence of Julius animated the troops, and the aged father of the Christians pressed the siege of Mirandola with the vigour of a youthful soldier. Ferrara however was saved by its own strength and the Gallic succours: the army of Lewis XII. invaded the ecclesiastical state under the command of his nephew, the valiant Gaston of Foix: in the battle of Ravenna the fury of the French cavalry was encountered by the firmness of the Spanish infantry, and the success of the day might be attributed in some degree to the Duke of Ferrara, who led the vanguard, and directed the infantry. But after the loss of Gaston, the strange retreat of the victorious army, and the rapid evacuation of Italy, the solitary and humble client of France remained without defence under the hand of a merciless oppressor. While he waited as a suppliant in the Vatican, his city of Reggio was surprised and stolen; he was insulted by the proposal of yielding Ferrara for a poor and precarious exchange; and even the validity of his safe-conduct was questioned by a perfidious court. The liberty, and perhaps the life of Alphonso were rescued by the grateful friendship of the Colonna: they forced the Lateran Gate, lodged him in the castle of Marino, and watched over his escape in the various disguises of a huntsman, a servant, and a friar. A single event could suspend his ruin; and by that event was his ruin suspended. Julius II. expired: his passions were buried in his tomb; but his policy with a milder aspect still reigned in the councils of his successors. Leo X. was too generous

A.D.1512.

A.D.1513.

generous to be just; and the ambition of his family was concealed by the sacred veil of the honour and interest of the church. After the victory of
A.D.1515. Marignan, Francis I. might have discharged his obligations by an act of equity and power: but instead of commanding he negociated with the court of Rome. The restitution of Modena and Reggio to his long-suffering ally, was often promised, and as often eluded: the failure of a secret conspiracy provoked the Roman pontiff to thunder a new sentence of excommunication and forfeiture; and one of the medals of Alphonso attests his miraculous deliverance from the *lion*'s paw. Adrian VI. had a conscience, a faculty long dormant in the vicars of Christ: but his scruples were removed by the Italian casuists: and he found it more easy to absolve the sins than to restore the states of the House of Este. Clement VII. an illegitimate son, adopted the politics of the Medici; and had his arts been successful, Machiavel, who was still alive, might have been proud of his disciple. After a tedious and treacherous delay, the sword of Alphonso vindicated his own rights; and his prudence seized the fortunate moments of the conclave and the captivity of Clement VII. The gates of Modena and Reggio were joyfully opened to their native prince: and on a payment to the Pope of an hundred thousand ducats, his possession was confirmed by the sentence of the Emperor Charles V. whose interest prompted him to establish the peace of Italy. During these revolutions the Duke of Ferrara concluded a truce, and finally a treaty, with

with the Venetians: his patrimonial estates of Este and Rovigo were for ever lost: but he no longer felt or feared the tyranny of a republic which had been trained to moderation in the school of adversity.

Among the noble marriages of the Este, two princes, Azo VIII. and Hercules I. had been allied to the crown of Naples in the rival houses of Anjou and Arragon. But these lofty connexions had not been productive of any solid benefit, and the Venetians signified their displeasure that the Duke of Ferrara had preferred the daughter of a king, instead of choosing a senator for his father and patron. In the next generation, the House of Este was sullied by a sanguinary and incestuous race; by the nuptials of Alphonso I. with Lucretia, a bastard of Alexander VI. the Tiberius of Christian Rome. This modern Lucretia might have assumed with more propriety the name of Messalina; since the woman who can be guilty, who can even be accused, of a criminal commerce with a father and two brothers, must be abandoned to all the licentiousness of venal love. Her vices were highly coloured by a contempt for decency: at a banquet in the apostolical palace, by the side of the Pope, she beheld without a blush the naked dances and lascivious postures of fifty prostitutes: she distributed the prizes to the champions of Venus, according to the number of victories which they achieved in her presence. Hercules I. was unwilling to accept such a consort for his eldest son, but he was

apprehensive of the bulls and daggers of the Borgia family: he was tempted by the sum of one hundred and twenty thousand ducats, the city and district of Cento, and the reduction of his annual tribute to a slight quit-rent of an hundred florins. The marriage articles were signed; and as the bed of Lucretia was not then vacant, her third husband, a royal bastard of Naples, was first stabbed, and afterwards strangled in the Vatican. Perhaps the youth of Lucretia had been seduced by example; perhaps she had been satiated with pleasure; perhaps she was awed by the authority of her new parent and husband: but the Duchess of Ferrara lived seventeen years without reproach, and Alphonso I. believed himself to be the father of three sons. The eldest, his successor, Hercules II. expiated this maternal stain by a nobler choice; and his fidelity was rewarded by mingling the blood of Este with that of France. By his second marriage with Anne Duchess of Britanny, Lewis XII. left only two daughters: Claude, the eldest, became the wife of his successor Francis I. and Renée her younger sister, who had once been promised to Charles V. was bestowed on Hercules II. hereditary prince, and after his father's decease, Duke of Ferrara. Her portion of two hundred and fifty thousand crowns was paid in a territorial equivalent, the dukedoms of Chartres and Montargis: but Renée was perhaps the true heiress of Britanny, since the agreement which secured the perpetual independence of the duchy might be applied with as much reason to a second daughter as

as to a second son. The French princess, whose mind was more beautiful than her person, continued above thirty years to adorn the court of Ferrara: her liberal understanding was improved by the learning of the age; nor was it *her* fault if in the learning of the age she discovered and studied the vain science of astrology. During a long exile she cherished a tender remembrance of her native country: every Frenchman, according to his degree, who visited Ferrara, either praised her munificence, or blessed her charity: and the relics of a Neapolitan expedition, ten thousand naked and hungry fugitives, were relieved by the profuse alms of the Duchess. When her treasurer represented the enormous expense, "they are my countrymen," Renée generously replied, "and had God given me a beard, they would be now my subjects." But these virtues were the splendid sins of a heretic. From her cradle and in her marriage, the daughter of Lewis XII. the daughter-in-law of Alphonso I. had learned to hate the tyranny of the Pope: her firm and curious understanding was not afraid of religious inquiries; and she listened to the new teachers, who professed to revive the old truths of the gospel. Clement, Marot, and John Calvin were hospitably entertained at Ferrara; in the conversion of the Duchess, the eloquence of the preacher was seconded by the wit of the poet; and the apostle of Geneva was proud to spread his conquests on the verge of the realm of Antichrist. But this spark, which might have kindled a flame in Italy, was quickly A. D. 1535.

extinguished by the diligence of the inquisitors, and Hercules II. was apprehensive of the temporal, as well as the spiritual punishment of the guilt of heresy. Calvin and Marot fled beyond the mountains: Renée heard with sullen constancy the sermons of the popish doctors; but after suffering the dismission of her French servants, and the hardships of a prison, she submitted with a sigh to wear the mask of dissimulation. A more open profession of Calvinism after her husband's death, determined and hastened her departure from Ferrara: and the last fifteen years of Renée of France were spent in her native country. In the bloody scenes of persecution and war, the Duchess maintained her dignity and protected her brethren. Her castle of Montargis, near Paris, was a sure asylum for the Huguenots; and when it was threatened with a siege, she boldly replied, "the Catholics may assault my residence, they will find me standing in the breach, and prepared to try whether they will fire on the daughter of a king of France." She was the daughter of a king; but the wife of her son Alphonso II. was the daughter and sister of two emperors, of Ferdinand I. and Maximilian II. of the House of Austria.

The five Dukes of Ferrara, Borso, Hercules I. Alphonso I. Hercules II. and Alphonso II. seem to have been magnified in the eyes of Europe, far beyond the measure of their wealth and power. Their merit was superior to their fortune; they supported with firmness the calamities of war; they improved and enjoyed the prosperity of peace.

Near

Near a century before the end of their reign, Alexander VI. in his bull of investiture, applauds the useful labours of Hercules I. which had increased the numbers and happiness of his people, which had adorned the city of Ferrara with strong fortifications and stately edifices, and which had reclaimed a large extent of unprofitable waste. The vague and spreading branches of the Po were confined in their proper channels by moles and dikes; the intermediate lands were converted to pasture and tillage; the fertile district became the granary of Venice; and the corn exports of a single year were exchanged for the value of two hundred thousand ducats. The triangular island or *delta* of Mesola, at the mouth of the Po, had been recovered from the waters by Alphonso II. who surrounded it with a wall nine miles in circumference: a palace, with its dependencies of stables and gardens, arose in this new creation, and it was reserved by the founder for his favourite amusements of hunting and fishing. Ferrara became one of the most flourishing of the Italian cities: the walls and buildings have survived the loss of the inhabitants, which are now reduced from fourscore thousand to a tenth part: the works of superstition were enriched by each generation: the arsenal, in a long peace, was succeeded by theatres and palaces, and if the hand of the princely architect be most conspicuous, many vacant houses are the monuments of private opulence and taste. Modena and Reggio, more favourably treated by nature, were not abandoned

by the House of Este: the course of the Po opened much inland, and some foreign trade; and a colony of Flemish exiles attempted to revive the declining arts of the loom. I am not instructed to define the revenue of the Dukes of Ferrara: but it is the praise of Alphonso I. that he left a treasure, without increasing his taxes; it is the reproach of Alphonso II. that, with an increase of taxes, he left behind him a considerable debt. The court of these princes was at all times polite and splendid: on extraordinary occasions, a birth, a marriage, a journey, a festival, the passage of an illustrious stranger, they strove to surpass their equals, and to equal their superiors; and the vanity of the people was gratified at their own expense. Seven hundred horses were ranged in Borso's stables; and in the sport of hawking, the Duke was attended to the field by a hundred falconers. In his Roman expedition, to receive the ducal investiture, his train of five hundred gentlemen, his chamberlains and pages, one hundred menial servants, and one hundred and fifty mules, were clothed, according to their degree, in brocade, velvet, or fine cloth: the bells of the mules were of silver, and the dresses, liveries, and trappings, were covered with gold and silver embroidery. The martial train of Alphonso II. in his campaign in Hungary, consisted of three hundred gentlemen, each of whom was followed by an esquire and two *arquebusiers* on horseback; and the arms and apparel of this gallant troop were such as might provoke the envy of the Germans, and the avarice of

of the Turks. Did I possess a book, printed under the title of the *Chivalries of Ferrara*, I should not pretend to describe the nuptials of the same Duke with the Emperor's sister: the balls, the feasts, and tournaments of many busy days; and the final representation of the Temple of Love, which was erected in the palace garden, with a stupendous scenery of porticos and palaces, of woods and mountains. That the last shew should continue six hours, without appearing tedious to the spectators, is perhaps the most incredible circumstance. In each generation of the House of Este, a younger brother, with the rank of Cardinal, held some of the richest bishoprics and abbies in Italy and France. These noble and wealthy ecclesiastics were the patrons of every art: the *Villa Estense* at Tivoli, near Rome, is the work of Cardinal Hippolitus, brother to Hercules II. the palace, gardens, and water-works, exhibit, in their present decay, the spirit of a prince and the taste of the age.

A philosopher, according to his temper, may laugh or weep at this ostentatious and oppressive splendour; nor will he be disarmed by the patronage and perfection of the finer arts, which flourished in Italy in the sixteenth century. But he will approve the modest encouragement of learning and genius, an expense which can never drain the treasures of a prince. An university had been founded at Padua by the House of Este, and the scholastic rust was polished away by the revival of the literature of Greece and Rome. The studies

of Ferrara were directed by skilful and eloquent professors, either natives or foreigners: the ducal library was filled with a valuable collection of manuscript and printed books; and as soon as twelve new comedies of Plautus had been found in Germany, the Marquis Lionel of Este was impatient to obtain a fair and faithful copy of that ancient poet. Nor were these elegant pleasures confined to the learned world. Under the reign of Hercules I., a wooden theatre, at the moderate cost of a thousand crowns, was constructed in the largest court of the palace: the scenery represented some houses, a sea-port, and a ship, and the Menechmi of Plautus, which had been translated into Italian by the Duke himself, was acted before a numerous and polite audience. In the same language, and with the same success, the Amphytrion of Plautus, and the Eunuch of Terence, were successively exhibited; and these classic models, which formed the taste of the spectators, excited the emulation of the poets of the age. For the use of the court and theatre of Ferrara, Ariosto composed his comedies, which were often played with applause, which are still read with pleasure: and such was the enthusiasm of the new arts, that one of the sons of Alphonso I. did not disdain to speak a prologue on the stage. In the legitimate forms of dramatic composition the Italians have not excelled: but it was in the court of Ferrara that they invented and refined the *pastoral comedy*, a romantic arcadia, which violates the truth of manners, and the simplicity of nature, but which commands

commands our indulgence, by the elaborate luxury of eloquence and wit. The *Aminta* of Tasso was written for the amusement, and acted in the presence, of Alphonso II.; and his sister Leonora might apply to herself the language of a passion, which disordered the reason, without clouding the genius, of her poetical lover. Of the numerous imitations, the Pastor Fido of Guarini, which alone can vie with the fame and merit of the original, is the work of the Duke's secretary of state: it was exhibited in a private house at Ferrara: but the retreat of the author from the service of his native prince, has bestowed on Turin the honour of the first public representation. The father of the Tuscan muses, the sublime, but unequal Dante, had pronounced that Ferrara was never honoured with the name of a poet: he would have been astonished to behold the chorus of bards, of melodious swans, (their own allusion,) who now peopled the banks of the Po. In the court of Duke Borso and his successor, Boïardo, Count of Scandiano, was respected as a noble, a soldier, and a scholar: his vigorous fancy first celebrated the loves and exploits of the Paladin Orlando; and his fame has at once been preserved and eclipsed by the brighter glories of the continuation of his work. Ferrara may boast, that on her classic ground, Ariosto and Tasso lived and sung; that the lines of the *Orlando Furioso*, and the *Gerusalemme Liberata*, were inscribed in everlasting characters under the eye of the first and second Alphonso. In a period of near three thousand years, five

five great epic poets have arisen in the world: and it is a singular prerogative, that two of the five should be claimed as their own, by a short age, and a petty state.

A. D. 1597. October 27. But the glory of Ferrara, and perhaps the *legitimate* race of the Este, expired with Alphonso II. As he left neither children nor brothers, his first cousin, Don Cæsar, the son of a younger son of Alphonso I., was the next in the lineal order of descent. His claim to the succession was ratified by the will of the late Duke, who had obtained from the Emperor, though not from the Pope, the privilege of choosing an heir in his own family. And the senate of Ferrara, which still preserved a semblance of election, presented him, with apparent loyalty, the sword of justice, and the sceptre of dominion. The people submitted to a prince, who seemed to unite the various titles of birth, donation, and of the public choice; the accession of Don Cæsar was announced to the courts of Italy and Europe; and his reign might have been peaceful and prosperous, had not the ambition of Clement VIII. revived the design of restoring Ferrara to the ecclesiastical state. In the confidence of right, or at least of power, the Roman pontiff sternly rejected the ambassador and obedience of a pretended Duke, who had not expected the approbation of the Holy See. A monitory, or summons, to appear in fifteen days, was affixed on the church doors; and the Apostolical Chamber demanded the possession of the fief, till the vassal should have cleared his birth and title in the court of

of his supreme lord. It was in vain that the Duke of Ferrara solicited a delay, that he provoked an inquiry, that he negociated a compromise, that he submitted his cause to the arbitration of a neutral judge. "The honour and interest of the Church," said the inexorable pontiff, "must not be deserted. In the vindication of St. Peter's patrimony, I will sell the last chalice of the altar; I am ready to march in person against the sacrilegious rebel; and I would die in the ditch of Ferrara, with the holy sacrament in my hands." This generous resolution was applauded by the Cardinals, and they protested, that if Clement VIII. should be taken from the world, they would impose, by a common oath, the same obligation on the future pope. Some forms of judicial proceeding were hastily dispatched; and before two months had elapsed from the death of Alphonso II., a tremendous bull of forfeiture, excommunication, and interdict, was thundered against the pretended Duke and his impious adherents. At the same time, the military preparations were urged with incessant vigour, and an army of sixteen thousand horse and foot, which fame had soon magnified to twenty-five thousand, was assembled near Faenza, under the command of Cardinal Aldobrandini, the pope's nephew and legate. The state of Europe was most favourable to the ambition of Rome, and the prospects of Don Cæsar were on all sides black and comfortless. The Emperor Rodolph II. might be a well-wisher to the House of Este, but his remote and insufficient forces were occupied by the

the Turks in Hungary. If the rival monarchs of France and Spain should deign to interfere in this pigmy war, the enmity of the one would not ensure the support of the other. Henry IV. had been persuaded, by a selfish agent, to prove the sincerity of his conversion, in the sacrifice of an old and faithful ally; Philip II., the demon of the south, was now anxious to leave his son and his dominions in peace; but the revolution was consummated before he could signify his intentions; and the Spanish ministers in Italy were suspected of a secret conspiracy against the Imperial fiefs of Reggio and Modena. The Italian princes balanced between fear and envy: Venice was least desirous of the neighbourhood, and least apprehensive of the resentment, of the pope: but her words were ambiguous, and her actions were slow. Don Cæsar had been left without troops or treasures: the fortifications of Ferrara were neglected in a long peace: the people was aggrieved by taxes; the clergy was seduced by the prejudice of conscience, or the hopes of preferment; the emissaries of Rome were busy and persuasive; and the ancient loyalty to the House of Este was corrupted by the promise of a golden age.

But the instant cause of his ruin was in the character of the Duke himself. Had Don Cæsar been endowed with the spirit and constancy of his ancestors, he might have been saved by the resolution to fall. Had he listened to the advice of a veteran, a bold sally on the half-formed camp of Faenza might have dissipated the pope's soldiers,

who

who would cease to be formidable, when they ceased to be feared. The siege of Ferrara was an arduous enterprize: courage would have given him time, time would have given him friends; the Venetians would have armed for his interest and their own; many brave adventurers of France and Italy would have drawn their swords in his quarrel; and the novelty of danger, the lassitude of war, the weight of expense, the chances of mortality, would have inclined his enemies to a safe and honourable peace. Far different were the feelings of the successor of Alphonso: he had been educated remote from the council and the field, in the bosom of luxury and devotion: his mild and timid disposition was astonished by the thunder of spiritual and temporal arms; nor could he expect from others the support which he denied to himself. When he entered the cathedral, the priests interrupted their rites, and fled from the altars; his venal ministers exaggerated the danger, and concealed the resources; he was alarmed each hour by the intelligence of secret treason; and a Jesuit persuaded him that Modena and Reggio, that his life, and even his soul, could only be saved by an immediate capitulation. The terms were dictated in the camp by the imperious legate: That Don Cæsar should deliver his eldest son as an hostage, resign the ducal sceptre in the presence of the magistrate, divide his artillery with the pope, and surrender the *possession* of the duchy of Ferrara, with all its dependencies; and that in return for his submission, he should be absolved from

from all ecclesiastical censures, and permitted to enjoy the Diamond Palace, with the personal effects and allodial estates of the House of Este. After the conclusion of the treaty, the conqueror was eager to reign, and the exile was anxious to depart. On the twenty-eighth of January, one thousand five hundred and ninety-eight, Don Cæsar evacuated a city, in which his ancestors had reigned near four hundred years. A splendid, but mournful procession, of his family and household, passed slowly through the streets: the Duke of Modena (his remaining title) was seated in an open coach; his eyes were cast down on a letter which he seemed to read, as if desirous of escaping the view of those objects which he must see no more. The minds of the people were already changed: their curiosity was melted into pity: they had neglected the defence, they deplored the loss, of their native price; and the first evening of his departure, five thousand persons were deprived of their daily bread, which they received from the charity or munificence of the ducal court. These melancholy reflections were suspended by the triumph of the legate, and the speedy visit of Clement VIII., who was impatient to behold his new conquest. But as soon as the festival of the revolution had subsided, Ferrara was left to the solitude and poverty of a provincial town, under the government of priests: a citadel was erected, to fix the inconstancy of the inhabitants; and within seventeen years after the death of Alphonso II., a fourth of his capital was already in ruins.

Nor

Nor were the losses of Don Cæsar confined to the sacrifice of Ferrara: the territory, salt-works, and fishery of Commachio, an Imperial fief, were seized by the hand of power: his allodial property was diminished and disputed by the chicanery of law. Even the duchy of Chartres, and the mortgages of the House of Este in France, were withheld from the heir and creditor, under pretence that he was a foreigner. It was a just observation of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, that his brother-in law Don Cæsar might have resisted his enemies, if the million and a half of gold, which his predecessors trusted to the Most Christian King, had been safely deposited in the treasury of Ferrara.

In this singular transaction, ambition and avarice were the motives of Rome. Her forms of judicial proceeding were precipitate, and violent: without evidence or trial, she judged in her own cause, she pronounced in her own favour, and she forcibly seized, for her own use, the valuable object in dispute. But as it is possible, and barely possible, that truth and justice may be supported by the means most adverse to their nature, I shall freely examine the descent of Don Cæsar, and his right of succession, without any interest to corrupt, or any prejudice to mislead, the equity of my decree. After the decease of Lucretia Borgia, his second wife, Alphonso I., who was still in the manly vigour of life, embraced a decent mode of satisfying his passions, without injuring his family. Instead of seeking a third alliance in the courts of Europe, he purchased a maiden of Ferrara, of obscure

obscure parentage and exquisite beauty. Laura was entertained several years in the state of a concubine: but this illegal union might in some degree be excused by the dignity of her lover, and her own imitation of conjugal virtue. She became the mother of two sons, Don Alphonso and Don Alphonsino, a title and a name which had been lately introduced into Italy by the prevailing influence of the Spaniards. Their birth is acknowledged to have been illegitimate. In the testament of their father, which is dated fourteen months before his death, they simply are styled the children of a free man by a free woman; nor did he add, in his last illness of several weeks, any clause or codicil to declare a change of their condition. That, according to the laws of the church and state, these bastards were legitimated by a subsequent marriage, is supposed by their advocates; but the supposition cannot be justified by the regular proof of a contract, a certificate, or a witness. In default of such evidence, Muratori produces a large body of presumptions and circumstances: with an artful suggestion, that much more would have been found by a more early scrutiny: but it was the interest as well as the duty of Laura to establish her own marriage, and the legitimacy of her sons; and if her neglect be not ascribed to conscious guilt, it must not, however, militate, as an argument in her behalf. Her faithful champion, the librarian of Modena, has collected many testimonies of poets, orators, historians, and genealogists, some of whom could not mistake the truth, and others could not have

have any temptation for falsehood: and from their consent he infers the belief and tradition of the times, that the concubine of Alphonso I. was finally promoted to the rank of his wife. The same favourable conclusion may be drawn from the honours which she was permitted to enjoy near forty years, under the reigns of his successors; the appellation, dress, and attendance of his relict or widow; the guardianship of her children; the princely style of Most Excellent and Illustrious; and, above all, the family name of Este, which she subscribed on all public and private occasions. The title of Duchess of Ferrara was alone wanting; and when pride and envy were no more, that title was bestowed in the solemn pomp of her funeral, which was attended by the Duke Alphonso II. his brother the Cardinal, the court, the clergy, and the *arts* or corporations of the city. The five sons of Alphonso I., with the sole distinction of primogeniture, were educated as equals and companions. Don Alphonso, the first born of Laura, was treated as a prince, both at home and abroad: he was invested with the Marquisate of Montecchio, and the French order of St. Michael; and his wife, the mother of Don Cæsar, was the daughter of the reigning Duke of Urbino. The same honours were transmitted to Don Cæsar himself: he obtained an alliance still more splendid, the sister of the Grand Duke of Tuscany: and, both in his life-time and at his death, Alphonso II. acknowledged him as his cousin and successor. Could we divest our minds of a secret suspicion, arising from the indulgence

which, in so many courts and countries, has been lavished on the bastards of princes, such presumptions might amount to the moral, if not the legal proof of a legitimate descent. But the interest, though not the honour, of the Dukes of Modena, reposes on a firmer basis, which would not be shaken by the quality of their female ancestor. The Popes are pleased to forget that they first granted the Duchy of Ferrara to Borso, a natural son of the Marquis Nicholas III., and that the bull of Alexander VI. extends the right of succession to all the descendants whatsoever of Hercules I. They were compelled to renounce the possession of Ferrara, but they have never ceased to assert the justice of their claim. The arguments which the court of Rome has disdained, may one day be heard in the louder tone of the Austrian cannon, and a severe account may be required of the arrears and damages of two hundred years.

The abdication of Don Cæsar is related by Muratori, a loyal servant, under the name of the Tragedy of Ferrara: and in the melancholy tale I have myself been affected by the sympathy which we so generously indulge, to the real or imaginary distresses of the great. Yet, on a cooler survey, I am inclined to doubt whether the last Duke of Ferrara was the most unfortunate of men. His life and liberty were safe: he was neither beheaded on the public scaffold, nor dragged at the chariot wheels of the conqueror, nor cast into a deep and perpetual dungeon. By the soldiers and statesmen of the age he was indeed despised, for the feeble defence

defence and hasty desertion of his ancient seat. But as contempt is seldom deserved where it is felt, it is seldom felt where it is deserved: Don Cæsar was unconscious of the public reproach, and the orators of his reign reserved their panegyric for the milder virtues of discretion and patience. He had lost the most precious jewel of his family: but an easy journey of two days conveyed his court from the palace of Ferrara to that of Modena, where he lived, in prosperity and peace, above thirty years: by the Tuscan Princess he became the father of six sons and three daughters; and the reigning Duke is the fourth in descent, and the sixth in succession, from the eldest of his sons. In this last period of decline, the House of Este has still preserved the external advantages of rank, riches, and power: and these advantages were illustrated by the antiquity of their name and title. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, an Emperor and six Kings were respected as the chiefs of the Christian republic: but the Dukes of Modena maintained an honourable place in the second class of the Princes of Europe. Their pride was seldom mortified by the presence of a superior: as long as the isles of Sicily and Sardinia were attached to the Spanish monarchy, Italy was not dignified with a regal title; a profane layman was not degraded by kneeling to the Pope, or yielding the precedency to his Cardinals: nor was the native preeminence of hereditary rank disputed by the ministerial honours of a doge or a viceroy. After the loss of Ferrara, the successors of Alphonso II. con-

tinued to reign over the united duchies of Modena and Reggio; and their territory, about thirty leagues in length, about ten in breadth, was afterwards enlarged by the lordship of Corregio, and the duchy of Mirandola. Their revenue is vaguely computed at one hundred thousand pounds sterling, a sum inadequate to the extraordinary demands of war, but which might support, with decent economy, the expenses of a court and government. Perhaps the latter were sometimes sacrificed to the former. When Addison traversed the principalities of Modena and Parma, he was scandalized by the magnificence of those petty courts: he was amazed to see such a profusion of wealth laid out in coaches, trappings, tables, cabinets, and the like precious toys, in which there are few princes in Europe who equal them, while, at the same time, they have not had the generosity to make bridges over the rivers of their countries, for the convenience of their subjects as well as strangers. Yet the annals of Modena describe many public works of use as well as ornament: the plenty of gold and silver is expressed in a single coinage of Francis I., of near half a million sterling: but I am ignorant whether the two hundred and thirty thousand ducats, and the two hundred thousand Spanish doubloons, which were paid to the Emperor for the investitures of Corregio and Mirandola, should be placed to the account of treasure or of debt. In the narrow sphere of their dominions, the Este princes were absolute; nor do I find any example of resistance to their reason or passion.

passion. The vanity of the human heart is flattered by the degree, rather than by the extent, of authority: and if the sovereign was conscious of his duties, the man might tremble at accepting the trust of one hundred and fifty thousand of his equals. His equals by nature, they were many of them his superiors in merit: the natives of Modena were distinguished in the arts and sciences; and like the pastoral comedy, the mock-heroic poetry of the Italians was invented by Tassoni, a subject of the House of Este. The state of such a prince would perhaps be the most desirable in human life, if it were accompanied with that domestic security which a wealthy nobleman enjoys under the protection of a great empire. The long peace of Italy, in the seventeenth century, was interrupted only by some short and bloodless hostilities: but in the three great wars between the Austrian and Bourbon powers, the Duke of Modena has been thrice reduced to the alternative of slavery or exile. His neutrality was violated, his dominions were occupied by foreign troops, his subjects were oppressed by military contributions, and the mischievous expense of fortifications only served to expose his cities to the calamities of a siege.

I have long delayed, and I should willingly suppress, three disgraceful anecdotes, three criminal actions, which sully the honour of the name of Este: of these, the first and the third are piously dissembled by the Librarian of Modena. 1. In his descent to the infernal regions, in the ninth circle of hell, the poet Dante beheld the condem-

nation of sanguinary and rapacious men: they were deeply immersed in a river of blood, and their escape was prevented by the arrows of the centaurs. Among the tyrants, he distinguished the ancient forms of Alexander and Dionysius: of his own countrymen, he recognized the black Eccelin, and the fair Obizo of Este, the latter of whom was dispatched by an unnatural son to this place of torment. This Obizo can be no other than the second Marquis of that name, who died only seven years before the real or imaginary date of the *Divine Comedy* (A. D. 1300): his life does not afford the character of a tyrant, but he was one of the pillars of the Guelph faction; and were he not associated with a Ghibelline chief, we might impute his sentence to the prejudices, rather than the justice, of the Tuscan bard. But the parricide of his son, a crime of a much deeper dye, is attested by the commentary of Benvenuto of Imola, who observes from an old chronicle, that Azo VIII. was apprehensive of the same treatment which he had inflicted on his father. It must be added, that this commentary on Dante, which was composed only fourscore years after the event, is dedicated to Nicholas II., Marquis of Este, and great-grandson of Obizo II., who tacitly subscribes to the guilt of his ancestors. 2. Under the reign
A. D. 1425. of Nicholas III., Ferrara was polluted with a domestic tragedy. By the testimony of a maid, and his own observation, the Marquis of Este discovered the incestuous loves of his wife Parisina, and Hugo his bastard son, a beautiful and valiant youth. They

They were beheaded in the castle, by the sentence of a father and husband, who published his shame, and survived their execution. He was unfortunate, if they were guilty: if they were innocent, he was still more unfortunate: nor is there any possible situation in which I can sincerely approve the last act of the justice of a parent. 3. Guicciardini, the gravest of the Italian historians, records a bloody scene which, in his own time, had sullied the court of Ferrara; the deed might revive the memory of the Theban brothers; "and the motive was still more frivolous, if love," says he, "be a more frivolous motive than ambition." The Cardinal Hippolito was enamoured of a fair maiden of his own family: but her heart was engaged by his natural brother; and she imprudently confessed to a rival, that the beauteous eyes of Don Julio were his most powerful attraction. The deliberate cruelty of the Cardinal measured the provocation and the revenge: under a pretence of hunting, he drew the unhappy youth to a distance from the city, and there compelling him to dismount, his eyes, those hated eyes, were extinguished by the command, and in the presence of an amorous priest, who viewed with delight the agonies of a brother. It may however be suspected that the work was slightly performed by the less savage executioners, since the skill of his physicians restored Don Julio to an imperfect sight. A denial of justice provoked him to the most desperate counsels: and the revenge of Don Julio conspired with the ambition of Don Ferdinand against the life of their sove- A. D. 1505.

reign and eldest brother Alphonso I. Their designs were prevented, their persons seized, their accomplices were executed; but their sentence of death was moderated to a perpetual prison, and in their fault the Duke of Ferrara acknowledged his own. These dark shades in the annals of the House of Este must not be excused by the example of the Italian tyrants; whose courts and families were perpetually defiled with lust and blood, with incest and parricide; who mingled the cruelty of savages with the refinements of a learned and polite age. But it may be fairly observed, that single acts of virtue and of vice can seldom be weighed against each other: that it is far more easy to fall below, than to rise above, the common level of morality: that three or four guilty days have been found in a period of two hundred years: and that, in the general tenor of their lives, the Marquisses of Este were just, temperate, and humane; the friends of each other, and the fathers of their people.

In a more superstitious age, I should boldly oppose to the sins of twenty generations the monastic virtues of Alphonso III., the son and successor of Don Cæsar. Yet even these virtues were produced by the blind impulse of repentance and fear. The nature of Alphonso was impetuous and haughty, and a deep, indignant regret for the loss of Ferrara was the first sentiment of his childhood. As soon as he had released himself from the authority of a governor whom he hated, and a father whom he despised, the hereditary prince became

came the slave of his passions and the terror of Modena: his appetite for blood was indulged in the chace, and the city; and he soon considered the life of a man and of a stag as of equal value. One of the most considerable private families in Italy (such is the dark language of Muratori) was provoked by some secret motive to form a design of assassinating Alphonso. Their dagger was turned aside from his breast; their chief was sacrificed to his justice; he threatened to extirpate the whole race; nor could the intercession of princes, or of the Pope himself, avert the rage of persecution and revenge. The only voice that could sooth the passions of the savage was that of an amiable and virtuous wife, the sole object of his love; the voice of Donna Isabella, the daughter of the Duke of Savoy, and the grand-daughter of Philip II. King of Spain. Her dying words sunk deep into his memory: his fierce spirit melted into tears, and after the last embrace, Alphonso retired into his chamber, to bewail his irreparable loss, and to meditate on the vanity of human life. But instead of resolving to expiate his sins, and to seek his salvation in the public felicity, he was persuaded that the habit and profession of a Capuchin were the only armour that could shield him from hell-fire. The two years from the death of his wife to the decease of his father, were dedicated to prayer and penance, and no sooner had Alphonso attained the rank of a sovereign, than he aspired to descend below the condition of a man. With the approbation and blessing of the Pope, who might possibly smile

A.D. 1626. August 22.

smile at this voluntary sacrifice, the Duke of Modena, after a reign of six months, resigned the sceptre to Francis his eldest son, a youth of nineteen years of age, and secretly departed to a Franciscan convent among the mountains of Trent. By a special privilege, his noviciate and profession were consummated in the same day: the austere and humble friar atoned for the pride and luxury of the prince, and it was the wish of *brother* John Baptist of Modena to forget the world and to be for ever forgotten. But obedience was now his first duty, and the noble captive, for the honour of the order and of religion, was exhibited to the Emperor, the Archdukes, and the people of the Austrian provinces, by whom he was contemplated with curiosity and devotion. Three years he wandered between Venice and Vienna as an itinerant preacher: he had the pleasure in one of his journies to be half drowned in a river, and half starved on a rock, and he vainly hoped to convert the heretics of the North, or to receive from their hands the crown of martyrdom. During the last twelve years he was stationed in the convent of Modena, the humble slave of the subjects of his son: the city and country were edified by his missions and sermons; and as often as he appeared in the pulpit, the contrast of his dignity and dress most eloquently preached the contempt of this world. The conversion of the Jews, the reformation of manners, the maintenance of the poor, afforded a daily exercise to the zeal of the abdicated Duke: but that zeal was always chargeable, often troublesome,

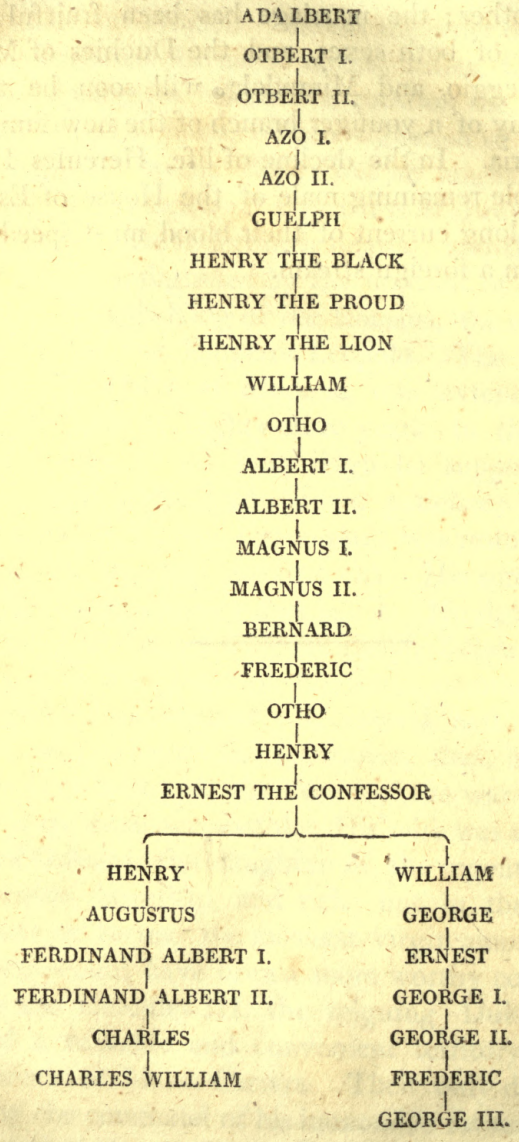
A.D. 1632. —1634.

some, and sometimes ridiculous: his death was a relief to the court and people; nor have the Princes of Este been ambitious of adorning their family with the name and honours of a saint. The Capuchin might behold, perhaps with pity, and perhaps with envy, the temporal prosperity of his son. In peace and war, in Italy and Spain, in the Austrian and French alliance, the Duke of Modena supported the dignity of his character: and Francis I. in a larger field, would have ranked among the generals and statesmen of an active age. A. D. 1629—1658.

The name of Rinaldo, a name immortalized by Tasso in epic song, had been applied to the youngest son of Duke Francis I.: he might faintly remember the last days of his father, and the short government of his brother Alphonso IV.; but he was no more than seven years of age when his infant nephew Francis II. succeeded to the ducal title. In his early youth Rinaldo was proposed as a candidate for the crown of Poland, a wild, and had it not failed, a ruinous attempt: the example of so many of his kinsmen suggested a more rational pursuit; and in the thirty-second year of his age he was promoted to the dignity of Cardinal, at the request of James II. King of Great Britain, who had married his niece. The long reign and short life of her brother Francis II. was an helpless state of minority and disease: he died without children, and had the right of female succession prevailed, the unfortunate race of the Stewarts might have found a safe and honourable refuge in the inheritance

inheritance of Modena. But as the order of investiture preferred the more distant males, Cardinal Rinaldo ascended without a question the vacant throne of his nephew. The resignation of his hat was accepted by the Pope; but he might marry, without a dispensation, a princess of Brunswick, his cousin in the nineteenth degree; and this alliance was soon dignified by the nuptials of her sister with Joseph King of the Romans, the son and successor of the Emperor Leopold. The life of Rinaldo I. Duke of Modena, was extended beyond the term of eighty-three years: in the various fortunes of his long reign he supported a double exile with fortitude and patience; and in the intervals of peace the country was restored by a wise and paternal government. His son Francis III. was of a more active spirit. He signalized his valour in the wars of Hungary; followed the standard of the House of Bourbon; commanded, or seemed to command, in several battles and sieges, and extorted the confession, that, had his advice been followed, the events of the war would have been more successful. His wife was a princess of Orleans, the daughter of the regent: she was noble, beautiful, and rich; but in the true estimate of honour the meanest virgin among his subjects would have been a more worthy consort. Their son Hercules III. the reigning Duke, acquired a valuable and convenient territory with the heiress of Massa Carrara. Their only daughter, by the command of his inexorable father, was delivered to the Archduke Ferdinand, the Emperor's

rör's brother; the marriage has been fruitful in children of both sexes, and the Duchies of Modena, Reggio, and Mirandola, will soon be the patrimony of a younger branch of the new family of Austria. In the decline of life, Hercules III. is the sole remaining male of the House of Este, and the long current of their blood must speedily be lost in a foreign stream.


ADALBERT
OTBERT I.
OTBERT II.
AZO I.
AZO II.
GUELPH
HENRY THE BLACK
HENRY THE PROUD
HENRY THE LION
WILLIAM
OTHO
ALBERT I.
ALBERT II.
MAGNUS I.
MAGNUS II.
BERNARD
FREDERIC
OTHO
HENRY
ERNEST THE CONFESSOR
HENRY
AUGUSTUS
FERDINAND ALBERT I.
FERDINAND ALBERT II.
CHARLES
CHARLES WILLIAM
WILLIAM
GEORGE
ERNEST
GEORGE I.
GEORGE II.
FREDERIC
GEORGE III.

SECTION IV.

In those happy times, when a genealogical tree could strike its root into every soil, when the luxuriant plant could flourish and fructify without a seed of truth, the ambition of the House of Este-Brunswick was easily gratified with a Roman pedigree. The name of *Azo* or *Atto*, so familiar to the Italian line, was deduced as a manifest corruption from the Latin original of *Attius* or *Accius*, or *Actius:* and this fanciful identity, an article of faith in the court of Ferrara, was not disputed in the sixteenth century by the rudeness of foreign criticism.

In a visit to Venice (1685) Ernest Augustus, Duke and afterwards Elector of Hanover, accepted with a gracious smile the manuscript of Theodore Damaidenus, a Belgic abbot, and the *Augusta Decora Romano-Brunsvicensia** were honourably placed among the archives of his family. This splendid folio is decorated with the luxury of medals, inscriptions and classical authorities; but the historian spins from his own bowels, and from those of his blind or fallacious guides, an unbroken thread of two thousand four hundred and thirty-six

* I can only be acquainted with the MS. work of Damaidenus by the learned preface of Scheidius to the first volume of the Origines Guelficæ.—pp. 19—33.

years.

years. The first of the duke's ancestors whom Damaidenus pretends to know is Actius Novus, one of the companions of Romulus, whose services were rewarded with a statue by the founder of the city. His great-grandson is the famous augur who divided a stone with a razor in the presence of the elder Tarquin. The *Attii* or *Actii* are enrolled as senators while all the senators were patricians: they continued to serve in all the wars of the republic, but their civil ambition seldom aspired above the office of Edile. In the age of the Antonines, they migrated from Rome to Ateste, their riches and merit promoted them to the honours of the colony, and about four hundred years after Christ, Caius Actius, the thirty-third in lineal descent from the companion of Romulus, was chosen by his countrymen their protector and prince. But if the prætor M. Attius Balbus, a real personage of the seventh century of Rome, could have any possible affinity with our fabulous series, the genuine lustre of the Accii would be derived from their union with the human and divine glories of the Julian race. Julia, the sister of Julius Cæsar, was the wife of the prætor Attius, and by their daughter Attia, their grandson Augustus himself might be claimed as a kinsman by the Duke of Modena, and the King of Great Britain. A prudent advocate may repeat with pleasure the verses of the Æneid that celebrate the youthful command of the Trojan Atys, the founder, according to Virgil, of the Atian family.

Alter

Alter Atys, genus unde Atii duxere Latini;
Parvus Atys, pueroque puer dilectus Iülo.

But he will dissemble the reproach of Antony, and the apology of Cicero, which may leave a stain on the maternal descent of Augustus.*

From the fifth century of the Christian æra, the fables of Damaidenus are grafted on the romance, rather than the history, of Pigna,† who is content to deduce from that period the succession of the Accian family, and the princes of Este. The first of these princes, Caius Actius, was called to the glorious labour of defending Italy against the Goths, and his grandson, the more illustrious Foresto, opposed in arms the great invasion of Attila and the Huns. On the intelligence of the siege of Aquileia, he marched from Este and Padua with a chosen band of subjects and allies, cut his way through the barbaric host, and displayed the standard of the white Unicorn in every action of defence and attack till he was mortally wounded by a Scythian arrow. Eloquent in council, invincible in the field, an hero in his life, a Christian in his death, the glory of Foresto would be complete, if such a

* Ignobilitatem objicit, says the orator, (Philippic. iii. 6,) and we may learn from Suetonius (in Octavio, c. ii.) that Antony was still more severe on the paternal ancestors of Augustus. The Emperor himself allowed that his father was the first senator of the family.

† Historia dei Principi di Este di Gio. Battista Pigna, in Vinegia, 1572, in 4to. I possess likewise a Latin Version of the same work, Ferrariæ, 1585, in folio. It extends from the fall of the Roman Empire to the year 1476. Pigna promised, but has only promised a second volume.

man had ever existed in the world. After the fall of Aquileia, the honour of his son Acarinus is saved by a prudent retreat; and the fugitives of Este withdraw at his command, and found a new city in the morasses of Ferrara. In the subsequent revolutions of Italy, the imaginary descendants of these ideal chiefs, are often oppressed and always emerge: in the cause of loyalty or patriotism they sometimes support and sometimes resist the kings of Lombardy, and emperors of the West; and in the light of the twelfth century, a fabulous Rinaldo is created to save Milan, and defeat the armies of Frederic Barbarossa. The lust of fiction is punished by the contempt of truth, and if some corrupt traces may be discerned of the separation of the German and Italian lines, the genealogist is ignorant of the fame and fortunes of the house of Este-Brunswick.

Yet this history, so pregnant with falsehoods, was composed by a man of learning and character, in a knowing age and a polite court, by the accomplished John Baptista Pigna, secretary of state to Alphonso II. duke of Ferrara.* But the artful courtier was disposed to shut his eyes and to follow his leaders. The imperfect papers of Count Faleti, who first discovered the Roman Attii, and explored in Germany a long-lost branch of the family,† were given into his hands, and he used with

* Pigna, the friend of Tasso, is the sage Elpino of the Aminta. See his various merits in the Italian Observations on that Pastoral Drama by Menage.—pp. 160—164.

† From Pigna's dedication I collect, that he himself signified (1560)

with equal confidence the manuscript remains of Pellegrino Priscian.* The *War of Attila*, a Provençal romance of the fourteenth century, appeared in his eyes a genuine and contemporary work of Thomas the Scribe of Nicetas, patriarch of Aquileia.† He was probably deceived by the Lives of the Emperors which the Count Boyardo, with more than poetic licence, has imposed as an Italian version of the Latin original of Ricobaldus.‡ The spurious fragments had been gradually consolidated by the public credulity: fictions were changed into facts, traditions into truths, and conjectures into realities. The materials were prepared; and while he added the last varnish to the pleasing tale, the conscience of Pigna might applaud without much scruple his own veracity and innocence.

(1560) the Duke's orders to Count Girolamo Faleti, whose MS. annals at the time of his death had been only carried down to Azo IX. (1216—1240.)

* Pellegrino Prisciano, keeper of the archives to Hercules I. (1495) had collected and written many volumes concerning the house of Este. Muratori, who praises his fidelity, complains that the far greater part of his MSS. had been shamefully consumed in fire-works. (Antichità Estense, tom. i. c. ix. p. 69.)

† See Muratori's preface to the Antichità Estense, p. xix. I have neither the Provençal romance which is preserved in MS. in the library of Modena, nor the Italian abridgment printed in 1568. But Pigna (l. i. p. 11—30,) has extracted the most important and least improbable circumstances.

‡ After much hesitation Muratori has published in the ninth volume of his Scriptores Rerum Italicarum (p. 279—423,) this work of Ricobaldus or Boyardo. The mention of the Garter may prove that it was not composed till Hercules I. Duke of Ferrara had been invested with that order by Edward IV. King of England.

I am fatigued with the repetition of fables, but an illustrious race must always be crowned with its proper mythology. After fixing on the earth the solid foundations of the House of Este-Brunswick, I am desirous of proving that we are not less able to build in the air.

Before the name of Atys was invented by Virgil, before the Attian family was propagated to modern times, a fabulous tradition had connected the princes of Troy with the dukes of Ferrara and Brunswick. But the manufactures even of the Italians in the thirteenth century were coarse and clumsy, and they could only devise that Marthus, an unknown Trojan, besieged Milan, and founded, after his own name, a small city in the Milanese; and that, of four brothers who sprang from this chief, the eldest was the father of the future Marquisses of Este.* It was not till after the year fourteen hundred that the romances of French chivalry passed the Alps and the Pyrennees; and I am inclined to adopt the sentence of Cervantes,†

* Muratori, Antichità Estense, tom. i. c. ix. p. 67, 68. This tradition of Paulus Marrus (1280) is preserved by Gualvan de la Flamma (1320) in his great Chronicle of Milan, which Muratori (tom. xi. p. 534.) disdained to publish among his Scriptores Rerum Italicarum.

† See Don Quixote, part I. c. vi. p. 55. of the small edition of Madrid. The most grateful incense is the praise which one man of genius bestows on another; we are sure that he feels the merit that he applauds. Yet I do not clearly conceive the epithet of *Christiano* as it is applied to the most pleasing but least Christian of poets.

who

who wishes to forgive the lies of Archbishop Turpin, Charlemagne and his twelve Peers, from the grateful reflection that they afforded the first hints to the invention of Boyardo, from which the *Christian* poet Ludovico Ariosto has so finely composed his inimitable web. Such a magician as Ariosto can annihilate time and space; and he dispenses, by the prerogative of genius, with the laws of history, nature, and his own art.

According to the wild though delightful fictions of the Italian bards,* the house of Este-Brunswick is descended from the race of the Trojan kings. Astyanax, the son of Hector, was saved by an artifice from the victorious Greeks: Sicily gave him a retreat and a kingdom; and the valiant youth avenged on Argos and Corinth the injuries of his country. Polydore, the son of Astyanax, fixed his residence in Calabria, and Flovian, the grandson of Polydore, (a brief chronology!) was the first of the race of Hector who settled at Rome. By his two sons two noble branches arose from the same stem: the one is decorated by the Imperial titles of Constantine and Charlemagne; the other after a long and splendid succession is illustrated by the name of Ruggiero, or ROGER, the favourite hero of Ariosto and his readers. In the spirit of chivalry his strength and valour are his first virtues: the adverse ranks

* The original pedigree is recorded, and perhaps invented by Count Matteo Boyardo, (Orlando Inamorato, l. iii. c. v.) but I cannot gravely refer to all the passages of Ariosto who should be familiar to every reader of taste.

of battle are pierced by his lance or shivered by his sword; and the effects of his resistless charge are compared to the explosion of the *Gran Diavolo*, a thundering piece of ordnance in the arsenal of Ferrara. In more equal combat he stands invincible against the foremost paladins of France; and the two pagan champions, Mandricardo the Tartar, and Rodomonte the African, are slain after two desperate encounters by the hand of Roger. These martial terrors are softened by youth and beauty, by the generosity of his temper, his courteous manners, and the tenderness of his heart. He burns with a pure and honourable flame for the fair amazon Bradamante, and if he is seduced by the arts of Alcina, if he is fired by the naked charms of Angelica, his affections are constantly fixed on his noble spouse, the destined mother of the house of Este. Their *white eagle* was depicted on his shield, as the hereditary symbol of the Trojan line: the *arms of Hector* he possessed by the double claim of inheritance and conquest; and if his horse *Frontin*, and his sword *Balisarda*, were obtained by less worthy means, Roger was guiltless of the theft, and they became his own since he was able to defend them. But the hero disdained the use of supernatural aid; and indignantly cast into a well, the magic shield which dazzled the eyes and benumbed the senses of all beholders.

By his mother, a Saracen princess, the unborn Roger was transported from Italy to Africa, and the helpless infant was saved and educated by the enchanter Atlas. His first arms were pointed against

against the monsters of the desert, and he passed the sea under the imperial standard of Agramante, who invaded France with all the powers of the pagan or Mahometan world. The destinies of the house of Este require his conversion; but the event is artfully delayed, and the trembling balance is suspended by the master-hand of the poet. Tender of his life, and careless of his fame, the African magician presumes to oppose the decrees of heaven; secludes his pupil from the world, fascinates his eyes, sends him to wander through the air on a hippogrif, and dissolves his courage in the isle of luxury and love. The example of his Christian ancestors is a weighty argument for an illiterate soldier; and he assures his mistress that for her sake he is ready to undergo a baptism not only of water but of fire. But a man of honour, a loyal knight, is apprehensive of the reproach of deserting his benefactor and his party, an unfortunate benefactor, and a falling party. A seasonable wound allows the Christians to vanquish under the walls of Paris; but in a single combat which must determine the WORLD'S DEBATE, the lover of Bradamante is forced to encounter her brother Rinaldo, till he is delivered from the fatal conflict by the treachery and flight of the African monarch. A shipwreck, a desert island, an hermit, and a prophecy assist the operation of grace: every scruple is satisfied, every duty is accomplished, every obstacle is removed; and the poem concludes with the nuptials and last victory of the Christian hero.

But as the poet has used and abused the privi-

lege of anticipation, he displays in a variety of pictures the fortunes of Roger and his descendants. Seven years after his baptism the Paladin will be slain by a perfidious assassin; his widow will be delivered of a son in the fruitful country between the Adige and the Brenta; and the warlike youth, after he has avenged his father, will be invested by the Emperor with the Lordship of Este, and accepted as their native prince by the remaining Trojans of the colony of Antenor. The visionary forms of her future progeny pass in rapid succession before the eyes of Bradamante, and a friendly sage fortels their names and actions in a mixed strain of history and fable. According to the popular opinion,* the establishment of the Saxon branch is ascribed to the marriage of Albert-Azo, in the tenth century, with an imaginary daughter of the Emperor Otho the Great. The Italian states of the princes of Este are described, Ferrara, amidst the waters of the Po, the soft Reggio, and the turbulent Modena; their wars against the Venetians and the Popes are discreetly announced; and the prospect is always closed by the fame, the virtues, and the fraternal union of Alphonso I. and Cardinal Ippolito. The Duke was the sovereign, the Cardinal affected to be the patron, of Ariosto: they will live in the everlasting life of their poet. "Myriads, perhaps, of heroic names, are plunged

* See Ricobaldo or rather Boyardo, (tom. ix. p. 314. Scriptor. Rerum Italic.) and Pigna, (l. i. p. 73—76.) Yet Pigna had learned from Count Faleti the true descent of the dukes of Saxony and Brunswick.

by

by time into the stream of oblivion: whilst a few are saved by the grateful and melodious swans, and honourably deposited in the temple of immortality."

According to the philosophers, who can discern an endless involution of *germs* or organized bodies, the future animal exists in the female parent; and the male is no more than an accidental cause which stimulates the first motion and energy of life. The genealogist who embraces this system should confine his researches to the female line—the series of mothers; and scandal may whisper that this mode of proceeding will be always the safest and most assured. But the moral connexion* of a pedigree is differently marked by the influence of law and customs: the male sex is deemed more noble than the female; the association of our idea pursues the regular descent of honours and estates from father to son; and their wives, howsoever essential, are considered only in the light of foreign auxiliaries. This rule, indeed, will be sometimes broken by an exception; the sole remaining daughter of an ancient and powerful family will assume the character of a son, and her children, who inherit the fortunes, may be assimilated to the name, of her own ancestors. The origin of her less conspicuous husband may gradually disappear; but if she be married to an equal, their common posterity will celebrate the union of two illustrious houses.

This last remark may be applied to the family

* Hume's Essays, vol. ii. p. 192, 193.

of

of Este-Brunswick which so prosperously grafted the fruits of Italy on a German stem. The antiquity and importance of the Guelphs, to whose name and possessions they succeeded, is acknowledged in the twelfth century (1152) by Otho Bishop of Frisingen.* "In the Roman empire (says that contemporary writer) two famous families have flourished till the present time on the confines of Gaul and Germany; the Henrys of Gueibelinga and the Guelphs of Altdorf, the one productive of emperors, the other of great dukes. By the contests of such men, armed with power, and ambitious of renown, has the peace of the republic been often endangered." An equal opposition to the Franconian and Swabian emperors must redound to the honour of a subject family, and the praise is the less questionable, as the historian himself was issued from the rival house. This curious passage unfolds the seeds of the two factions of the church and the empire; and it likewise appears that the name of Guelph, as well as of Henry, was no more than a personal and Christian appellation, the frequent use of which might denote, in the language of posterity, the succession of an entire dynasty. Between the ascending and descending series of the Guelphs the connexion is formed by the marriage of Cunegonde, the daughter of the first, and the mother of the second race. The nobility and riches of Azo were not inferior to those of his consort; but, after their sons and

* Otho. Frisingensis, l. ii. c. 2. in Muratori Script. Rerum Italic. tom. vi. p. 699, 700.

grandsons

grandsons had been invested with the duchies of Bavaria and Saxony, the distant fame of an Italian marquis was gradually lost; and these princes, adhering to their maternal ancestors, assumed the more popular character of native Germans.

About the end of the twelfth century a short chronicle was composed by a monk of Weingarten, to immortalize in this world, as well as in the next, the Lords of Altdorf, the founders and benefactors of his convent.* After a diligent search into such chronicles and charters as were then extant, he fairly confesses that his visible horizon is bounded by the age of Charlemagne, by the well-known Welf or Guelph, the father of the Empress Judith. But he is persuaded that the ancestors of his first hero were men of valour and renown,

Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona,

that, for ages, before the introduction of christianity, they flourished in riches and honours; that they governed their own people, and that their name went forth into foreign lands. Such presumptions are more satisfactory to a rational mind, than his romance of a Trojan colony and descent, than an absurd marriage with Kathilina, the daughter of a Roman senator, whose name might be translated into *Whelp* in the German or English idioms. The conjectures of Leibnitz, or his disciple Eccard, are follies of a graver kind; they

* Chronicon Weingartense, from the Vienna MS. in Origines Guelficæ, tom. v. p. 31, 32, 33. It had been published less correctly by Canisius and Leibnitz.

build

build without materials an edifice of characters and adventures, and grasping some shadowy semblances, they forcibly derive the Guelphs from a brother of Odoacer, King of the Heruli, who extinguished the Roman empire (476) in Italy and the West. From the beginning of the historic period the chronicle of Weingarten enumerates only six generations, Guelph the father of Judith, Ethico, Henry, Rodolph, and the two last Guelphs the father and brother of Cunegonde; a number scarcely sufficient for an interval of two hundred and fifty years. The probable chasms have indeed been supplied by the industry of Leibnitz and Eccard. The names of Guelph or Welf I., Ethico I., Welf or Wolfhard II., Ethico II., Henry, Rodolph I. the brother of St. Conrad, Welf III., Rodolph II., Welf or Wolfhard IV., and Welf V. are enrolled in their list; but a descent of ten generations reverses the difficulty, and the scene is now crowded by the new actors. At the two extremities, the chain of the ancient Guelphs is strongly rivetted in truth; but the intermediate links cannot be discriminated with clearness and certainty.*

The nuptials of Azo had transplanted the Este family from Italy to Germany, from the Po to the Danube. His grandson Henry the Black, and his great-grandson Henry the Proud, acquired by marriage new and ample possessions on the Elbe and Weser; and Henry the Lion, the heir of these possessions, is the first of his race to whom the title of

* See the first and fifth books of the Origines Guelficæ.

Brunswick can be strictly appropriated. The Lion was the tenth male in lineal descent from the Marquis Adalbert: and his maternal pedigree might be derived from the *dukes*, the *emperors*, and the *hero* of Saxony.*

I. The genius of Henry the Fowler might govern the kingdom of Germany with one hand, and the duchy of Saxony with the other; and the arts and cities of that savage region are ascribed to his political institutions. Otho I. by a rare felicity was not inferior in personal merit to his father: but the majesty of a Roman empire appeared incompatible with the office of a provincial duke; the pursuit of Italian realms carried him far away to the south; and his ancient patrimony was left exposed to the inroads of the Slavi and the Danes. It became necessary to station a soldier on the banks of the Elbe; nor would that soldier have been obeyed by the Saxon chiefs, unless the splendour of his birth, and the extent of his property had already given him a leading influence in the country. About the middle of the ninth century the noble race of Billing, an indigenous chieftain or *prince*, emits the first ray of historic light: his blood was mingled with that of the French conquerors,

Francorum clarâ de stirpe potentûm,

and his daughter Oda is celebrated as the grand-

* For these Saxon genealogies, see the Dissertations of Eccard, with the annotations of Scheidius, in the fourth volume of the Origines Guelficæ, and the Prolegomena of the latter especially. Tom. iii. p. 10, &c.

mother

mother of Henry the Fowler. The valiant Herman, the son of the second, and the great-grandson of the first Billing, was appointed military governor, and at length created hereditary Duke of Saxony by his cousin Otho the Great (960): and four descents, Bernard I., Bernard II., Ordulph, and Magnus, continued the lineal succession till the beginning of the twelfth century. In their wars against the northern barbarians, these dukes were seldom successful; but they asserted their own prerogatives and the liberties of the nation; their independence sometimes provoked the jealousy of the emperors; nor did the royal maids of Norway and Hungary disdain the alliance of such powerful vassals. The male line of the Billings was extinct in Duke Magnus (1106): his eldest daughter Wulfilda had been given to Henry the Black, afterwards Duke of Bavaria: the modern duchies of Luneburgh and Saxe-Lawenburgh were her princely inheritance: and her children, of the family of the Este-Guelphs, succeeded to these territories on either side of the Elbe, which are still enjoyed by the Electoral branch of the House of Brunswick.

II. From their original patrimony the five Saxon Emperors, Henry the Fowler, the three Othos, and Henry the Saint may be styled without impropriety of the ancient House of Brunswick. But their connexion with the Este-Guelphs can be found only in female alliances; and their blood may have been transfused by three streams of imperfect clearness. Their common source is derived from Henry the

the Fowler, the King at least of Germany, and the son and grandson of the Dukes of Saxony, Otho (880) and Ludolph (858). Otho enjoyed the glory of refusing the crown; and of Ludolph it may be sufficient to affirm, that he was the sole hope and honour of an illustrious race, that his birth was equal to his fortune, his virtue to his birth, and his beauty to his virtue. We have reason to believe, though we have not a right to assert, that his uncle Ecbert was sanctified in the chaste embraces of St. Ida;* that his father Bruno is the founder of Brunswick (*Brunonis vicus*); and that his grandfather, an elder Bruno, was the friend of Witikind, with whom he fought under the standard of freedom, and with whom he yielded to the God of the Christians. In the fifth ascending degree the proselyte must be the progenitor of a Saint, of Bruno, archbishop of Cologne and brother of the Emperor Otho I. His domestic biographer thus describes the merits of this Saxon family: "As far as reaches the memory of man, the grandsires of the grandsires are all most noble: nor would it be easy to find an obscure or degenerate member in the whole series."†

I now return to the three channels of communication between the old and the new House of Brunswick, between the Saxon Emperors and the Este-Guelphs. 1. According to the monk of Weingarten, the father of Cunegonde, Guelph IV.

* The original Life of St. Ida is published by Leibnitz, Script. Brunswic. tom. i. p. 175—184.

† Ruotgerus apud Struvium, Corpus Hist. Germanicæ, p. 216.

was

was the son of Count Rodolph of Altorf, and of his wife Itha, the daughter of Richlinda, daughter of the Emperor Otho I. But the children, alas! of the great Otho are conspicuous in history; Richlinda is invisible; and her existence can only be saved by degrading her to the rank of an illegitimate daughter, whose alliance, however, might be an object of ambition to the proudest vassal of Germany. 2. The matrimonial conquest of Henry the Black had extended over Luneburgh and the Elbe; Brunswick and the Weser were embraced by those of his son Henry the Proud, whose nuptials with Gertrude, the daughter of Richenza and the Emperor Lothaire II. (1126) enriched and illustrated the Guelphic line. Richenza, the female parent of an heiress, was herself an heiress, and the daughter of an heiress. From her father, Duke Henry, she claimed the county or principality of Nordheim in the southern part of the Electorate of Hanover; from her mother, Gertrude, she derived the city and country of Brunswick, which had been enjoyed by four successive generations of her ancestors. Gertrude alone represented her childless brother Ecbert II. Margrave of Misnia and Brunswick: he was the son of Ecbert I. of Ludolph, of Bruno II., and of Bruno I.; whose pedigree would emerge into a brighter day, as the younger son of Henry, Duke of Bavaria, a younger brother of the Emperor Otho I. This highest step trembles indeed under our feet: yet the evidence of local chronicles must not be despised: inheritance

is

is the most natural mode of possession; and in the tenth century the Margrave Bruno I. possessed the patrimonial estate of the ancient House of Brunswick. 3. Our last and best dependence is on the maternal grandfather of Henry the Lion; on Lothaire II. who was successively Count of Supplingeburgh, Duke of Saxony, King of Germany, and Emperor of the Romans. His father, Count Gebehard, fell in battle (1075), and is numbered among the slain with the first princes of the empire. It is *almost* certain that he was the son of Otho, Duke of Swabia: it is *absolutely* certain that the father of Duke Otho was Ezo, Count Palatine, a noble courtier, who obtained in marriage Matilda, the daughter of the Emperor Otho II., by the fortune, as it is fabled, of a game at dice. The slight defect in the genealogy of Lothaire II. is overbalanced by the general consent of the twelfth century that he was the heir, as well as the successor, of Otho the Great; and the three probable connexions of the ancient and new houses of Brunswick will be consolidated into one rational belief. It may not be superfluous to add that the Empress Theophano, the consort of Otho II., was a Greek princess of the Basilian or Macedonian dynasty; which held the sceptre of Constantinople, and derived a splendid and specious origin from the royal race of the Arsacides of Parthia. Reason may suspect, and fancy will pronounce, that the French colours, on the fields of Minden, were presented to the descendant of a

king, who had received the Roman eagles, after the defeat of Crassus.*

III. After a brave resistance and a prudent submission, Witikind, the Saxon hero, ended his life in the bosom of peace and Christianity. His son Wicbert was not less eminent in the church than in the state: his grandson Walbert was educated in the manners, and promoted to the dignities of the French court. After a chasm of one or two generations, four brothers of the race of Witikind appear with the title of Count, in his native country of Westphalia. Among these Theoderic is illustrated by the temporal and spiritual honours of his daughter St. Matilda, the Queen of Henry the Fowler, and the mother of the Saxon Emperors.† By this female descent the Este-Guelphs and many other noble families participate of the blood of Witikind: but his male posterity is extinguished or lost; and in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries, I cannot discover any name which is connected by the writers of the time, with the name of the hero. Yet some fabulous claims were cherished in silence, and four hundred years after his death, the chronicle of a French monk deduces from the four brothers, the father and uncles of St. Matilda, the nobility of all Saxony, Italy, Germany, Gaul, Normandy, Bavaria, Swabia, Hungary, Bohemia,

* History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, vol. v. p. 148.

† Vita Ste Mathild. in Leibnitz. Script. Bruns. tom. i. p. 194.

hemia, Tuscany, and Poland,* a strange profusion, which much debases the value of the gift. Vanity may grasp these ideal trophies: the electors of Saxony and the Dukes of Savoy may embrace the shades of their visionary fathers, but the hundred heads of the male children of Witikind dissolve into air, as soon as they are touched by the spear of criticism.

Our accurate knowledge of the origin, establishment, and alliances of the Este-Guelphs may now smile at the errors and fables of a darker age. After the separation of the House of Este by the two marriages of the Marquis Azo, the two diverging branches of his posterity insensibly became strangers and aliens to each other: the intercourse of the distant nations of Europe was rare and hazardous; and the fall of the empire had separated the worlds of Italy and Germany. A tradition still survived in the court of Ferrara, that in some remote age, an hero of their blood had transported his hopes and fortune beyond the Alps: but the date, the characters, and the consequences of his emigration were soon obliterated by ignorance and supplied by fiction.† In the tenth century, the valiant Azo, an Italian noble, attended the standard and deserved the esteem of Otho the Great. Alda, a natural daughter of the Emperor, was the reward of his services: she was endowed with the imagi-

* Alberic. trium Fontium. Chron. in Leibnitz. Accessiones Historicæ, tom. ii. p. 257.

†Ricobald. in Muratori. Script. Rerum Italic. tom. ix. p. 315—317—321.

nary fief of Fausburch or Friburgh in Saxony, and the twins, Fulk and Hugo, were the offspring of their marriage. Hugo returned to his native country, and propagated the race of the Marquisses of Este, Dukes of Ferrara and Modena; while Fulk remained in Germany, supported the falling house of Saxony, and transmitted to his descendant *some* great county or duchy, in the unknown regions of the north. The Dukes of Brunswick, on the other hand, preserved a faint remembrance of their Italian origin: the title of their ancestors was familiar to their ear; but they had forgotten the name of Este, and their misguided tenderness confounded the *Marquisses* of Montferrat or Mantua with their real kinsmen.* About the middle of the sixteenth century the mist was in some measure dispelled by the inquiries of Count Faleti, who had been sent into Germany by Hercules II. Duke of Ferrara, and the perfect connexion of the two branches was finally restored by the faithful service of Leibnitz and Muratori.

Of the first Guelph the rank is ascertained and the name is illustrated by the marriage of his daughter Judith with the Emperor Lewis the Pious, the son and successor of Charlemagne.† The magnitude of the French empire had almost excluded

* Leibnitz. Opp. tom. iv. p. ii. p. 83. Edit. Dutems.

† The Chronological and Alphabetical indexes of the sixth volume of the Historians of France, will direct the more curious reader to all the original texts which speak of the Empress Judith. The best proofs of the nobility of Guelph are the testimonies of Thegan

cluded the choice of a foreign princess: nor could the leaders of a warlike nation disdain the alliance of the peers whose judgment had raised them to the throne. The father of Judith was of the noblest race of the Bavarians: the nobility of her Saxon mother was equally conspicuous; Guelph is indifferently described by the style of Count, or Duke, or Prince; and the more honourable appellation of Freeman (*vir egregiæ libertatis*) may be applied to the situation as well as the character of the independent chief. After the decease of his first wife, Lewis the Pious invited the fairest and most noble damsels: the heart, or rather the heart of the Emperor was disputed in these nuptial games; and the beauty of Judith was rewarded with a fond and feeble husband, whom she continued to govern till the last hour of his life. The loud praises of her wit and learning, her courage and piety, announce at least the pretensions of the Empress; and she might excuse the invectives that were pointed against the dangerous seduction of her graces and charms. During ten years (819—830) of specious prosperity, the daughter of Guelph enjoyed and embellished the feasts of an itinerant court. But the vices of the state and the calamities of the age were gradually ascribed to her influence: Bernard, Duke of Septimania, was known to be her favourite, and was believed to be her lover; she wished to provide a kingdom for her infant Charles: and

Thegan (p. 79), of the Astronomer (p. 102), of the Annals of Eginhard (p. 178), of those of St. Bertin (p. 207), and of the Saxon Chronicle (p. 219).

the three sons of Lewis, by his first wife, conspired against the stepmother whom they had provoked. By the successful rebels she was twice torn from the palace, and immured, under the monastic veil, in the cloisters of Poitiers and Tortona (830-834). The Emperor was twice restored: he embraced his wife with the credulity of love: Judith and her favourite asserted their innocence with oaths and challenges: her days were concluded (843) in peace and honour; and the posterity of Guelph reigned in France (840—987) till the sixth generation.

Conrad and Rodolph, two of the sons of Guelph, had abandoned their paternal seat to share the prosperous and adverse fortunes of their sister. When she was degraded to a nun they were shaven as priests: but they stood beside the throne as princes of the blood. Conrad I. had two sons, Conrad II. and Hugh, from his ecclesiastical benefices surnamed the *Abbot*. Their ambitious spirit maintained their hereditary rank, and they appear conspicuous in the government of provinces, and in the annals of peace and war. According to some learned antiquaries, Conrad I. left a third son, the famous Robert the Strong, the father of the kings of France, of the third race. Their opinion will not sustain the rigour of critical inquiry: but the text of an original chronicle is alleged in its favour; and a series of an hundred kings still hangs by the various reading of a single vowel.*

Yet

* Fratres or Fratris is the question; of which the opposite sides are

Yet a kingdom may be found to which the purest history will assert the title of the Guelphic line. Conrad II. and his son Rodolph were Dukes or Marquisses of the Trans-Jurane Burgundy which includes the *Pays de Vaud*, and the happy spot where I am now writing. In the shipwreck of the Carlovingian monarchy (888), Rodolph, with the applause of his bishops and nobles assumed a royal crown at the abbey of St. Maurice; his sceptre was the martyr's lance, enriched with a nail of the true cross, and the second kingdom of Burgundy which he founded, subsisted one hundred and forty-four years in a lineal succession of four princes. The independence of Rodolph I. (888—912) was confirmed by two victories, and finally acknowledged in a diet of the German empire. His son Rodolph II. (912—937) twice attempted the conquest of Italy, and his retreat was purchased by a fair equivalent; his dominion extended over the French or western part of Switzerland, Franche-Comté, Savoy, Dauphiné, and Provence; and the country between the Rhone and the Alps adopted the new appellation of the kingdom of Arles. The long reign (937—993) of Conrad the son of Rodolph II. was glorious and pacific, and the friendship of the great Otho was the firmest bulwark of his throne. His son Rodolph III. surnamed the Lazy, was the spec-

are strongly argued by Foncemagne (Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xx. p. 558—567) and Scheidius (Præfat. ad Origin. Guelfic. tom. ii. p. 24—43.)

tator, perhaps the cause of the decay and dissolution of his government, (993—1032). After his death, the sovereignty of the kingdom of Arles or Burgundy devolved as a fief or legacy to his nephew the Emperor Conrad the Salic; the effective power was usurped by the vassals, but the regal titles of this collateral line may reflect some dignity on the fathers of the house of Brunswick.*

While the ancestors of the kings of Burgundy pursued the path of ambition, their kinsmen, the elder branch of the Guelphs, preferred a life of independence in the free possession of their allodial estates of Bavaria and Swabia. From Guelph the father of the Empress Judith, these estates descended to the first or second Ethico, whose lofty spirit is commemorated in a curious tale by the monk of Weingarten.† As soon as Henry, the son of Ethico, had attained the age of manhood, the aspiring youth, without his father's privity or consent, attached himself to the Emperor, obtained his favour, deserved his esteem, and attended with assiduous zeal the long circuits of the court and army. By the advice of the princes, and at the solicitation of his sovereign, the son of Ethico consented to receive a fief or benefice of four

* See the fourth book of the Origines Guelficæ, (tom. ii.) and the Baron de Zurlauben, (Hist. de l'Académie, tom. xxxvi. p. 142—159.)

† In this imperfect review of the history of the Guelphs, the Chronicle of Weingarten (Origines Guelficæ, tom. v. p. 32—35) may be considered as the text, and the Origines Guelficæ (tom. ii. l. 4 and 5,) as the Commentary.

thousand

thousand *mansi* or measures of land, in the Upper Bavaria, and to perform the homage of a faithful client. Henry, surnamed of the golden chariot, long flourished in the wealth and dignity of the palace; but his father was deeply wounded by this sacrifice of honour to interest, by this base abdication of the nobility and freedom of the Guelphic name. After pouring a complaint into the bosom of his friends, the high-minded Ethico resolved to conceal his shame from the world. He quitted (says the monk) his regal edifices, and rich possessions, retired with only twelve companions to the solitary mansion of Ambirgo, amidst the mountains, and there ended his days without seeing or forgiving his degenerate son. The acquisition in the ninth century of such a fief as Ethico disdained, would satisfy the pride of the noblest family in Europe.

Had a rent-roll of the Guelphic possessions been preserved, an uncouth list of castles and villages which have long been tranferred to new owners, would offend the ear, without informing the mind of the English reader. The authors of the family were of Bavarian extraction; but their principal seat was in Swabia, in the neighbourhood of the lake of Constance, and the Austrian prefecture of Altorf and Ravensperg* is derived from the ancient Guelphs, who, according to the fashion of the times, had abstained from the use of any local

* See Géographie de Busching, tom. vii. p. 130—137, and tom. viii. p. 644—647.

denominations.

denominations. Their various estates, as they might be acquired by donation, marriage, or purchase, were scattered over the wide extent of Bavaria and Swabia, from the mountains of Tirol to the plains of Alsace; and several free communities of the Grisons were once the slaves of these powerful landlords. In their household they displayed the pomp and pride of regal economy; and the domestic offices of stewards, butlers, marshals, chamberlains, and standard-bearers, were exercised by counts, or by nobles of an equal rank. Their first officer, the *Advocate*, represented their person and maintained their cause in the imperial or ducal court; and they enjoyed the singular privilege of protecting, without effusion of blood, all persons who were legally proscribed till they had answered or satisfied the demands of justice. The episcopal churches of Frisingen, Augsburgh, Constance, and Coire, and the monasteries of popular sanctity, were endowed by their devotion with liberal grants of lands and peasants. Even the humiliating tribute which the kings of Burgundy and the Guelphs of Altorf were bound to offer at the shrine of St. Othmar, was an annual commemoration of the antiquity of their house. They made atonement for the guilt of their ancestors, who, in the eighth century, had governed the Duchy of Alemannia, and had abused their power in the persecution of the saint.

The darkness of German history in the ninth and tenth centuries, has cast a veil over the lives and characters of the ancient Guelphs. But it may

may be presumed that they were illiterate and valiant; that they plundered churches in their youth and restored them in their old age; that they were fond of arms, horses and hunting; and that they resisted with equal spirit the exercise of arbitrary and legal power. St. Conrad,* alone of his race (892—976) by seeking a place in heaven, has deserved a memorial on earth. After his education in the school, and his service in the chapter of Constance, he was raised by a free election to the Episcopal chair (934) which he continued to fill forty-two years. The church was enriched by his patrimony and defended by his kindred: the Bishop of Constance did not affect the austere life of an hermit, and his temperate manners were those of a German noble; but his chastity was immaculate from sin or scandal, he was assiduous in prayer, and his religious merits were crowned by the pilgrimage of Jerusalem.† The miracles of St. Conrad are fancied with some degree of taste: he voided harmless, a spider which he had bravely swallowed in the communion-cup; and he delivered two souls, who, in the form of birds, were enduring their purgatory

* The Life of St. Conrad (Leibnitz Scriptores Rerum Brunswicensium, tom. ii. p. 1—14,) may be illustrated by the Origines Guelficæ, (tom. ii. p. 206—212,) and the proofs or documents of the fifth Book (No. 7, 8, 9.)

† From the word *tertio* in the Life of St. Conrad, (c. vi.) it is supposed that he thrice visited Jerusalem. I am more inclined to suspect that *mense* has been dropt by a careless transcriber: three pilgrimages are useless and improbable.

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in the water-fall of the Rhine. But the most marvellous scene was exhibited at the church and abbey of Einsidlen, the Loretto of Switzerland, which, under the name of our Lady of the Hermits, is annually visited by many thousand pilgrims.* The clergy, nobility, and people, had flocked to the feast of the dedication, (948); but at the midnight hour of the vigil, the Bishop of Constance was favoured with an extraordinary vision. The heavens were opened; Jesus Christ arrayed in the episcopal habit, accompanied by the Virgin Mary, and attended by a choir of angels, descended from on high to officiate at his own altar: the saints and martyrs assumed the characters of priests and deacons, and the whole consecration was performed according to the ritual of the church. In the morning the bishop arose, he related his dream; a voice from the sky or the roof, announced that the place was already holy; and this visionary act has been acknowledged by the decrees of Rome. One hundred and forty-seven years after his death, Conrad was canonized by Pope Calixtus II. (1123): the Guelphic name was honoured by this celestial kinsman, and the liberal devotion of Henry the Black, Duke of Bavaria, declared him the worthy nephew of the saint.

As soon as St. Conrad was received into heaven

* *One hundred thousand* according to the *moderate* calculation of Mr. Coxe! The English traveller lashes our Lady of the Hermits with the spirit of a protestant rather than of a philosopher; and his excellent translator corrects him with the enthusiasm, not of a bigot, but of a poet.

he

he should have secured an act of indemnity for the obsolete sins of his family. But St. Othmar was still inexorable, and the effects of his revenge were felt by the tenth generation of the Guelphs. By the grand-daughter, perhaps, of the Emperor Otho I. Rodolph II. of Altorf, had two sons, Henry and Guelph. The eldest, an impatient youth, denied the annual payment of his sin-offering; but the denial was soon followed by his untimely death. After hunting the roe-buck in the mountains, he reposed his wearied limbs under the shadow of a rock, an huge fragment fell on his head, and the vindictive saint might behold him rolling down the precipice. The submission of his brother Guelph IV. was rewarded with a longer and more glorious life. Rich in lands and potent in arms, he long tormented his neighbour the Bishop of Frisingen, attended the Emperor to his coronation at Rome, and afterwards joined against him in a successful rebellion. His nuptials with Imiza, daughter of the Count of Luxenburgh, and niece of the Empress St. Cunegonde, were productive of two children, of Guelph V. who succeeded his father, and of Cunegonde or Cuniza the future heiress of her family, who was given in marriage to the Marquis Azo, with eleven hundred or eleven thousand *mansi* of land* in the valley of Elisina

* From the customs and charters of Lombardy Muratori attempts to determine the usual *mansus* (Antichità Estense, tom. i. p. 3—5;) and his evaluation would produce two hundred, or more probably twenty thousand English acres. But he finds that

Elisina in Lombardy.* The portion appears to have been worthy of a prince; but the situation, the measure, and the value of the estate, cannot now be exactly defined.

After Europe was moulded into the feudal system, an independent chieftain would have stood naked and alone; the fear of injury was stimulated by the ambition of favour, and the descendants of Ethico and Henry were more inclined to follow the example of the son, than to sympathize with the feelings of the father. Guelph V. the brother of Cunegonde, was invested with the Duchy of Carinthia, and the Marquisate of Verona (1047); an important province, which included the country of Tirol, and commanded the passage of the Rhætian Alps. But the servant of Henry III. maintained the vigour of his character, and the pride of his birth. An Italian diet was summoned according to custom in the plain of Roncaglia. Guelph, at the head of his vassals, waited three days without seeing or hearing from the Emperor: on the fourth he sounded the trumpet of retreat, and, though he met Henry on the way, neither threats, nor prayers, nor promises, could

that some *mansi* were of more ample dimensions; and I could acquiesce in the loose definition of as much land as will maintain a peasant with his family.

* Leibnitz understands the Val d'Elsa in Tuscany, and his opinion is approved by Eccard and Fontanini; (Origines Guelficæ, tom. ii. p. 223, 224.) But Gruber dissents from his text; and Muratori wishes to read *Vallis Lusina*, the village and manor of Lusia in the Veronese territory, which soon afterwards appear in the possession of the Marquis Azo.

prevail

prevail on him to return. An arbitrary tax of a thousand marks had been imposed on the citizens of Verona; their Marquis in arms flew to their relief, and the concessions of the Emperor could scarcely purchase an ignominious escape. This act of patriotism or rebellion, for which he is said to have testified some remorse, concludes the story of the Duke of Carinthia. He died (1055) childless, in the prime of life, the last male of his family. Desirous of exchanging the temporal goods which he was about to lose, for an everlasting possession in heaven, Guelph endowed the Abbey of Weingarten with the rich gift of his estates and vassals. Two of his principal servants accepted the testament; but after his funeral they were resisted in the execution of this rash and unjust deed, which offended even the prejudices of the age. Imiza his mother was not ignorant that her daughter Cunegonde had left a son: she dispatched messengers into Italy, and the youth on his arrival annulled the donation, and asserted his own right, as the true and legitimate heir of the ancient Guelphs.

Two streams of noble blood, the two families of Este and the Guelphs, were united in the son of Azo and Cunegonde, who obtained the maternal name of his grandfather and uncle. By the marriage settlement, which seems to have excluded the younger children, Guelph VI. was assured of the patrimony of his father: he already possessed the inheritance of his mother (1055): his fortune was adequate to his birth, and his warlike, ambi-

tious

tious spirit soared above his fortune. An Italian by nature and education, he was a German by adoption; and from the age of manhood the Lord of Altorf had fixed his residence and his hopes in the country that was the seat of government. In the diet of Goslar (1071) he was invested by the Emperor Henry IV. with the duchy of Bavaria, which in that age extended to the confines of Hungary, and his nuptials were celebrated with Judith the daughter of Baldwin, count of Flanders, and the widow of a titular King of England.* These titles are illustrious: but the Brunswick princes, who are lovers of truth and freedom, will permit me to observe that they were dearly purchased by the sacrifice of virtue. His first wife was Ethelinda the daughter of Henry, duke of Bavaria: their alliance was consecrated by oaths, and while fortune smiled Guelph was a tender husband and a pious son. But after Henry, in the storms of faction, had been proscribed by the Emperor, the Lord of Altorf deserted the father, repudiated the daughter, and basely solicited the spoils of a friend with whom it was his duty to fall. Gold and silver are the idols of a venal court; the Guelphic patrimony was injured by his profuse ambition; and his ascent to one of the most eminent dignities of the republic was disgraced by the public reproach of ingratitude and perjury.† By the early and obstinate

* Of Tostus, son of Earl Godwin and younger brother of Harold, against whom, with a Norwegian army he had unsuccessfully disputed the crown.

† Cunctis detestantibus, quod clarissimam et inopinatissimam in Republica

stinate revolt of the Duke of Bavaria against his imperial benefactor, these reproaches will be tinged with a blacker dye, if the defence of the church does not absolve from all moral obligations. Whatsoever were his sins they were expiated, however, by a pilgrimage to the Holy Land: the greater part of his army was buried in the plains of Asia Minor; and he died on his return, at Paphos, in the Isle of Cyprus (1101). His life had been prolonged to an advanced period; yet he survived only four years the longevity of his father the Marquis Azo. The articles of settlement were rigorously exacted by the Bavarian duke: but the sons of the second marriage, Fulk and Hugh, opposed their elder brother in the passes of the Alps, and his insatiate avarice yielded to a more equal treaty of partition.

By the Queen Dowager of England, the first Guelphic duke of Bavaria had two sons, Guelph VII. and Henry, surnamed the *Black*. The eldest at the age of seventeen (1089) was sent into Italy, and commanded by his parents to ascend the nuptial bed of Matilda the Great Countess of Tuscany, who had attained the autumnal ripeness of forty-three years. This heroine, the spiritual daughter of Gregory VII. was twice married: but interest rather than love directed her choice, and her virginity was twice insulted by a crooked dwarf, and an impotent boy. *

Republica dignitatem tam fœdâ ambitione polluisset, says Lambert, with a sense and style far above the eleventh century.

Their conjugal union was hopeless;* but six years (1089—1095) elapsed between the marriage and the divorce; and the government of Tuscany was administered in their joint names, till the imperious temper of Matilda provoked the grandson of Azo to reveal a secret which her pride would have concealed from the world. On his father's decease Guelph VII. succeeded to the duchy of Bavaria (1101) of which he had already obtained the reversion: his power ranked him among the first princes of Germany; and when he represented the majesty of the empire, a sword of state was carried before him. The Bavarians applauded the mildness of his sway, and his paternal care in the education of the noble youth. At Rome he appeared with dignity as the mediator between the Emperor and the Pope. The French who saw him at Troyes, at the head of a great embassy, were astonished by the huge corpulence and sonorous voice, which, in his person, however, were not the attributes of manhood. After a reign of nineteen years he died (1120), most assuredly, without children; and his younger brother Henry the Black reunited all the subordinate fiefs and allodial estates of the family in Germany and Italy.†

* For more particular information see Cosmas, Dean of the church of Prague, whom I only know by the Abrégé Chronologique de l'Histoire d'Italie of the most accurate St. Marc (tom. iv. p. 1253). Some faults and fables may weaken his credit, but of the impotence of Guelph VII. I cannot entertain a doubt.

† See the two first Guelphs of Bavaria in the sixth book of the Origines Guelficæ, tom. ii.

Till

Till the beginning of the twelfth century the provincial honours of the Marquisses of Este, the Lords of Altorf, and even the Dukes of Bavaria, were those of a private though illustrious family: and the series of their names and actions must be painfully extracted from the occasional hints of charters and chronicles. During a subsequent period of an hundred years the Este-Guelphs, the princes of the Brunswick line, are the first actors in the revolutions of the empire: their lives and characters are deeply impressed on the annals of the times; and our loose memorials will assume the tone of an historical narrative.

After the death of his elder brother, Henry the Black, son of Guelph VI. and grandson of the Marquis Azo, had succeeded to the duchy of Bavaria and the estates of the family. He survived only six years (1120—1126); but his political weight on a vacancy of the throne contributed to fix the right of election in the German aristocracy. The royal funeral of Henry V. was solemnly performed; and the Duke, with the sacerdotal and noble attendants, subscribed a writ of summons which speaks the language of liberty and resentment. The diet was held in the neighbourhood of Mentz; the separate tribes, the Franks, the Swabians, the Bavarians, encamped on either side of the Rhine, and the immediate vassals with their numerous and warlike followers, composed an assembly or rather army of sixty thousand soldiers and freemen. But the archbishop, a dexterous

statesman, removing the scene from the camp to the cathedral, transferred the right of voting from the many to the few, and as the comparative few were still too many in his eyes, the previous nomination of an emperor was devolved on a select committee of ten princes and prelates, the first rudiments of the electoral college. Three candidates, Leopold, Marquis of Austria, Lothaire, Duke of Saxony, and Frederic, Duke of Swabia, were unanimously named: and the two former, after a modest refusal for themselves, engaged to support the choice of the majority. The evasions of the Duke of Swabia betrayed a secret and offensive presumption of hereditary right. He was the son of Frederic of Stauffen, a soldier of fortune: but his mother Agnes was the daughter and sister of the two last emperors. He shared with his brother Conrad the rich inheritance of the Ghibelline or Franconian house, and his ambition might be coloured by the examples of the preceding reigns. These examples and this ambition the electors had resolved to crush by the free choice of Lothaire of Saxony: but the attempt was dangerous, as long as the Bavarian duke might cast into the opposite scale the votes of his dependant bishops, and the swords of his military vassals. His personal attachment, for he had given his sister to Frederic, insensibly yielded to stronger arguments of public or private interest. Henry the Black appeared in the cathedral of Mentz, and no sooner had he assented to the wishes of the majority, than the Saxon

Saxon was proclaimed in triumph, and the Swabian fled in despair.

The difference of an hereditary or elective monarchy is of small moment to a dying man; nor did Henry survive many months the diet of Mentz. In his last moments (1196) the fears of superstition prevailed: but he contrived to expire in the habit of a monk, and thus disappointed the infernal spirits who might have formed some pretensions to the soul of the duke. The devotion of Conrad his eldest son is far more edifying and meritorious. The noble youth embraced the solitary life of a priest: renouncing a princely inheritance, the pride of the world, exercise of arms, and the hope of posterity. His birth and virtue must have raised him to the archbishopric of Cologne, had he not escaped from this new temptation to the Abbey of Clairvaux in France, where he pronounced the vow of a Cistercian monk, under the austere discipline of St. Bernard. Even this discipline was too soft for his increasing fervour; he undertook a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and buried himself in the cell of an hermit of the desert. The decay of his health, which had been broken by immoderate penance, compelled him to return: he found a grave at Bari on the sea coast of Italy; his memory is still revered by the people; and in the present century (1722) the relics of St. Conrad have been carried in procession to obtain from heaven the blessing of seasonable rain.

As the eldest son was dead to the world, the feudal and allodial estates were divided between the two surviving brothers, Henry the Proud and Guelph VIII.; but the right of primogeniture was considered, and Henry alone, in his twenty-fifth year, succeeded to the title and office of Duke of Bavaria. His character may be estimated by the first acts of his government in the provincial diet of Ratisbon; every complaint was heard, every wrong redressed, every crime punished; and the civil judge was protected by the military commander. In a circuit round the province he reconciled the quarrels of his vassals, and exacted the most effectual sureties of oaths and pledges for the suspension of private war; the castles of the disobedient were demolished, their persons were proscribed, and Bavaria enjoyed a respite of ten years (1126—1136) from the disorders of the feudal system. The duke had levied a tax on the citizens of Ratisbon, but the produce was surely inadequate to the expense of a stone bridge of fifteen arches, which he constructed over the deep and rapid stream of the Danube. Churches and convents are the monuments of the middle age; and a work of public use attests the sense as well as the riches of the founder.

The marriage of Gertrude, the daughter and heiress of the Emperor Lothaire, with Henry the Proud, was not accomplished till after his father's death; but it may be presumed that his desertion of a brother-in-law for a stranger was purchased by

by the hope or promise of this valuable alliance. The nuptial feast was celebrated, in the summer, (1126) on the banks of a pleasant river: the spacious meadows were covered with tents and edifices of timber, and the scene might have presented a pleasing and pastoral image, if the sound of arms, the riot of intemperance, and the pride of rank could have been excluded from an assembly of German nobles. A general invitation attracted twenty or thirty thousand guests; the princes, barons, and knights, their numerous retinues, and the crowd of meaner spectators; and the festival was continued several weeks by the profuse hospitality of the bridegroom, who bore away the prize in all the tournaments of chivalry. In the rising troubles of the empire the services of the Duke of Bavaria recommended him to the confidence and gratitude of his *august* father (1126—1135). The Ghibelline brothers rose in arms against the successful candidate, and Conrad accepted the title of King; their adherents were numerous in Italy and Germany, and they seduced the fidelity of Albert, Archbishop of Mentz, the master-mover in the election of Lothaire. "Embrace the prelate, (says Henry in a private letter,) but trust him not. Honey is on his lips, but his heart is filled with the blackest gall." The sword of the Duke of Bavaria was not less useful than his political sagacity; and Lothaire stimulated his courage by exhorting him to march, like Judas Maccabæus, against the enemies of the Lord.

Their power extended from the Upper Danube to the Lower Rhine; the artificial strength of the province had suggested a vulgar saying, that the dukes of Swabia never moved without a castle at their horse's tail; but their best reliance was on the firm and faithful support of the cities of Spires and Ulm. The reduction of these cities may be ascribed to the valour and conduct of the Guelphic prince: he surprized and vanquished his uncle Frederic who was advancing to the relief of Spires; and the walls, even the buildings of Ulm were levelled to the ground by his irresistible assault. After a series of losses and defeats the Ghibelline brothers resigned their pretensions, and implored their pardon, and Lothaire, without a rival, was acknowledged sole monarch of the German Empire.

From Lothaire II., and his consort Richenza, the inheritance of Brunswick would legally descend to their daughter, whose husband, the Duke of Bavaria, already enjoyed in right of his mother the Saxon patrimony of the House of Billing. Before his accession their ducal office had been exercised by the emperor himself: he now wished to devolve it on some faithful client; and what client could be more faithful than his adoptive son? The Guelphs, by their female alliance, possessed a natural command on the banks of the Elbe and Weser; the genius of Henry the Proud was equal to the double administration of Saxony and Bavaria; precedents might be found of a similar

lar union; and the complaint of pluralities was over-ruled by affection and silenced by authority. Few Christian kings in the twelfth century could vie with the power and dominion of the Duke of Saxony and Bavaria, Supreme Governor of the Danish, Slavic, and Hungarian borders; nor was a fair occasion neglected of restoring an Italian province to the elder branch of the Marquisses of Este, and, perhaps, of Tuscany. As the representative of the Cæsars, and the King of the Lombards, Lothaire II. contested the illegitimate donation of the Countess Matilda to the Roman Church; but he accepted, as a compromise, the investiture of her patrimony, which was widely diffused from the Adriatic and the Po to the Tiber and the Tuscan sea. An annual quit-rent of one hundred marks of silver declared the supremacy of the pope, and the reversion was granted to Henry the Proud on condition that he should swear fidelity and perform homage to the Apostolic See. The fortunate Henry was now raised above the level of a subject: he is addressed by his august father as the presumptive heir of the monarchy, and had Lothaire returned victorious from the Apulian war, a loyal diet might have gratified his wish in the election of a successor. The House of Brunswick might at this day be seated on the throne of Germany; and if the sense and spirit of the Guelphs had kept inviolate their hereditary domains, they might have rekindled the lustre of the Imperial Crown, and asserted the prerogatives of Otho and Charlemagne.

While

While Lothaire II. accomplished the indispensable pilgrimage of his Roman coronation, his son-in-law was left behind to maintain peace or to prosecute war in the Teutonic kingdom (1133). In a second expedition, the Emperor prepared to vindicate the altar and the throne from the schism of an anti-pope, and the rebellion of a King of Sicily. The powers of Germany obeyed his summons (1136); fifteen hundred knights and men at arms marched under the banner of the Duke of Saxony and Bavaria; Henry the Proud appeared as the second person in the host; the Italians beheld their future sovereign; and instead of the cold service of a vassal or mercenary, he displayed the active consciousness that he was labouring for himself. On the first descent from the Rhætian Alps the great grandson of the Marquis Azo stormed the castles of the lakes and mountains, visited the patrimony of his fathers, and granted, as the superior lord, the fief of Este to his cousins of the younger branch. From Verona to Turin, and from Turin to Ravenna, he led or followed the royal standard, oppressed the proud, interceded for the prostrate, and subscribed the feudal laws, which Lothaire promulgated in the Diet of Roncaglia. After celebrating the festival of Christmas, the Emperor (1137) divided his forces; with the main body he marched along the Adriatic coast into the heart of Apulia, while Henry the Proud passed the Apennine at the head of three thousand German horse. The bishops and magistrates who had

had been expelled by popular insurrection were reinstated by his arms: Florence was besieged, Lucca was pardoned: he inflamed the territory and burst the gates of Sienna: the provinces were reduced; and to his Saxon and Bavarian honours Henry added a third title of Duke of Tuscany. As the vassal of St. Peter he conducted Pope Innocent II. from the synod of Pisa to the siege of Bari, a march of five hundred miles through a schismatic people, an hostile country, a line of fortified towns, and the garrisons of Normans and Saracens in the service of Roger, King of Sicily. The powers of Henry were inadequate to the siege of Rome; but in his progress to the south, the abbey of Mount Cassin, the principality of Capua, and the ecclesiastical province of Beneventum were compelled to acknowledge their lawful governors. In the most perilous assaults his Germans were guided, and rallied, and checked by the hand of a master, and against the pontiff himself his vassal presumed to vindicate the rights of conquest and of the empire. After the interview of Lothaire and Innocent, the Teutonic army moved from the Upper to the Lower sea; the prudent valour of the Duke was equally conspicuous in the successful sieges of Bari and Salerno, and he might claim an ample share in the glory of his father, whose epitaph proclaims that he had driven the infidels from the continent of Italy.

But these conquests were preserved only in the epitaph which was speedily to be inscribed on the sepulchre

sepulchre of Lothaire. An Apulian summer had melted the strength of the hardy Germans; their retreat was spiritless and slow, and the Emperor, who felt the decay of life, had scarcely descended from the Alps when he expired (Dec. 3, 1137,) in a nameless village of Bavaria, leaving the possession of Saxony and the hope of the empire to his adoptive son. The claims of Henry were founded on the superior advantages of merit and fortune. But the epithet of the *proud* betrays a vice in his character most offensive to a free-born people: and his monopoly of power alarmed the jealousy of his peers who were apprehensive that the lord of so many provinces might subvert the balance of the constitution. The conspiracy of the ecclesiastical and secular princes was encouraged by the policy of Rome, alike unmindful of ancient injuries and recent services. The Guelphs, who represented the House of Saxony, were sacrificed to the heirs of the Ghibelline or Franconian line; and the ambitious Conrad, who had abdicated the royal title, again ascended the steps of the throne (1138). An hasty, irregular meeting, anticipated the summons and the forms of election, but their choice was ratified by the consent of the nation. The Empress dowager Richenza and her Saxon vassals were compelled to attend the diet, and to renounce the cause of their own candidate. Even Henry himself desisted from the fruitless contest, and the imperial ornaments which he had received from his dying father were delivered with many a sigh,

sigh, after many a delay, into the hands of a rival. A barbarous people is attached to visible symbols: nor could the Germans acknowledge their lawful sovereign unless they beheld the crown and sceptre, the sword and the lance, which had been consecrated by ancient use and popular superstition.

But the pride and power of Henry could neither stoop to obey nor expect to be forgiven. The question was agitated whether two duchies could legally be vested in the same person, and it was soon decided in the negative by those who wished to oppress, and those who aspired to succeed the reigning duke. Perhaps Henry might have been allowed to retain either Saxony or Bavaria: but his spirit scorned the ignominious option: his refusal was interpreted as a crime; by the sentence of revenge, envy and avarice assembled in a diet, he was stripped of *all* his possessions, and the head of the rebel was proscribed with the tremendous ceremonies which accompany the ban of the empire. The duchies of Saxony and Bavaria were respectively granted to their first and most powerful vassals, to Albert the Bear, Margrave of Brandenburgh, and to Leopold, Margrave of Austria. Leopold was the half-brother of the Emperor, and as the father of Albert had married a younger daughter of Duke Magnus, he disputed with the Guelphs the inheritance of the house of Billing. Bavaria, from the impulse of fear or affection, submitted on the first approach of the Austrians, and so rapid was the revolution, so universally was he deserted, that Henry the Proud, with only four fol-

followers, escaped from the banks of the Danube to those of the Weser and the Elbe. There indeed he made a vigorous and successful stand. Richenza embraced her daughter, and appealed to her fathers: the Saxons were impatient of a foreign master, the allodial estates of Brunswick and Luneburgh poured forth a swarm of soldiers; and no sooner had they recovered from their first astonishment, than the Guelphic vassals of Swabia and Bavaria resorted in crowds to the standard of their lord. The son-in-law of Lothaire found an army, and that army had a general; his pride was stimulated by shame and resentment; the Bear fled before the Lion, (I use the quaint language of the age,) and Albert of Brandenburgh sought a refuge in the court of his benefactor. Exasperated by this haughty defiance, Conrad himself marched against the rebel at the head of a royal army: but on a nearer survey of his strength the Emperor halted, doubtful of the event; a parley was sounded, a negociation was opened, a diet was announced. In a general, perhaps a more impartial assembly, Henry prepared to defend the justice of his cause by arguments as well as by arms, when, after a short illness in his thirty-seventh year (1139) his worldly contentions were terminated by the hand of death. A death thus premature, thus sudden, thus seasonable, might awaken suspicions of poison: and these suspicions have been propagated and believed by the zeal of party: but they are not justified by the character of the times, of the nation, or of the personal adversaries of the Duke

Duke of Saxony. The Germans of the twelfth century might be often cruel, but they were seldom perfidious.

After the decease of Henry the Proud, (1139) the eldest hope of the Guelphic line reposed on his only son, the third Henry, an orphan of ten years of age, who afterwards claimed the royal appellation of the LION, either from his father, his character, or his armorial ensigns. The personal resentments which had been excited by the pride of the late duke might be disarmed by the tender innocence of his successor; but political enemies, and some of them were bishops, are rarely moved by generosity or compassion, and the young Lion must have been caught in the toils had not his brave and faithful Saxons defended with persevering arms the child of the nation. His grand-mother Richenza, a woman as it should seem of sense and spirit, possessed the affection, and assumed the regency of the country: but her daughter Gertrude, a blooming and impatient widow, was too soon (1141) persuaded to form an hostile connexion, and her second marriage with Henry, Margrave of Austria, the brother and successor of Leopold, appeared to countenance the usurpation of Bavaria. Yet this alliance was productive of a truce and a treaty, and the son of Gertrude, renouncing by his mother's advice the Bavarian duchy, was acknowledged as Duke of Saxony by the Emperor and empire; a specious act, which ensured some years of domestic peace, without any material injury to the right of the minor. The education of Henry the

the Lion was that of a Saxon and a soldier, to support the inclemency of the seasons, to disdain the temptations of luxury, to manage the horse and the lance, to contend with his equals in the exercise of military and even civil virtues, and to disguise the superior gifts of fortune, perhaps of nature, by the winning graces of modesty and gentleness. At eighteen (1147) the Duke of Saxony and, as he still deemed himself, of Bavaria, was introduced at the diet of Frankfort into an assembly of men and princes; and the recent institution of knighthood supplied the national custom of delivering the sword and spear to a noble youth. Europe was then agitated by the preparations of the second crusade: the Emperor Conrad and the King of France had listened to the voice of St. Bernard, and while the flame of enthusiasm was kindled in every martial bosom, the spirit of Henry would prompt him to march, and might lead him to perish in the dangerous adventure. But the northern states of Germany, with their allies of Denmark and Poland, preferred an holy warfare less remote, more beneficial, and equally meritorious, against the idolatrous Slavi of the Baltic coast; and one hundred and sixty thousand soldiers of Christ were speedily enrolled to convert or exterminate his enemies. The Duke of Saxony, with a numerous body of his vassals and subjects, unfurled the banner of the cross; and although this first campaign was neither successful nor glorious, he shewed himself on a splendid theatre to the Christians and Pagans of the North. After the

the return of the Emperor from the Holy Land, Henry the Lion endeavoured, without success, to wrest Bavaria from his Austrian competitor; but while he was detained on the Danube, a messenger announced that Conrad had entered Saxony with a great army. "Command my vassals (replied the dauntless chief) to assemble at Brunswick: on Christmas-day they shall find me at their head." The term was short, the distance was long, the passes were guarded; yet the Duke was faithful to his appointment. Disguising his person, with only three attendants, he darted swift and secret through the hostile country, appeared on the fifth day in the camp of Brunswick, and forced his imperial adversary to sound a precipitate retreat. (1150.)

During the minority of Henry, a valiant uncle, Guelph VIII. asserted in arms the cause of his nephew: but if the proscription of the father and the renunciation of the son were admitted as legal acts, he claimed Bavaria as the patrimony of his ancestors. His reasons were specious; his troops were drawn from the hereditary estates of Swabia and Italy; the subsidies of the Kings of Sicily and Hungary fomented the rebellion; he often prevailed in the battles and sieges of a ten years war; and if Guelph was sometimes crushed by the weight of imperial power his invincible spirit rose more terrible from every defeat. It was at one of these battles that the contending shouts of *Hye Guelph! Hye Ghibelline!* produced the names of the two factions so famous afterwards and so fatal

in the annals of Italy. It was in one of these sieges that a splendid example was displayed of conjugal tenderness and faith. As an offended sovereign, Conrad had refused all terms of capitulation to the garrison of Winesberg; but as a courteous knight he permitted the women to depart with such of their precious effects as they themselves could transport. The gates of the town were thrown open; and a long procession of matrons, each bearing a husband, or at least a man, on her shoulders, passed in safety through the applauding camp. This moral story, which is told (if I am not mistaken) by the spectator, may be supported, however, by ancient evidence: but the wife of Guelph, the Duchess Ita, must be excluded from the honourable list; since her husband was actually in the field, attempting with insufficient forces the relief of Winesberg. After seven campaigns, (1140—1147,) these destructive hostilities were suspended by the engagement of the rival chiefs in the second crusade; but no sooner had they reached Constantinople, than Guelph, under the pretence of sickness, deserted the service of the holy sepulchre. He returned by sea; and, after a secret conspiracy with the King of Sicily and the senators of Rome, passed through Italy, descended from the Alps, and resumed an impious war against the absent servants of the cross. In the battle of Flocberg (1150) against Henry, the son of Conrad, he strove to cover the retreat of his fainting troops; their heavy armour protected them from mortal wounds; but three hundred

hundred of his knights were made prisoners; the treatment of their leader, a supposed captive, was debated in the Emperor's council, and his triumph was announced to the east and west. The captive, alas! was still free and vigorous, and obstinate. Instead of suing for pardon, he stipulated a treaty (1151); and the favours of the court were the reward of his long opposition. But the mind of Guelph was still hostile to the persecutors of his family, and he joined with his peers, who refused to attend their unpopular sovereign in his Roman pilgrimage.

After the decease of Conrad, the unanimous election of his nephew Frederic Barbarossa (1152) appeared to open a new prospect of concord and peace. The aspiring monarch, who already grasped the kingdoms of Italy, embraced the Margrave of Austria and the Guelphic princes as his friends and kinsmen, and sincerely laboured to terminate their Bavarian quarrel by an amicable compromise, or a judicial sentence. The claimant pressed a speedy decision; but the actual possessor interposed so many evasions and delays, that the final settlement was postponed till the Emperor should return from his Roman coronation. Frederic passed the Alps with a court and army not unworthy of the successor of Charlemagne (1154): the uncle and the nephew were desirous of showing their power and proving their loyalty, and the gallant squadrons that marched under the banner of the *Lion* were equal in number to those of the Emperor himself. From the siege of Tortona and the

camp of Milan, in which the name of Henry is mentioned with honour, I hasten to the Vatican, (1155). A transient harmony prevailed between the spiritual and temporal monarchs of Christendom: but the imperial crown had scarcely been placed on the head of Frederic, when the alarm-bell rang from the Capitol, and the august rites were disturbed by an assault of the Romans from the bridge St. Angelo. The Germans stood in arms, and battle-array; after a conflict of some hours, they slew or drove into the river a thousand rebels, without losing a single man; and the glory of the day was ascribed to the Duke of Saxony, who fought in the foremost ranks. At his entreaty the Pope relaxed the strictness of ecclesiastical discipline: the Emperor declared him the firmest pillar of his throne; and as Frederic was young and brave he might express the genuine feelings of affection and esteem. On his first entrance into Italy, Henry had exercised the rights of primogeniture and dominion, in renewing the preceding grants to his cousins the Marquisses of Este. The son of Cunegonde was many years older than the children of Garsenda: and the descendant of the former was already in the fourth, while the posterity of the latter was only in the second, degree from their common parent.

Without involving Germany in a civil war, the restitution of Bavaria could no longer be delayed. The Emperor had pledged his word; the diets had pronounced their sentence; and the performance was imperiously urged by the arguments, the services,

services, and the power of Henry the Lion, who had received the homage of the nobles, and the oaths and hostages of the city of Ratisbon. A fair compensation, however, was yielded to his father-in-law, the uncle of Frederic Barbarossa, as soon as he desisted from a possession of eighteen years; and the agreement, which had been discussed in many private assemblies, was consummated by a public ceremony in the plain of Ratisbon (1156). Henry, Margrave of Austria, resigned the seven banners, or symbols, of the Bavarian duchy, into the hands of the Emperor, who delivered them to Henry the Lion: but the Guelphic prince immediately returned two of these banners which were used by Frederic in the investiture of his uncle. The Margrave of Austria was created an independent duke: his territories, with the addition of three neighbouring counties, were for ever enfranchised from the dominion of Bavaria: the right of succession was extended to his female heirs, and his extraordinary privileges seemed to raise him above a subject of the empire. By this act the circle of the Duke of Bavaria was circumscribed: but the bishops of the province still attended his courts; and he stretched a real or nominal jurisdiction over the three remaining marches of Tirol, Styria, and Istria, as far as the shores of the Adriatic gulf.

After his return to allegiance, Guelph VIII. had been content with the vague appellation of Duke, till it was fixed and realized by the acquisition of the Italian provinces, in which his elder brother,

his uncle, and perhaps his more distant ancestors, had formerly reigned. From the liberality of his nephew, Frederic Barbarossa, (1153,) he received the titles and possessions of Duke of Spoleto, Marquis of Tuscany, Prince of Sardinia, and Lord of the house or patrimony of the Countess Matilda, against whose donation, as the heir of her second husband, he might lawfully protest. Her allodial estates on either bank of the Po, on either side of the Apennine had been dilapidated by waste and rapine; but the power of the Emperor, and the prudence of Guelph, reduced them into the form of a well regulated and productive domain. At the head of a strong army he performed the circuit of the Duchy and the Marquisate; invested seven Counts with as many banners; garrisoned the castles with his faithful vassals, dictated his charters to *his own* notaries, revived in his parliaments the authority of the royal laws, and bridled, with a firm hand, the ambitious independence of the Tuscan cities. Pisa alone was a free and flourishing republic: but the Pisans, in every division, adhered to the Emperor; they respected the dignity of his Lieutenant, and it was only through the medium of their maritime conquests that Guelph could assume the title of Prince of Sardinia.

The prosperity of Henry the Lion had now reached its summit, and he might justly fear the revolution of the descending wheel. A sovereign, the most opulent and fortunate of his age, was reduced to the state of a culprit, a suppliant, an exile; and the last fifteen years of his life (1180 1195,)

1195,) exemplified the sage remark of antiquity, that no man should be pronounced happy before the hour of his death.

To the resentment, legitimate or unjust, of the Emperor Frederic Barbarossa, the cause of his ruin must be ascribed. The long union of these princes had been apparently cemented by a singular conformity: they had both passed the middle season of life without any male posterity. On both sides they entertained and encouraged a fond hope of surviving and inheriting; but amidst their professions and professions, each was tempted to hate and despise the other for indulging the same wish which he secretly cherished in his own bosom. The Duke of Saxony was first awakened from this dream of ambition, and his prospects were blasted by the birth (1165) of a royal infant, who at the age of four years was crowned King of Germany and heir apparent of the Roman Empire. Such a natural event, such a just exclusion might disappoint a presumptive successor; but he could loudly complain of the avarice and treachery of his friend, who grasped with disingenuous arts the inheritance of their common uncle. I have already enumerated the titles and possessions of Guelph VIII. who reigned in the middle provinces of Italy, and aspired to found in its native soil a second dynasty of the house of Este-Brunswick. His designs were seconded by the fair promise of a son, the ninth and last of his respectable name. The youth was educated in the arts of policy and war; during his father's absence beyond the sea

or the mountains, he supported the weight of government; and his firm humanity protected the Italian subjects against the rapine and violence of the German soldiers. But this new Marcellus was only shewn to the world. The father had retired to the banks of the Danube, apprehensive of losing the merit of a pilgrimage in the guilt of a schism: the son was permitted to lead his forces and to follow the Emperor: but Guelph IX. perished in this unfortunate campaign, a premature victim not of the enemy's sword, but of the epidemical disease which swept away so many thousands at the siege of Rome. After this irreparable loss the Tuscan prince considered Henry the Lion as the sole representative of the Guelphic name: a will was drawn in favour of his nephew; but as the Cæsar of the twelfth century was always prodigal and often poor, he required, for the assurance of so many provinces, the grateful retribution of a gift, a loan, or a fine. The demand could not be refused, but the ill-timed parsimony of the new Cato so long hesitated, that the peevish old man was offended by the hesitation which bespoke a doubt of his honour or the expectation of his speedy death. So fair an opportunity of supplanting his cousin was seized by the vigilant and dexterous Frederic; he stepped forwards with an immediate offer of the money; the offer was eagerly accepted; the pride of family yielded to the impulse of passion, and Guelph VIII. surrendered to a Ghibelline heir, all his feudal and allodial estates in Italy and Swabia, reserving only the

the enjoyment of them during his own life. The mortification of Henry was embittered by a tardy sense of his own folly; his wounded spirit was inflamed by fresh injuries and new suspicions, and he accused the Emperor of tampering with his servants to betray their trust and deliver his castles, as soon as they should hear of their master's death or his pilgrimage to the Holy Land.

While this deep animosity rankled in his breast, Henry the Lion was summoned (1174) to attend the Emperor beyond the Alps, and to draw his sword against the rebels of Lombardy. He disobeyed the summons, and his disobedience might be justified by the spirit of the times and of the constitution. The strict military duty of a vassal was confined to the defence of Germany, and the imperial coronation at Rome. At the coronation of Frederic, the Duke had signalized his valour and fidelity. In a second *voluntary* expedition he had freely exposed his person and his troops; but he could not submit to be the perpetual slave of obstinacy and ambition, to join in the oppression of an innocent and injured people, to persecute a Pope who was acknowledged by the greatest part of Christendom, and to prepare, by the conquest of Italy, the future servitude of his country. The complaint of age and infirmity may seem ill-adapted to the ripe manhood of forty-six years; but a soldier might express no dishonourable fear of the climate, the diseases, and perhaps the poison which had been fatal to the bravest of his nation and family. The government of the two great duchies of

of Saxony and Bavaria, engaged the full attention of Henry the Lion, and his Slavic labours in war and peace were an ample discharge of his debt to the church and state. Such reasons are specious, such scruples might be sincere; but he debased their value by offering to accept as the reward of his military service the city of Goslar, which would have given him the exclusive command of the silver mines. Frederic disdained to pay this exorbitant price, but he soon repented of his disdain: Milan had arisen from its ashes, the league of Lombardy was powerful and united; a ruinous winter was consumed in the siege, or rather blockade of Alexandria; his Germans fainted, his Bohemians retired, and his spirit was reduced to implore the aid of an enemy who smiled at his distress. The two princes had an interview at Chiavenna, near the lake of Como. Henry was still cold and inexorable, and after trying every mode of argument and prayer, the Emperor, such is the meanness of ambition, threw himself at the feet of his vassal. The unrelenting vassal, with secret joy and apparent confusion, raised his sovereign from the ground; but he listened without displeasure to a loud whisper of one of his attendants, "Suffer, dread sir, the imperial crown to lie at your feet, speedily it must be placed on your head." Some vague professions of loyalty faintly coloured the denial and departure of the Duke, and the Empress who had been an indignant witness of the scene, addressed her husband in the vehemence of female passion, "Remember

member what has passed, and God will remember it one day!" The admonition was needless, at least for the temporal monarch. All his subsequent misfortunes, the failure before Alexandria (1175), the loss of the battle of Lignano, (1176), the ignominious treaty of Venice (1177), were imputed to the desertion of Henry the Lion; and the Emperor accused him in a public assembly of an indirect conspiracy against his life and honour.

After the revolt of Italy the genius and fortune of Frederic still commanded the obedience of the Germans; and the ruin of the Guelphic house was the first aim of his policy and revenge. The pride of Henry has been arraigned for refusing an act of oblivion at the moderate price of five thousand marks of silver; but such a fine would have been a confession of guilt rather than a pledge of safety; and the artful Ghibelline, after sacrificing his private resentments, would have maintained the character of an inflexible judge.

In the portraits of the uncle and the nephew, of Guelph VIII., and Henry the Lion, a contemporary (1158) has presumed to borrow the pencil of Sallust; and Radevic observes with satisfaction, that the sublime characters of Cæsar and Cato had been revived in his own age. Such indeed was the difference of the times and the countries that the comparison could not be very perfect or precise: the Cato of the twelfth century could not be animated by the patriotism of a citizen and the philosophy of a Stoic: nor could the new Cæsar possess

possess the universal genius which aspired and deserved to be the first of mankind. Yet the milder Guelph might be endowed with an amiable facility of giving and forgiving, while the more rigid Henry affected the useful virtues of patience, constancy, and justice. The tone of panegyric, the propensity of human nature, and the lives of the two heroes, will even prompt a suspicion that their dissimilar merits degenerated into the opposite faults; that the boundless indulgence of the uncle was often careless and profuse; and that the inflexible severity of the nephew was not always exempt from harshness and pride. By those who may have seen Henry the Lion, he is described with black eyes and hair, of a majestic countenance, middle stature, and muscular strength. His nobility, riches and power were extraneous accidents; but the Duke of Saxony and Bavaria stood near thirty years (1150—1180) in a lofty station, the second only in dignity and renown to one of the most illustrious of the German emperors.

In the rudeness of the middle age, the task of government required rather a strong than a skilful hand. Servile labour and blind obedience were imposed on the people: the clergy exercised a separate jurisdiction; and the nobles demanded only a judge and a leader, who himself followed the court and the standard of his supreme lord. The provinces of Henry the Lion extended to the foot of the Alps, and the shores of the Baltic; his civil and religious duties transported him beyond the

the mountains and the sea: yet so rapid was his motion, so vigorous his command, that the absent prince was still present to the hopes of his subjects and the fears of his enemies. His valour had been signalized at Rome: in the second expedition of Frederic into Italy, the distress, or at least the difficulties of the Emperor, were relieved by the welcome arrival of the Guelphic troops: the Tuscans and Swabians of the uncle, the Bavarians and Saxons of the nephew, almost doubled his army: and their seasonable succour determined the success of the siege of Crema, one of the most desperate actions of the war of Lombardy. Henry visited Bavaria as often as he was called (and he was often called) to redress injuries and pacify tumults; and the foundation of Munich is a flourishing proof of his discernment and munificence. But Henry kept his principal residence in Saxony: Brunswick was his capital: the statue of a lion commemorates his name and dominion; he fortified the city with a ditch and wall; and, according to the balance of attack and defence, such fortifications might afford a respectable protection. The silver mines of the Hartz, which have been improved by his successors, were already worked by his peasants, and in the scarcity of precious metals, this singular advantage rendered him one of the richest sovereigns in Europe. Jealous or envious of his greatness, the ecclesiastic and secular princes conspired on all sides against the Saxon Duke: from Bremen and Cologne to Magdeburgh they successively fell before him; and a sentence of the diet

diet pronounced the injustice of their fallen arms (1166.) A King of Denmark was expelled by two competitors: he had acknowledged the supremacy of the empire; and the eloquence of prayers or of gold prevailed on Henry to vindicate his cause. The Duke passed the wall of the limits (1156), pillaged the city of Sleswick, and advanced fourteen days march into the country: the approach of the Danes, the want of provisions, or the holy season of Lent compelled him to retreat; but the vessels of his Slavic subjects transported Sweno to the isles, and the fugitive was reinstated in a third part of his kingdom. After the reunion of the Danish monarchy, Henry contracted a public and private alliance with Waldemar I.: these ambitious princes had several personal interviews; and their confederate arms invaded by sea and land the Slavic idolaters of the Baltic coast.

The alternative of death or baptism had formerly been proposed to the Saxon ancestors of Henry the Lion. He presented the same alternative to the idolatrous Slavi, and a superstitious age applauded the triumph of the Catholic hero. At the end of ten years (1160—1170) of an holy war, interrupted however by some truces, the powerful and obstinate tribe of the Obotrites, who occupied the present duchy of Mecklenburgh, were reduced to accept the laws and religion of the conqueror. In the open field, in fair battle, they could not struggle with the arms and discipline of the Germans; and such rude bulwarks as the natives could raise were soon overthrown by the engines

engines that had been used in the sieges of Italy. But they often prevailed in the surprise and stratagems of excursive hostility; and the traces of their footsteps were lost in the impervious woods and morasses which overspread the face of the country. On the sea they were dexterous and daring pirates; and unless the mouths of the rivers were carefully guarded, they manned their light brigantines, and ravaged with impunity the isles of Denmark and the adjacent coasts. To the first summons, Niclot, King or great prince of the Obotrites, returned an answer of ironical submission, that he would adore Henry, and that Henry, if he pleased, might adore his Christ; a profane mockery, since the pagans themselves reconciled the worship of idols with the belief of a supreme deity. After the failure of a sally, the barbarian upbraided the effeminacy of his two sons: it was incumbent on him to upbraid them by his own success; but he fell in the rash attempt; his head, as a grateful present, was sent to the Danish King; and a third son, who served in the Christian army, applauded with savage zeal the justice of his father's punishment. The two brothers, Pribislaus and Wertislaus, succeeded to the command, and delayed the servitude of the nation. In the siege of their most important fortress, the elder hovered round the Saxon camp, while the younger assumed the more dangerous task of defending the place. After refusing an honourable capitulation, Wertislaus threw himself on the mercy of the conqueror, who sent the royal captive to Brunswick, ignominiously bound in fetters

fetters of iron. A treaty soon placed him in the more responsible situation of an hostage: the Obotrites, perhaps by his secret instigation, again rose in arms; but Wertislaus himself was the victim of rebellion, and as soon as the Duke of Saxony entered the Slavic territory, he shewed the King hanging on a gibbet. This act of cruelty may perhaps be justified by the maxims of war or policy: but if the Duke appealed to the recent massacre of Mecklenburgh, the rebels perhaps might plead the retaliation of some prior injuries. The fortune of the younger brother was less disastrous; after a brave defence of his country and his gods, Pribislaus submitted, like Witikind, to the yoke of necessity, and embraced, with apparent sincerity, the religion and manners of the victorious Germans. Henry, who esteemed his valour, restored to the Christian vassals the greatest part of the dominions which he had wrested from the pagan adversary; and the reigning family of the dukes of Mecklenburgh is lineally descended from Pribislaus, the last king of the Obotrites. The Slavic provinces beyond the Elbe were possessed by Henry the Lion, not as a portion of the Germanic empire, but as an absolute and independent conquest which he alone had been able to achieve. The Guelphic duke was styled the prince of princes, and legislator of nations, and the three new bishops of the Obotrites received from his hand their pastoral crosier, a prerogative which Rome had denied to the emperors themselves.

I observe with a mixture of pain and pleasure the

the beneficial consequences of war and persecution. The improvement of agriculture and the arts alleviated in some degree the servitude of the Christian proselytes. The Saxon castles of Henry and his vassals were gradually incorporated into flourishing towns. By the institutions of churches and convents the first rays of knowledge were diffused; and from Holland, Flanders, and Westphalia, the vacant desert was replenished with industrious colonies who have almost extinguished the manners and language of the Slavic race. The foundation of Lubeck is a memorable event in the history of commerce. Near the mouth of the river Trave, that falls into the Baltic, that convenient station had been discovered and used by some Christian merchants: but their infant settlement was repeatedly destroyed by fire, and the sword of the Pagans: and its progress was discouraged by the jealousy of Henry the Lion, till he had acquired (1157) from his vassal, the Count of Holstein, the absolute and immediate property of the soil. Under the shadow of his power, Lubeck arose on a broad and permanent basis: the establishment of a mint and a custom-house declared the riches and the hopes of the sovereign: the seat of a bishop was transferred to the rising city; and the grant of a municipal government secured the personal, and prepared the political liberty of the burghers. The proclamation of the Duke of Saxony to the Danes and Norwegians, the Swedes and Russians, discovers a liberal knowledge of the advantages of trade and the methods of encouragement. They

are invited to frequent his harbour of Wisby, with the assurance that the ways shall be open and secure by land and water; that they shall be hospitably entertained and may freely depart; that the imposition of duties shall be light and easy: that their persons and property shall be guarded from injury; and that in case of death the effects of a stranger shall be carefully preserved for the benefit of his heirs. The charter of Henry to the merchants of the isle of Gothland is still extant; the first outline of the maritime code of Wisby, as famous in the Baltic as the Rhodian laws had been formerly in the Mediterranean. This judicious policy was rewarded with a large and rapid increase: but the arts of cultivation have far less energy and effect than the spontaneous vigour of nature and freedom. The commerce and navigation of his favourite colony increased with her growing independence, and before the end of the thirteenth century, Lubeck became the metropolis of the sixty-four cities of the Hanseatic league. That singular republic, so widely scattered, and so loosely connected, was in possession, above two hundred years, of the respect of kings, the naval dominion of the Baltic, the Herring fishery, and the monopoly of a lucrative trade. Novogorod in Russia, Bergen in Norway, London in England, and Bruges in Flanders were their four principal factories or staples. The large ships of their numerous and annual fleets exported all the productions of the North, and sailed homewards richly laden with the precious commodities and manufactures of the

southern climates. Lubeck, an imperial city, was soon enfranchised from the dominion of the House of Brunswick; but Henry the Lion was revered as a founder; and his great grandson, Duke Albert, obtained from Henry III. (1266) the first English charter of the Hanseatic towns.

The baptism, or the blood, of so many thousand pagans might have expiated the sins of the Catholic hero: but his conscience was still unsatisfied, his salvation was still doubtful, and it was in the fairest season of victory and peace (1172) that he accomplished the fashionable devotion of a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. His first attendant Pribislaus, King of the Obotrites, exhibited to the world his own faith and the fame of the conqueror: the Bishop of Worms, the imperial ambassador, accompanied him as far as Constantinople; several eminent persons of the clergy and nobility imitated his example; their followers were numerous: a train of horses and waggons transported the baggage and provisions, and the camp was guarded by twelve hundred knights or soldiers exercised in the use of arms. After leaving Ratisbon, and the confines of Bavaria, the Guelphic prince was kindly entertained by Henry, Duke of Austria, their former differences were buried in oblivion, and they mingled their tears at the tomb of a mother and a wife. Hungary was the kingdom of a Christian ally; and the journey was continued by land and water from Vienna to Belgrade: the duke preferred the more easy, though perilous, navigation of the Danube; but his progress was mea-

sured by the march of the caravan which joined him every evening on the banks of the river. From Belgrade to Nissa he painfully advanced through the woods and morasses of Servia and Bulgaria, whose wild inhabitants, the nominal subjects of Christ and the Greek emperor, were more inclined to claim the privilege of rapine, than to exercise the laws of hospitality: they attacked his camp in the night; their feeble arms were repelled by his vigilance, and his genuine piety disdained the temptation of revenge. In the journey between Nissa and Constantinople, the way-worn pilgrims enjoyed the comforts of a civilized and friendly province, and the Emperor Manuel, who had sent an embassy to Brunswick, received Henry as the equal of kings. The wealth and luxury of the Byzantine court were ostentatiously displayed, and after the pleasures of the chace and banquet, the Saxon or his chaplains disputed with the Greeks on the procession of the Holy Ghost. The friendship of the two princes was confirmed by mutual gifts, and the Russian furs were, perhaps, overbalanced by the horses and arms, the scarlet cloth and fine linen of Germany. A stout ship was provided for the duke and his peculiar retinue, and the voyage from Constantinople to St. John of Acre, on the coast of Palestine, was disturbed by a storm, and is embellished by a miracle. After a short journey by land he reached Jerusalem, and was saluted in solemn procession by the patriarch and the military orders. Henry the Lion visited the holy sepulchre and all the customary places

places of devotion in the city and country: the churches were adorned with the silver of the Saxon mines; and he presented the Templars with a thousand marks for the service of their perpetual crusade. Palestine applauded his liberal and magnanimous spirit, and had he not been prevented by secret jealousies, his valour might have been felt by the Turks and Saracens.

In his return by a different way the Duke of Saxony was actuated by motives of convenience rather than of curiosity. He followed the sea coast of Syria to the northward: from the harbour of Seleucia or St. Simeon the vessels of the Prince of Antioch transplanted him over the gulf to the river of Tarsus in Cilicia; and by this short passage he escaped the territories of a faithless Emir. From Tarsus to Constantinople his march intersected in a diagonal line the extent of Asia Minor: the mountains were of laborious ascent; the sandy plain was destitute of water and provisions; the more populous country was full of danger, suspicion, and Mahometan zeal: and Henry was the only pilgrim who, as a peaceful traveller, proceeded in safety through the Turkish dominions. But the Sultan of Iconium, Kilidge Arslan II., of the race of Seljuk, watched over his safety, embraced him as a friend, praised his religion, and claimed on the mother's side a distant affinity with the House of Saxony. His presents, in the oriental style, were adapted to the accommodation and amusement of the noble stranger; a *caftan* or flowing robe of silk embroidery, the choice for

himself and his followers of eighteen hundred horses, of whom thirty most sumptuously caparisoned were selected for his peculiar use; six tents of felt, and six camels to carry them; two well-trained leopards with the proper horses and servants for that singular mode of hunting. Such gifts might be accepted without a blush; some precious gems, more precious for the workmanship than the materials, might be honourably received from the Greek Emperor: but the duke rejected the gold and silver of the Byzantine court, declaring in a tone of lofty politeness that of such metals his own treasury was sufficiently provided. The avarice of Henry was confined to the acquisition of holy relics, and of these he imported an ample store from Palestine and Greece: but the reformation has annihilated their ideal value; the bits of wood or bone have been thrown away; and the empty cases alone are preserved for their curious and costly ornaments. The journey from Constantinople to Ratisbon and Brunswick is not marked by any accident or event. On his return home, after a year's absence (1173), the Duke of Saxony found his name illustrious, his servants faithful, his enemies silent, his dominions in a peaceful and prosperous state: and to the merits of his pilgrimage he would reasonably impute this fair prospect of public and private felicity.

Henry the Lion was twice married: but his first wife Clementia, of the ducal House of Zæringen, gave him only a daughter, who, after being long considered as an heiress, was reduced to comfort

fort herself on the throne of Denmark. His desire of male posterity, the wish of vanity and ambition, at length determined Henry to solicit a divorce; some bar of remote and invisible consanguinity afforded the pretence: every defect of law or evidence was supplied by the all-sufficient oath of the emperor: the sentence was pronounced (1163) by the spiritual court of Constance: and, without any stain on her own honour or her daughter's legitimacy, Clementia found a second husband in the princely family of Savoy. The policy of Frederic Barbarossa had eagerly solicited the separation; he wished to connect himself and his friend with the most powerful and illustrious of our English kings; and the imperial ambassadors demanded Matilda, eldest daughter of Henry II., for the Duke of Saxony and Bavaria. The fame of Henry the Lion, of his birth and merit, his riches and dominion, obtained from the father an easy consent and an ample dower: the Princess Royal of England embarked for Germany with a splendid train: the marriage ceremony was performed (1168) at Minden in Westphalia; as the bride was no more than twelve years of age, the consummation was delayed, but she remained pregnant at the departure of her husband for the Holy Land. In his absence the duchess kept her court at Brunswick, and administered a nominal regency, under the guard and guidance of his most faithful servants: but her private virtues were her own; the genuine lustre of meekness, purity, and benevolence was enhanced in the popular esteem by de-

vout prayers and frequent masses; and "she was beautified (says an historian with some elegance) by the comeliness of religion." After the return of Henry her riper age soon blessed him with a numerous progeny. Besides two, or perhaps three daughters, Matilda became the mother of four sons, Henry, Lothaire, Otho, and William, from the youngest of whom all the princes of Brunswick are lineally derived. By this alliance they number among their ancestors the Plantagenets, Counts of Anjou, the Dukes of Aquitain and Normandy, the Kings of Scotland whose origin is lost in a Highland mist, and the Kings of England, the descendants of the Saxon conquerors, who drew their fabulous pedigree from the God Woden. The male posterity of Henry II. soon withered, almost to the root: the eldest son of the Princess Matilda was the presumptive heir of his uncle King John; and after the birth of Henry III. no more than a single life, the precarious life of a boy, stood between his title and the throne of England. According to the probable order of events the children of Henry the Lion should have reigned over us five hundred years before the accession of the Hanover family.

The fair anticipation of the name of Este-Brunswick may denote the venerable stem before its separation into the German and Italian branches.

A generation of mankind, the common interval between the birth of a father and that of his son, is fixed by Herodotus at the term of about thirty-three

three years, at the computation of three generations for one century. The experience of modern times has confirmed the reckoning of the Greek historian: and, though a royal marriage may be hastened for the important object of succession, yet the same rule has been verified in the families of sovereigns and subjects.* It is strictly just in the twenty-two generations and the seven hundred and sixty-six years (996—1762) which have elapsed from the birth of the Marquis Azo to that of the Prince of Wales; and if the collateral lines of Brunswick and Modena afford no more than twenty-one, and twenty generations, the difference might be explained by some peculiar circumstances of their respective history.

Twenty-two generations, seven or eight hundred years, occupy a small place even in the historical period of the world. But all greatness is relative; and there are not many pedigrees, in Europe or Asia, which can establish, by clear and contemporary proofs, a similar antiquity. If the ancestors of the Marquis Azo are lost, as they must be finally lost, in the darkness and disorder of the middle ages, it will be remembered that the use of hereditary names and armorial ensigns was unknown; that the descent of power and property was frequently violated; that few events were recorded, and that few records have been preserved. Yet human pride may draw some comfort from the re-

* See Herodotus, l. ii. c. 142. and his justification by Freret. Histoire de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xiv. p. 15—20.

flection

flection that the authors of the race of Este-Brunswick can never be found in a private or plebeian rank: their first appearance is with the dignity of princes; and they start at once, perfect and in arms, like Pallas from the head of Jupiter.

[The reader will probably regret, with the editor, that Mr. Gibbon did not complete this interesting disquisition—so far, at least, as to make it reach the auspicious event of the settlement of the House of Hanover on the British Throne. That the reader may not be wholly dissappointed, the editor has inserted, in this place, an Extract from Mr. Butler's *Succinct History of the Geographical and Political Revolutions of the Empire of Germany*, which gives some account of the House of Brunswick, from the period at which Mr. Gibbon leaves it, till the period we have mentioned, after which it is familiar to every British reader.]

"HENRY the Black was the founder of the *German Principalities* possessed by his family. He married Wolphidis, the sole heiress of Herman of Billung, the Duke of Saxony, and of his possessions on the Elbe. His son, Henry the Proud, married Gertrude, the heiress of the duchies of Saxony, Brunswick, and Hanover. Thus Henry the Proud,

"1st. As representing Azo, his great-grandfather,—inherited some part of the Italian possessions of the younger branch of the Estesine family: they chiefly lay on the southern side of the fall of the Po into the Adriatic:

"2d. As

" 2d. As representing Count Boniface, the father of the Princess Mechtildis—he inherited the Italian possessions of the elder branch of the Estesine family; they chiefly lay in Tuscany; some part of the possessions of the Princess Mechtildis also devolved to him:

" 3d. As representing Cunegunda, his grandmother—he inherited the possessions of the Guelphs at Altorf:

" 4th. As representing his mother, the sole heiress of Herman of Billung—he inherited the possessions of the Saxon family on the Elbe:

" 5th. And through his wife—he transmitted the duchies of Saxony, Brunswick, and Hanover.

" All these possessions descended to Henry the Lion, the son of Henry the Proud. He added to them Bavaria, on the cession of Henry Jossemargott, and Lunenburgh and Mecklenburgh by conquest. Thus he became possessed of an extensive territory,—he himself used to describe it in four German verses which have been thus translated:

" *Henry the Lion* is my name:
Through all the earth, I spread my fame,
For, from the Elbe, unto the Rhine,
From Hartz, unto the sea,—ALL'S MINE.

" In other words, his possessions filled a considerable portion of the territory between the Rhine, the Baltic, the Elbe, and the Tyber.

" Unfortunately for him, in the quarrels between

tween the Pope and the Emperor Barbarossa, he sided with the former. The emperor confiscated his possessions, but returned him his allodial estates in Brunswick, Hanover, and Lunenburgh; he died in 1195. By his first wife he had no issue male: his second wife was Maud, the daughter of Henry the Second, King of England. By her he had several sons, all of whom died except William, called of Winchester from his being born in that city. William of Winchester had issue Otho, called Puer, or the boy.

"At the decease of Otho Puer, the partition of this illustrious house commences. The subject of these sheets leads only to the Lunenburgh branches of the Guelphic shoot of the Estesine line.

"On the death of Otho the boy, Brunswick and Lunenburgh, the only remains of the splendid possessions of his grandfather, William the Proud, were divided between his two sons, John and Albert: Lunenburgh was assigned to the former, Brunswick to the latter. Thus the former became the patriarch of, what is called, *the Old House of Lunenburgh.* Otho his son received Hanover as a fief from William Sigefred, the Bishop of Hildesheim. Otho had four sons; Otho his first son succeeded him, and dying without issue was succeeded by his brother William with the large feet. He died in 1369, without issue male; the two other sons of Otho the father also died without male issue.

"Thus there was a general failure of issue male of John, the patriarch of the old house of Lunenburgh.

burgh. By the influence of the Emperor Charles the Fourth, Otho, elector of Saxony, who had married Elizabeth, the daughter of William, succeeded to the duchy. He died without issue, and left it, by his will, to his uncle Winceslaus, elector of Saxony. It was contested with him by Torquatus Magnus, duke of Saxony; the contest ended in a compromise; under which Bernard, the eldest son of Torquatus Magnus, obtained it, and became the patriarch of *the Middle House of Lunenburgh;* he died in 1434. After several descents, it vested in Ernest of Zell, who introduced the Lutheran religion into his states.

"After his decease, his sons Henry and William for some time reigned conjointly; but William persuaded his brother to content himself with the country of Danneburgh; while he himself reigned over all the rest, and thus became the patriarch of the *new House of Brunswick-Lunenburgh.*

"He left seven sons; they agreed to cast lots which should marry, and to reign according to their seniority. The lot fell to George, the sixth of the sons. Frederick was the survivor of them.

"On his decease, the duchy descended to Ernest Augustus, the son of George, with whom the *Electoral House of Lunenburgh* commences. His reign is remarkable for two circumstances: his advancement to the electoral dignity, and his wife *Sophia*'s being assigned, by an act of the British parliament, to be the royal stem of the Protestant succession to the throne of Great Britain and Ireland.

"On

" On the demise of Queen Ann, George his son, in virtue of this act of parliament, succeeded to the *British monarchy.*

" The house of Brunswick-Lunenburgh is now divided into branches, the German and the English. The former, under the title of Brunswick-Lunenburgh and Wolfenbuttel, possesses the duchies of Brunswick and Wolfenbuttel, and the countries of Blackenburgh and Reinskin, and reckons 160,000 subjects. The English, under the title of Brunswick-Lunenburgh and Hanover, possesses, with the electoral dignity, the electorate of Hanover, the duchies of Lunenburgh, Zell, Calemberg, Grubenhagen, Deepholt, Bentheim, Lawenburgh, Bremen, and Verdun, and counts 740,000 subjects."

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UNDA.

Count I

M Herman of Billung, and
urgh, &c. on the Elbe.

—Heiress of Saxony,
vick, and Hanover.

AN

ADDRESS, &c.

THAT History is a liberal and useful study, and that the History of our own country is best deserving of our attention, are propositions too clear for argument, and too simple for illustration. Nature has implanted in our breasts a lively impulse to extend the narrow span of our existence by the knowledge of the events that have happened on the soil which we inhabit, of the characters and actions of those men from whom our descent, as individuals or as a people, is probably derived. The same laudable emulation will prompt us to review, and to enrich our common treasure of national glory: and those who are best entitled to the esteem of posterity, are the most inclined to celebrate the merits of their ancestors. The origin and changes of our religion and government, of our arts and manners, afford an entertaining and often an instructive subject of speculation; and the scene is repeated and varied by the entrance of the victorious strangers, the Roman and the Saxon, the Dane and the Norman, who have successively reigned in our stormy Isle. We contemplate the gradual progress of society from the lowest ebb of primitive barbarism, to the full tide of modern civilization.

vilization. We contrast the naked Briton, who might have mistaken the sphere of Archimedes for a rational creature,* and the contemporary of Newton, in whose school Archimedes himself would have been an humble disciple. And we compare the boats of osier and hides that floated along our coasts with the formidable navies which visit and command the remotest shores of the ocean. Without indulging the fond prejudices of patriotic vanity, we may assume a conspicuous place among the inhabitants of the earth. The English will be ranked among the few nations who have cultivated with equal success the arts of war, of learning, and of commerce: and Britain perhaps is the only powerful and wealthy state which has ever possessed the inestimable secret of uniting the benefits of order with the blessings of freedom. It is a maxim of our law, and the constant practice of our courts of justice, never to accept any evidence unless it is the very best which, under the circumstances of the case, can possibly be obtained. If this wise principle be transferred from jurisprudence to criticism, the inquisitive reader of English History will soon ascend to the first witnesses of every period, from whose testimonies the moderns, however sagacious and elo-

* 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?

quent,

quent, must derive their whole confidence and credit. In the prosecution of his inquiries, he will lament that the transactions of the Middle Ages have been imperfectly recorded, and that these records have been more imperfectly preserved: that the successive conquerors of Britain have despised or destroyed the monuments of their predecessors; and that by their violence or neglect so much of our national antiquities has irretrievably perished. For the losses of history are indeed irretrievable: when the productions of fancy or science have been swept away, new poets may invent, and new philosophers may reason; but if the inscription of a single fact be once obliterated, it can never be restored by the united efforts of genius and industry. The consideration of our past losses should incite the present age to cherish and perpetuate the valuable relics which have escaped, instead of condemning the MONKISH HISTORIANS (as they are contemptuously styled) silently to moulder in the dust of our libraries; our candour, and even our justice, should learn to estimate their value, and to excuse their imperfections. Their minds were infected with the passions and errors of their times, but those times would have been involved in darkness, had not the art of writing, and the memory of events, been preserved in the peace and solitude of the cloister. Their Latin style is far removed from the eloquence and purity of Sallust and Livy; but the use of a permanent and general idiom has opened the study, and connected the series of our ancient chronicles, from the age

of Bede to that of Walsingham. In the eyes of a philosophic observer, these monkish historians are even endowed with a singular though accidental merit; the unconscious simplicity with which they represent the manners and opinions of their contemporaries: a natural picture, which the most exquisite art is unable to imitate.

Books, before the invention of printing, were separately and slowly copied by the pen; and the transcripts of our old historians must have been rare; since the number would be proportioned to the number of readers capable of understanding a Latin work, and curious of the history and antiquities of England. The gross mass of the laity, from the baron to the mechanic, were more addicted to the exercises of the body than to those of the mind: the middle ranks of society were illiterate and poor, and the nobles and gentlemen, as often as they breathed from war, maintained their strength and activity in the chace or the tournament. Few among them could read, still fewer could write; none were acquainted with the Latin tongue; and if they sometimes listened to a tale of past times, their puerile love of the marvellous would prefer the romance of Sir Launcelot or Sir Tristram to the authentic narratives most honourable to their country and their ancestors. Till the period of the Reformation, the ignorance and sensuality of the clergy were continually increasing: the ambitious prelate aspired to pomp and power; the jolly monk was satisfied with idleness and pleasure; and the few students of the ecclesiastical

ecclesiastical order perplexed rather than enlightened their understandings with occult science and scholastic divinity. In the monastery in which a chronicle had been composed, the original was deposited, and perhaps a copy; and some neighbouring churches might be induced, by a local or professional interest, to seek the communication of these historical memorials. Such manuscripts were not liable to suffer from the injury of use; but the casualty of a fire, or the slow progress of damp and worms, would often endanger their limited and precarious existence. The sanctuaries of religion were sometimes profaned by aristocratic oppression, popular tumult, or military licence; and although the cellar was more exposed than the library, the envy of ignorance will riot in the spoil of those treasures which it cannot enjoy.

After the discovery of printing, which has bestowed immortality on the works of man, it might be presumed that the new art would be applied without delay, to save and to multiply the remains of our national chronicles. It might be expected that the English, now waking from a long slumber, should blush at finding themselves strangers in their native country; and that our princes, after the example of Charlemagne and Maximilian I. would esteem it their duty and glory to illustrate the history of the people over whom they reigned. But these rational hopes have not been justified by the event. It was in the year 1474 that our first press was established in Westminster Abbey, by William Caxton: but in the choice of his authors, that

liberal and industrious artist was reduced to comply with the vicious taste of his readers; to gratify the nobles with treatises on heraldry, hawking, and the game of chess, and to amuse the popular credulity with romances of fabulous knights, and legends of more fabulous saints. The father of printing expresses a laudable desire to elucidate the history of his country; but instead of publishing the Latin chronicle of Radulphus Higden, he could only venture on the English version by John de Trevisa; and his complaint of the difficulty of finding materials for his own continuation of that work, sufficiently attests that even the writers, which we now possess of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, had not yet emerged from the darkness of the cloister. His successors, with less skill and ability, were content to tread in the footsteps of Caxton; almost a century elapsed without producing one original edition of any old English historian; and the only exception which I recollect is the publication of Gildas (London 1526) by Polydore Virgil, an ingenious foreigner. The presses of Italy, Germany, and even France, might plead in their defence, that the minds of their scholars, and the hands of their workmen, were abundantly exercised in unlocking the treasures of Greek and Roman antiquity; but the world is not indebted to England for one *first* edition of a classic author. This delay of a century is the more to be lamented, as it is too probable that many authentic and valuable monuments of our history were lost in the dissolution of religious houses by Henry the Eighth.

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The protestant and the patriot must applaud our deliverance: but the critic may deplore the rude havoc that was made in the libraries of churches and monasteries, by the zeal, the avarice, and the neglect, of unworthy reformers.

Far different from such reformers was the learned and pious Matthew Parker, the first protestant Archbishop of Canterbury, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. His apostolical virtues were not incompatible with the love of learning, and while he exercised the arduous office, not of governing, but of founding the Church of England, he strenuously applied himself to revive the study of the Saxon tongue, and of English antiquities. By the care of this respectable prelate, four of our ancient historians were successively published: the *Flores* of Matthew of Westminster (1570;) the *Historia Major* of Matthew Paris (1571;) the *Vita Elfridi Regis*, by Asserius; and the *Historia Brevis*, and *Upodigma Neustriæ*, by Thomas Walsingham. After Parker's death, this national duty was for some years abandoned to the diligence of foreigners. The ecclesiastical history of Bede had been printed and reprinted on the continent as the common property of the Latin church; and it was again inserted in a collection of British writers (Heidelberg 1587,) selected with such critical skill, that the romance of Jeffrey of Monmouth, and a Latin abridgment of Froissard, are placed on the same level of historical evidence. An edition of Florence of Worcester, by Howard, (1592,) may be slightly noticed; but we should

gratefully commemorate the labours of Sir Henry Saville, a man distinguished among the scholars of the age by his profound knowledge of the Greek language and mathematical sciences. A just indignation against the base and plebeian authors of our English chronicles, had almost provoked him to undertake the task of a general and legitimate history: but his modest industry declining the character of an architect, was content to prepare materials for a future edifice. Some of the most valuable writers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were rescued by his hands from dirt, and dust, and rottenness *(e situ squalore et pulvere,)* and his collection, under the common title of *Scriptores post Bedam*, was twice printed; first in London (1596,) and afterwards at Frankfort (1601.) During the whole of the seventeenth, and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries, the same studies were prosecuted with vigour and success: a miscellaneous volume of the *Anglica Normanica*, &c. (Frankfort 1603,) and the *Historia Nova* of Eadmer (London 1623,) were produced by Camden and Selden, to whom literature is indebted for more important services. The names of Wheeler and Gibson, of Watts and Warton, of Dugdale and Wilkins, should not be defrauded of their due praise: but our attention is fixed by the elaborate collections of Twysden and Gale: and their titles of *Decem* and *Quindecim Scriptores* announce that their readers possess a series of twenty-five of our old English historians. The last who has dug deep into the mine was Thomas Hearne, a clerk of Oxford,

ford, poor in fortune, and indeed poor in understanding. His minute and obscure diligence, his voracious and undistinguishing appetite, and the coarse vulgarity of his taste and style, have exposed him to the ridicule of idle wits. Yet it cannot be denied that Thomas Hearne has gathered many gleanings of the harvest; but if his own prefaces are filled with crude and extraneous matter, his editions will be always recommended by their accuracy and use.

I am not called upon to inquire into the merits of foreign nations in the study of their respective histories, except as far as they may suggest a useful lesson, or a laudable emulation to ourselves. The patient Germans have addicted themselves to every species of literary labour: and the division of their vast empire into many independent states would multiply the public events of each country, and the pens, however rude, by which they have been saved from oblivion. Besides innumerable editions of particular historians, I have seen (if my memory does not fail me) a list of more than twenty of the voluminous collections of the *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum;* some of these are of a vague and miscellaneous nature; others are relative to a certain period of time; and others again are circumscribed by the local limits of a principality or a province. Among the last I shall only distinguish the *Scriptores Rerum Brunswicensium*, compiled at Hanover in the beginning of this century by the celebrated Leibnitz. We should sympathize with a kind of domestic interest in the fortunes of a

people to whom we are united by our obedience to a common sovereign; and we must explore with respect and gratitude the origin of an illustrious family, which has been the guardian near fourscore years of our liberty and happiness. The antiquarian, who blushes at his alliance with Thomas Hearne, will feel his profession ennobled by the name of Leibnitz. That extraordinary genius embraced and improved the whole circle of human science; and after wrestling with Newton and Clark in the sublime regions of geometry and metaphysics, he could descend upon earth to examine the uncouth characters and barbarous Latin of a chronicle or charter. In this, as in almost every other active pursuit, Spain has been outstripped by the industry of her neighbours. The best collection of her national historians was published in Germany: the recent attempts of her Royal Academy have been languid and irregular, and if some memorials of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries are lately printed at Madrid, her five oldest chronicles after the invasion of the Moors still sleep in the obscurity of provincial editions (Pamplona, 1615, 1634; Barcelona, 1663.) Italy has been productive in every age of revolutions and writers; and a complete series of these original writers, from the year five hundred to the year fifteen hundred, are most accurately digested in the *Scriptores Rerum Italicarum of Muratori.* This stupendous work, which fills twenty-eight folios, and overflows into the six volumes of the *Antiquitates Italiæ Medii Ævi,* was achieved in ____ years by one man;

man; and candour must excuse some defects in the plan and execution, which the discernment, and perhaps the envy of criticism has too rigorously exposed. The antiquities of France have been elucidated by a learned and ingenious people: the original historians, which Duchesne had undertaken to publish, were left imperfect by his death, yet had reached the end of the thirteenth century; and his additional volume (the sixth) comes home to ourselves, since it celebrates the exploits of the Norman Conquerors and Kings of England. About years ago the design of publishing *Les Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, was resumed on a larger scale, and in a more splendid form; and although the name of Dom Bouquet stands foremost, the merit must be shared among the veteran Benedictines of the Abbey of St. Germain des Prez at Paris. This noble collection may be proposed as a model for such national works: the original texts are corrected from the best manuscripts; and the curious reader is enlightened, without being oppressed, by the perspicuous brevity of the prefaces and notes. But a multitude of obstacles and delays seems to have impeded the progress of the undertaking; and the *Historians of France* had only attained to the twelfth century, and the thirteenth volume, when a general deluge overwhelmed the country, and its ancient inhabitants. I might here conclude this enumeration of foreign studies, if the *Scriptores Rerum Danicarum* of Langebek and his successors, which have lately appeared at Copenhagen, did not remind

mind me of the taste and munificence of a court and country, whose scanty revenues might have apologized for their neglect.

It is long, very long indeed, since the success of our neighbours, and the knowledge of our resources, have disposed me to wish, that our Latin memorials of the Middle Age, the *Scriptores Rerum Anglicarum*, might be published in England, in a manner worthy of the subject and of the country. At a time when the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire has intimately connected me with the first historians of France, I acknowledged (in a note) the value of the Benedictine Collection, and expressed my hope that such a national work would provoke our own emulation. My hope has failed, the provocation was not felt, the emulation was not kindled; and I have now seen, without an attempt or a design, near thirteen years, which might have sufficed for the execution. During the greatest part of that time I have been absent from England: yet I have sometimes found opportunities of introducing this favourite topic in conversation with our literary men, and our eminent booksellers. As long as I expatiated on the merits of an undertaking, so beneficial to history, and so honourable to the nation, I was heard with attention; a general wish seemed to prevail for its success: but no sooner did we seriously consult about the best means of promoting that success, and of reducing a pleasing theory into a real action, than we were stopped, at the first step, by an insuperable difficulty—the choice of an editor. Among the

the authors already known to the public, none, after a fair review, could be found, at once possessed of ability and inclination. Unknown, or at least untried abilities could not inspire much reasonable confidence: some were too poor, others too rich; some too busy, others too idle: and we knew not where to seek our English Muratori; in the tumult of the metropolis, or in the shade of the university. The age of Herculean diligence, which could devour and digest whole libraries, is passed away; and I sat down in hopeless despondency, till I should be able to find a person endowed with proper qualifications, and ready to employ several years of his life in assiduous labour, without any splendid prospect of emolument or fame.

The man is at length found, and I now renew the proposal in a higher tone of confidence. The name of this editor is Mr. John Pinkerton; but as that name may provoke some resentments, and revive some prejudices, it is incumbent on me, for his reputation, to explain my sentiments without reserve; and I have the satisfaction of knowing that he will not be displeased with the freedom and sincerity of a friend. The impulse of a vigorous mind urged him, at an early age, to write and to print, before his taste and judgment had attained to their maturity. His ignorance of the world, the love of paradox, and the warmth of his temper, betrayed him into some improprieties, and those juvenile sallies, which candour will excuse, he himself is the first to condemn, and will perhaps be

be the last to forget. Repentance has long since propitiated the mild divinity of Virgil, against whom the rash youth, under a fictitious name, had darted the javelin of criticism. He smiles at his reformation of our English tongue, and is ready to confess, that in all popular institutions, the laws of custom must be obeyed by reason herself. The Goths still continue to be his chosen people, but he retains no antipathy to a Celtic savage; and without renouncing his opinions and arguments, he sincerely laments that those literary arguments have ever been embittered, and perhaps enfeebled, by an indiscreet mixture of anger and contempt. By some explosions of this kind, the volatile and fiery particles of his nature have been discharged, and there remains a pure and solid substance, endowed with many active and useful energies. His recent publications, a Treatise on Medals, and the edition of the early Scotch Poets, discover a mind replete with a variety of knowledge, and inclined to every liberal pursuit; but his decided propensity, such a propensity as made Bentley a critic, and Rennel a geographer, attracts him to the study of the History and Antiquities of Great Britain; and he is well qualified for this study, by a spirit of criticism, acute, discerning, and suspicious. His edition of the original Lives of the Scottish Saints has scattered some rays of light over the darkest age of a dark country: since there are so many circumstances in which the most daring legendary will not attempt to remove the well-known landmarks of truth. His Dissertation on the Origin of

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the Goths, with the Antiquities of Scotland, are, in my judgment, elaborate and satisfactory works; and were this a convenient place, I would gladly enumerate the important questions in which he has rectified my old opinions concerning the migrations of the Scythic or German nation from the neighbourhood of the Caspian and the Euxine to Scandinavia, the eastern coasts of Britain, and the shores of the Atlantic ocean. He has since undertaken to illustrate a more interesting period of the History of Scotland; his materials are chiefly drawn from papers in the British Museum, and a skilful judge has assured me, after a perusal of the manuscript, that it contains more new and authentic information than could be fairly expected from a writer of the eighteenth century. A Scotchman by birth, Mr. Pinkerton is equally disposed, and even anxious, to illustrate the History of England: he had long, without my knowledge, entertained a project similar to my own; his twelve letters, under a fictitious signature, in the Gentleman's Magazine (1788), display the zeal of a patriot, and the learning of an antiquarian. As soon as he was informed, by Mr. Nicol the bookseller, of my wishes and my choice, he advanced to meet me with the generous ardour of a volunteer, conscious of his strength, desirous of exercise, and careless of reward; we have discussed, in several conversations, every material point that relates to the general plan and arrangement of the work; and I can only complain of his excessive docility to the opinions of a man much less skilled in the subject

subject than himself. Should it be objected, that such a work will surpass the powers of a single man, and that industry is best promoted by the division of labour, I must answer, that Mr. Pinkerton seems one of the children of those heroes, whose race is almost extinct; that hard assiduous study is the sole amusement of his independent leisure; that his warm inclination will be quickened by the sense of a duty resting solely on himself; and that he is now in the vigour of age and health; and that the most voluminous of our historical collections was the most speedily finished by the diligence of Muratori alone. I must add, that I know not where to seek an associate; that the operations of a society are often perplexed by the division of sentiments and characters, and often retarded by the degrees of talent and application; and that the editor will be always ready to receive the advice of judicious counsellors, and to employ the hand of subordinate workmen.

Two questions will immediately arise, concerning the title of our historical collection, and the period of time in which it may be circumscribed. The first of these questions, whether it should be styled the *Scriptores Rerum Britannicarum*, or the *Scriptores Rerum Anglicarum*, will be productive of more than a verbal difference: the former imposes the duty of publishing all original documents that relate to the history and antiquities of the British islands; the latter is satisfied with the spacious, though less ample, field of England. The ambition of a conqueror might prompt him to grasp

grasp the whole British world, and to think, with Cæsar, that nothing was done while any thing remained undone.

Nil actum reputans dum quid superesset agendum.

But prudence soon discerns the inconvenience of increasing a labour already sufficiently arduous, and of multiplying the volumes of a work, which must unavoidably swell to a very respectable size. The extraneous appendages of Scotland, Ireland, and even Wales, would impede our progress, violate the unity of design, and introduce into a Latin text a strange mixture of savage and unknown idiom. For the sake of the Saxon Chronicle, the editor of the *Scriptores Rerum Anglicarum* will probably improve his knowledge of our mother tongue; nor will he be at a loss in the recent and occasional use of some French and English memorials. But if he attempts to hunt the old Britons among the islands of Scotland, in the bogs of Ireland, and over the mountains of Wales, he must devote himself to the study of the Celtic dialects, without being assured that his time and toil will be compensated by any adequate reward. It seems to be almost confessed, that the Highland Scots do not possess any writing of a remote date; and the claims of the Welsh are faint and uncertain. The Irish alone boast of whole libraries, which they sometimes hide in the fastnesses of their country, and sometimes transport to their colleges abroad: but the vain and credulous obstinacy with which, amidst the light of science, they cherish

cherish the Milesian fables of their infancy, may teach us to suspect the existence, the age, and the value of these manuscripts, till they shall be fairly exposed to the eye of profane criticism. This exclusion, however, of the countries which have since been united to the crown of England must be understood with some latitude: the Chronicle of Melross is common to the borderers of both kingdoms: the *Expugnatio Hiberniæ* of Giraldus Cambrensis contains the interesting story of *our* settlement in the western isle; and it may be judged proper to insert the Latin Chronicle of Caradoc, (which is yet unpublished,) and the code of native laws which were abolished by the conqueror of Wales. Even the English transactions in peace and war with our independent neighbours, especially those of Scotland, will be best illustrated by a fair comparison of the hostile narratives. The second question, of the period of time which this Collection should embrace, admits of an easier decision; nor can we act more prudently, than by adopting the plan of Muratori, and the French Benedictines, who confine themselves within the limits of ten centuries, from the year five hundred to the year fifteen hundred of the Christian æra. The former of these dates coincides with the most ancient of our national writers; the latter approaches within nine years of the accession of Henry VIII., which Mr. Hume considers as the true and perfect æra of modern history. From that time we are enriched, and even oppressed, with such treasures of contempo-

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rary and authentic documents in our own language, that the historian of the present or a future age will be only perplexed by the choice of facts, and the difficulties of arrangement. *Exoriatur aliquis*—a man of genius, at once eloquent and philosophic, who should accomplish, in the maturity of age, the immortal work which he had conceived in the ardour of youth.

APPENDIX

TO

AN ADDRESS, &c.

N° I.

In the Advertisement to the first edition of Mr. Gibbon's Miscellaneous Works, it is observed, that the Address, which recommends the publication of our Latin memorials of the middle ages, the Scriptores Rerum Anglicarum, in a manner worthy of the subject and of the country, was interrupted by death. It appearing to me to be highly desirable that interesting design should be promoted, I took the liberty of applying to Mr. Pinkerton for an explanation of the plan arranged by him with Mr. Gibbon: he has favoured me with the following Letter and Extract.

London, 24th October, 1814.

My Lord,

In compliance with your desire, I send the papers necessary to illustrate Mr. Gibbon's "Address," on the publication of our ancient national

national historians; consisting of my Address, which was to have accompanied his, and of some of the Letters in the Gentleman's Magazine, 1788, which he said contributed to engage his attention to the subject. Your lordship will perceive that, in his letter to me, he rather objected to the appearance of his name, as he was only to lend his advice, and to write a General Introduction; which would have been a master-piece of historical criticism, a Corinthian capital to this national column, consecrated to the memory of our ancestors. But our plan was chiefly arranged in conversations; and he afterwards consented that his name should appear as conjunct editor. He seemed to regard this collection as a favourite pursuit; and said he still hoped for twenty years of existence, so that he might live to see its completion. How vain the views and hopes of man! For he died, alas! on the very day that our joint Prospectus was to have appeared.

Spirantesque crocos, et in urna perpetuum ver!

The transcendent merit of Mr. Gibbon was, that his mind always rose superior to his vast erudition, which often oppresses the mental energies, but invigorated his. The stomach was so strong, that all food became salutary. In the works of Hume or Robertson, we see that they had read what was necessary for their subject; but in those of Gibbon we are surprised with lights from every department of universal literature.

No man of extensive learning, or genuine taste,

will object to the pomp and magnificence of Gibbon's historical diction. The more a reader is conversant in the diversified styles of the Greek and Roman classics, the less will he be disposed to blame a manner majestic as its subject. The grandeur of the Roman empire, in which modern kingdoms were but provinces, required a correspondent elevation of thought and language, which might be justly objectionable, if employed on a more confined topic, on the history even of the chief among European sovereignties.

That Gibbon excels in the epistolary style is allowed by all. The letters of Pope are the affected themes of a school-boy; and those of his fair antagonist, Lady M. W. Montague, are more indebted to the topics than the language: in rapid description, brilliant thought, sudden flashes of wit, effusions of the heart, intuition of human life, condensed views of characters and manners, she can never be compared with Madame de Sevigné. Our epistolary eminence is shared among a triumvirate, Gray, Gibbon, and Cowper: the last being preferred by many; though his style be more feeble and relaxed, and his topics more confined, both by his personal and chorographic situation. He had, however, an excellent heart, which gives an ineffable charm to any composition.

Your lordship will pardon this little tribute to the memory of our eminent friend. His last great plan would not have expired with him, if a war of twenty-one years had not engaged the whole attention of those distinguished characters, who could

could alone promote such an expensive design. At present, it is hoped, it might be resumed with some prospect of success; and, among our monuments of triumph, this literary temple might be erected to the ancient glory of our country. *Esto perpetua!*

I have the honour to be, with every sentiment of respect and esteem,

Your lordship's

Most faithful servant,

J. PINKERTON.

Extract from an Address to the Eminent, the Learned, and the Lovers of the early Literature and History of England, concerning an intended Publication to be intituled "Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores;" or a Collection of the Original Historians of England, chronologically arranged; collated with the Manuscripts, illustrated with Notes, Chronological Tables, Maps, Complete Indexes, &c.—By JOHN PINKERTON, 1792.

THE GERMANS, ever to be applauded as the inventors of what is most useful in arts and sciences, instituted, it is believed, the first memorable example of assembling national historians; but, as is usual in first attempts, only in a small number.

In 1566, Schardius published at Frankfort four of the ancient German writers, collected into one volume; and in 1574 the work was enlarged to three volumes. Pistorius began his collection in 1583, but the third volume was not published till 1607. Reuber's curious assemblage appeared in 1584; that of Urstisius in 1585; of Freher in 1600; of Goldast in 1606.

ITALY being divided into numerous small states, no general collection of the writers of that country deserving notice appeared, till, in the present century, Muratori's great design was executed with singular rapidity. Some of the Spanish historians were printed at Frankfort, the great literary mart of Europe

Europe in 1579, published from the library of Mr. Bell, an Englishman: but Schott's collection, commenced in 1603, is superior.

Though SPAIN has begun to publish her contemporary chronicles from the fourteenth century, yet she still neglects an accurate republication of her earlier writers: as, for instance, the Chronicles of the four Bishops, in the eighth, ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, published by Sandoval, at Pampeluna, in 1615—1634; not to mention the history of Dulcidius, written about 883, and committed to the press by Pellizer, at Barcelona, 1663.

But next to Germany, FRANCE must be regarded as claiming precedence in this department of literature. The collection of Pithou, in 1588, was confined; that of Du Chesne, in 1636—1641, was ample; and had not his death occasioned the failure of the plan, it would have been nearly complete. The grand collection by Bouquet, *Historiens de France*, which extends to twelve or thirteen volumes in folio, was begun in 1738; and, though objectionable in some parts of the plan, is a model of accuracy and typography.

Having thus briefly considered the progress of this study in the other chief countries of Europe,* let us proceed to watch its dawn in ENGLAND. Of *Beda* there are several early editions in foreign countries:† and to *Polydore Virgil* we are indebt-

* The Historians of BRUNSWICK, collected by the celebrated and universal Leibnitz, and those of Denmark by Langebek, deserve especial praise.

† Argent. 1500. 1514. Hagen. 1506.

ed for the first edition of Gildas, London, 1526, 12mo. But after this no edition of any early historian is recollected till 1571, when the able work of *Mathew Paris* issued from the London press, soon followed by *Mathew of Westminster;* and in 1574 by *Walsingham* and *Asserius.*

In 1587, the earliest collection of English historians appeared at Heidelberg, or, as some of the title-pages bear, at Lyons. The writers contained in it are *Geofrey, Gildas, Beda, William of Newburgh,* and an abstract of *Froissart.*

In 1592 Howard published *Florence of Worcester.*

At length *Sir Henry Saville,* in 1596, gave his valuable collection; the London edition of which is inaccurately printed, but far from being so faulty as that of Frankfort, 1601, which Spelman justly execrates; nor is Camden's Collection, Frankfort, 1602, much superior in the important typography of proper names.

During the seventeenth century many valuable editions appeared. Particular commemoration is due to *Wheloc*'s first publication of a Saxon Chronicle, at the end of his Beda, 1643; and to the excellent collections of *Twysden* and *Gale,* the latter in particular deserving eminent praise among our learned editors of early history.

Nor has this interesting study relaxed its efforts till within these fifty years, down to which period fresh treasures have gradually accumulated. Among the editors *Hearne* deserves especial notice. Endued he was with singular industry; but his prefaces,

faces, and articles of subsidiary compilation, violated the dignity of the useful works which he published. The insignificance, the indiscrimination of his antiquarian pursuits, justly excited the ridicule of contemporary wits: and, by a singular fatality, the editor is mentioned with neglect or contempt, while the editions, though loaded with extraneous matter, are allowed to possess every praise of exactness and utility.

It is almost unnecessary to remind the reader, that most of the valuable works, above mentioned, are now arrived at an exorbitant price; which, in a complete collection, far exceeds that proposed for this chronological and uniform compilation.

The defects of preceding editions of our historians are too well known to men of letters. In the publications of Saville and Twysden, and not rarely even in that of Gale and Fulman, the names of persons and places are so mangled, as hardly to be intelligible even to the skilful. The various readings which, when important, should have been annotated, rarely appear; and indeed few MSS., and those sometimes not the best, have been consulted. Amid similar instances of neglect shall be selected one specimen. The *Saxon Chronicle* (improperly so called, for there are many Saxon Chronicles) is perhaps the most important of all our historical monuments, as being the only civil history of England preceding the year 1100; not to mention that no nation can boast of so valuable a remain of ancient language. Yet in the publication of this invaluable piece the grossest inattention appears.

appears. *Gibson* only used the MSS. at Oxford, where he resided; and has omitted to consult the two best, in the Cotton Library, Tib. B. i. and Tib. B. iv. upon collating which near fifty pages were recovered, unknown to him, though amounting to more than a fifth part of his publication.

This neglect of our early historians is the more unpardonable, as their merits equal, if they do not exceed, those of any other modern country in Europe. And it will be difficult to name rivals to William of Malmesbury, Simeon of Durham, the Abbot of Peterburgh, Walsingham; far less to the ample and authentic Hoveden, and the undaunted truth of Mathew Paris.

It would be prolix and unnecessary to give more enlarged details concerning the plan of the new publication: but a brief view shall now be submitted to those patrons of our literature, by whose encouragement alone so large and expensive a design can proceed.

The first volume, as containing all the writers preceding the Conquest, may be regarded as complete in itself. The plan of Bouquet will not be followed, in respect to the extracting so much from each author as belongs to a reign, or a century; but every author will be given at once, with the additions made to his work, if any such occur. In this part of the plan, Bouquet's edition, though perhaps more advantageous to the modern compiler of history, presents many embarrassments to the reader, or consulter, of ancient historians; and each

each production appears in such a state of mutilation, as not only to give additional labour, but some distrust that there may be a defect.

In the compilation of a work intended to be complete in itself, and to present to the reader an universal body of ancient English history, it has appeared indispensable, and is consonant to the opinion of the best judges, that those parts of the Greek and Roman writers, which relate to this island, should be extracted, as has been done with regard to Gaul in the edition of the French historians. But even this part will not be deficient in new advantages. The extracts from Cæsar shall be collated with the *Editio Princeps*, and others, the best editions: nor shall a similar care be wanting in regard to Strabo, Tacitus, Herodian, the Panegyrists, Ammianus Marcellinus, &c.

Of Ptolemy's Geography, the original of which was published from a bad MS. by Erasmus, valuable variations have been printed by Montfaucon in his *Bibliotheca Coisleniana:* and the third volume of the minor Greek geographers presents various readings of Guido of Ravenna; all of which, and in short all the latest discoveries concerning the extracts used, shall be carefully given.

To the extracts from the Greek and Roman writers succeed Gildas, Nennius, Beda, with the chronicle at the end, collated with that in the Heidelberg edition; some passages of Alcuin; Eddius, Fredegod, Asserius: extracts from ancient lives of Saints, the lives of Offa, Edward the Confessor, Emma. These are to be followed by two

of

of the largest Saxon Chronicles, translated by skilful hands, and collated with all the others; with *fac similia* of the autographic Chronicle begun in 891, and continued by divers hands till 924, and after to 1075. This invaluable monument is preserved in Bennet College, Cambridge, whence it was published by Wheloc, but in a careless manner. Extracts from the Icelandic authors, but only in the Latin translations, shall next be given, with any other passages, though rare, to be found in extraneous writers concerning Britain during this period. Nor shall the Saxon laws be neglected, nor such genuine charters and coins as illustrate history.

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the original historians of England are numerous and intelligent; and many of them eminent in style and ability. The fourteenth century rather declines; but after Walsingham, the last of our early Latin writers, deserving the name even of an annalist, the series closes almost in darkness, just before the dawn of the revival of letters. Hence, of the domestic transactions of the fifteenth century, during the reigns of Henry VI. Edward IV. Richard III. and a part of that of Henry VII. or from 1422 to 1500, we have but little and unsatisfactory evidence. The French contemporary writers supply a great part of the chasm. Fabian, and the other early chroniclers of the sixteenth century, must likewise be extracted; but any MS. annals of those reigns are of singular value, and every care shall be exerted to procure them, and print them in the manner that Godefroy has published

lished the French historians during this, the fifteenth, century.

At the year 1500 the compilation will finally close, there being no occasion to throw further light on centuries completely luminous.

The manuscripts and editions shall all be carefully collated, and any variations of consequence annotated at the bottom of the page. Numerous chronicles and historic articles still remaining in MS. shall be inserted in their proper places, and no research shall be spared in libraries, foreign and domestic, to recover any valuable documents.

As the work is national, and can interest only a few curious foreigners, to whom the English language is known, and as many matters both important and minute, can be far more clearly conveyed to the English reader in his own speech, than in the Latin, the editor has been advised to give the prefaces, chronological tables, and illustrations, in English; but the Latin shall be preferred, if more agreeable to the favourers of the publication.*

To the first volume will be prefixed a general review of the early English historians; and a preface to each volume will present a literary notice of the authors contained in it, their lives, periods, works; editions and manuscripts consulted. A large chronological table of all the events will be prefixed to each volume: and in addition to the indexes, on the plan of Bouquet's, and which, as

* Mr. Gibbon insisted on the English.

in

in a book of consultation, shall be very ample, one will be added of manners and customs.

The names of Du Chesne, Leibnitz, Muratori, Bouquet, Langebek, editors of vast works of this nature, sufficiently indicate that the united toils of a society are so far from essential to a publication of early historians, that, on the contrary, scarce one can be named produced by a literary association. The want of unanimity, the delays incident to democracies of all kinds, the power of accident, more extensive when spread over a wide surface, present obstacles to the labours of many, which are unknown to the industry of one. Yet assistance will be called in when necessary or expedient, and the advice of the best judges will be requested and venerated.

N° II.

LETTERS

ON THE

CULTIVATION OF OUR NATIONAL HISTORY,

Extracted from the Gentleman's Magazine, 1788.

*** Some of these letters are omitted as merely introductory, or as relative to Welch, Scotish, and Irish history. The two last present a proposal for the foundation of an Historical Society. The following may be considered as having chiefly engaged Mr. Gibbon's attention.

LETTER II.

If our National History be not neglected, these letters would be absurd; and it is therefore proper, in the first place, to shew that it is neglected, and to a degree capable of exciting surprise and regret in every mind at all interested in the glory of the nation.

To evince this neglect, it is proper to turn our eyes upon foreign countries. Were the neglect general, there would be no occasion to complain; but this is so far from being the case, that Britain, a country from its wealth, free government, and superior abilities of its natives, entitled to take the lead of most countries, is here about a century behind all; nay, yields to Russia, a country where literature was unknown till the present century!

That

That this is no bold assertion, will appear from a slight deduction from what has been done, and is doing, for their history, by some other countries; for to dwell upon all, would occupy more room than these letters will admit.

Let us begin with France, our great rival in sciences, arts, and arms:—but, alas! in this all rivalship ceases. Next to the glory of national arms, is that of national history; without which the greatest actions are as if they had never been. Britain, which ought to have led the example, is so far behind France in the cultivation of her history, that the utmost exertion will hardly compensate for the inglorious remission. In poetry, philosophy moral and natural, mathematics, divinity, medicine, law, the belles lettres, and the arts, Britain is, it is believed, superior to France. But so fatal is the term *History* to this island, that we have no Natural History anywise comparable with Buffon's. Our Gibbons and Robertsons perhaps exceed any modern French historians, though no Frenchman will allow this. But historiography is foreign to my subject, which concerns the *foundations* of historiography, the publication and illustration of the original writers and documents.

One would have imagined that, upon the invention of printing, the first care, in every nation, would have been to publish their historical documents. For the very nature of history demanded this attention; inasmuch as every other science can recover its materials, when lost, except history alone. If poetry perish, as good may again appear:

pear: if natural or moral philosophy, mathematics, divinity, medicine, the belles lettres, the arts, &c. were lost, they may be recovered, nay exceeded, as nature and man remain the same. BUT IF ONE HISTORICAL FACT PERISH, IT IS LOST FOR EVER. Yet this irrefragable consideration was, as usual, forced to yield to the fashionable writing of the day: and near a century elapsed, after the invention of printing, before any attention was paid to the publication of the original historians of modern nations. France distinguished herself among the first; and Du Chesne's *Bibliothèque Historique de la France*, published in 1619, contains a list of published historians, which England cannot exceed at present. Since that time France has been constantly proceeding in that noble pursuit; and hardly a learned man of France can be mentioned, who did not contribute somewhat to illustrate the ancient history of his own country, while our literati were lost in the antiquities of Greece, Rome, India, China; and, in short, of every country but their own.—But, not to dwell on this, it is sufficient to observe, that in the year 1738, half a century ago, that magnificent collection of all the old French historians was begun, of which twelve or thirteen large volumes in folio have now appeared; and, compared to which, all our historic labours, put together, appear as nothing. Every volume contains original writers and documents, generally for one century; and the elegance, accuracy, and completeness of the work, exceed all praise. It must also be added, that our polite

scholars and men of genius, our Lowths, Wartons, Joneses, Gibbons, Jortins, Warburtons, &c. never think our history worthy notice; whereas in France, Du Bos and Montesquieu, to name no more, have deeply examined the early history of their country.

To avoid prolixity, let us pass the great labours of Leibnitz, &c. in German history; of Muratori, &c. in Italian; and let us turn our eyes upon kingdoms which in other matters of science we infinitely exceed. Yes, let us shew that Denmark, a remote and unwealthy state, and Russia, whose sciences are of yesterday, excel Britain in attention to national history! Denmark, in fact, rivals France, by the elegant edition of her ancient historians, published by Langebek and now going on. Why mention the Society appointed by the King to publish all the Icelandic monuments of Danish history? Why mention the expenses of the Princes of the Blood in Denmark upon such publications, and institute odious comparisons? For who does not know, that the whole study of the Danish nobility, gentry, and literati, is bent upon their history? And surely no stronger proof of a solid and manly mind, and of true patriotism, can be given, than this pursuit.

If we pass to Russia, we shall find the present Empress the patroness of history, as of other sciences. Let the works of Muller, the publications of Nestor's Chronicle, and that of Sylvester in 1767, under the title of *Letopis Nestorova*, Stritter's *Memoriæ Populorum, &c.* and other works, speak

speak the present attention of Russia to her history.

And what is Britain doing? Nothing.—Her published historians are lost in slovenly-printed editions; and many remain unpublished. Bold assertions! But where are the proofs? The proofs are to be found in every bookseller's shop; and in the catalogues of the Bodleian, Harleian, Cottonian, and other libraries. Yet, after a prefatory remark or two, one instance shall be given, which will of itself prove, that our history is neglected to a degree exceeding all belief.

Ever since the time of Thomas Hearne, of black-letter memory, *carbone notandus*, the publication of our old historic writers has been discontinued. The names of Saville, Camden, Selden, Gale, are most respectable in this line; but such is the effect of weakness, that it dishonours all it touches; and surely a weaker man than Tom Hearne never existed, as his prefaces, so called, lamentably shew.

> Pox on't, quoth Time to Thomas Hearne,
> Whatever I forget you learn.

Instead of manly erudition, thought, and elegance, such as became a publisher of important works, his prefaces shew the most trifling and abject pursuits of antiquarian baubles. We are forced to despise the man to whose labours we are obliged: and it is suspected that the notorious character of Hearne has not a little contributed to the contempt into which our history has lately fallen, for great events often spring from small causes. This remark was

thought necessary here, as those very publications of Hearne, which might be urged as a proof that our history is not neglected, on the contrary afford a lamentable proof that it is, and has long been. For in no other country would he have been forced to publish a few copies, by an extravagant subscription, of books important to national history, and of course interesting to all. Old plays, and dead pamphlets, are greedily fed on, perhaps in other countries as well as this; for it is not to be conceived that literary disease, and mental sickness, are confined to Britain: in other countries virtuosi and collectors of toys also abound. Yet it seems certain, that the curse foretold by Dr. Browne, in his Estimate of the Manners and Principles of the Times, has come to pass; that we are not vicious, but insignificant; that we are incapable of that exertion in which either vice or virtue consists; and that our taste has, as he foretold, become trifling even to childishness; and so weakened, as to be incapable of wholesome gratification. Hence our greediness for the silliest literary baubles; and our neglect of the manly and austere provinces of literature. Such, indeed, are the effects of great wealth and luxury in all countries, enervating both body and mind. Herodotus finely calls poverty, "the nurse of Greece;" and the effects of wealth on Roman literature may be seen in the dialogue on the causes of the decline of eloquence, ascribed to Tacitus, though most probably by Quintilian.

Let us now proceed to the instance formerly promised,

promised, to shew at once that our history is neglected to a surprising degree. It is well known that Italy, France, and Germany, are the only countries in Europe which exceed England in the series of early historians. From Gregory of Tours, who wrote A. D. 591, France has historians of every century. England, on the contrary, has no historian after Beda, who wrote in 731, till the year 1100. For Ethelwerd certainly did not write till that time; and his work is a mere translation of the Saxon Chronicle: and Asser gives only the life of Alfred. I say, no English historians are found from 731 till 1100, EXCEPT the Saxon Chronicle. Nay, Beda, who alone precedes, is merely an ecclesiastical historian, as his title, *Historia Ecclesiastica Anglorum*, and his whole work, declare. So that the Saxon Chronicle is, in fact, the ONLY civil history of England preceding the year 1100: and without it we should know nothing of English history for SEVEN centuries. The English historians, who begin to be numerous after the year 1100, borrow all their intelligence of preceding times from it, as Gibson shews; who also deservedly remarks, that no nation can boast of so valuable a monument of their ancient language.

This noble monument is therefore chosen as an instance of the shameful neglect shewn in publishing our ancient historians. It was natural to expect, that our best literati should exert themselves in translating and collating this work. But how has it been done?—Gibson confesses, in his preface, that he was not much versed in the Saxon

language. This may be modesty; but—if true! Supposing him qualified, how has he executed his work? He only used five manuscripts.

1. The Laudian, a fine one upon vellum.

2. The one he oddly calls *Cantuariensis*, also formerly belonging to Laud; on paper, and very bad in all respects.

3. One in Bennet college, Cambridge.

4. One in the Cotton library.

These two were transcripts of one another; and Gibson used them not, but tells us, he copied Wheloc, who, at the end of his Saxon Beda, published a *Chronologia Saxonica* from these imperfect MSS.

5. Another in the Cotton library, also never seen by Gibson, but only various readings which Junius had taken from it.

Thus we see, that Gibson, living at Oxford, publishes the most valuable monument of our history from two MSS. left by Archbishop Laud to that university; and is too lazy to go to Cambridge or London to collate MSS. but quotes them at second-hand! So much appears from the face of his book, from his own preface! But this is nothing.

There are other MSS. of the Saxon Chronicle, never seen by Gibson, though most easily accessible. In the Cotton library there are four: Tib. B. I.—Tib. B. IV.—Tib. A. VI.—Dom. A. VIII. The two last, and worst, are those he mentions. The two first he never heard of, as appears from his edition. Upon collating these two with Gibson,

son, and extracting the additions they have, they were found to amount to FIFTY pages; and his book has only 244! Both were written in the eleventh century; and superior to the Laudian in antiquity. It need not be mentioned, that these fifty pages contain at least as many facts in our ancient history, either unknown, or narrated with new circumstances.

Moreover, in Corpus Christi or Bennet college at Cambridge, is the AUTOGRAPH of the Saxon Chronicle, from which all the rest are taken; begun in 891, by King Alfred's orders, as would seem, and written up to that year by one hand; continued by divers to 924; and after to 1075. See Wanley's Catalogue, (Hickes's Thesaurus.) I know not if this be the one in Bennet college published by Wheloc. But certain it is, that this invaluable autograph of the chief monument of our history should be published *literatim*, by itself, without any additions from other copies; and illustrated with *fac-similia* of every various hand-writing in it.

It need hardly be mentioned, that a precious part of the Saxon Chronicle is published in Lye's Saxon Dictionary, from Mr. Astle's library, which much illustrates the history of the eleventh century. Instead of Saxon Chronicle, we should indeed say Chronicles; for the copies are written in different places, and vary in dates and events. The two fullest copies, which vary most, should be published apart; and the differences of the others thrown into the notes. PHILISTOR.

LETTER III.

In my last it was shewn that our history is neglected, from the carelessness and inaccuracy discovered in the publication of one of its most important monuments. It shall not be asserted, that our other ancient historians are published with equal inattention, and want of literary skill. But certain it is, that all of them should be collated afresh with the MSS. several of which have come to light, and passed into public libraries, since the publications were made. The spirit of philosophy and criticism was hardly known in antiquities till the present century; and the vast superiority of the recent publications of ancient monuments over the former is universally felt in all foreign countries.

That many important remains of our history still lurk in MS. is well known, and evinced from the catalogues of great libraries. Some may also be in private hands. That every care should be exerted to recover and print such pieces, needs not be insisted on. But there is another matter which claims consideration, as a convincing proof that our history is neglected; and, after stating this, it may be presumed that the reader will be convinced that these letters are not groundless: and, of course, this preliminary being adjusted, the other parts of the plan may be considered in their order. This other proof that our history is neglected, consists in the amazing deficiency of dissertations

by

by our literati, upon curious or intricate points of ancient English history.

In most foreign countries, the works of this sort, written by the most eminent writers, are very numerous. If the reader will look into the Historical Libraries, published for the several countries, he will be struck with astonishment to see that English works of this kind, compared with those of France, Germany, Italy, nay, the Northern kingdoms, are in number about as one to one hundred. Let him only take up the large Historical Catalogue, in four volumes, at the end of Lenglet Du Fresnoy's *Méthode pour étudier l'Histoire*, ed. 1772, 15 vols. 12mo, he will find all the works published on English history thrown into a few pages; while those on French, German, Italian, almost fill volumes. It is believed, that single works of Selden, Verstegan, Sheringham, and Langhorne, form almost the sum total of books expressly written to illustrate our history: and all of them published before criticism was introduced into antiquities, and before we had got so far up the hill of science as to discover much around us. Selden was indeed a man whose erudition, independently of his other great merits, does high honour to his country. But he was quite immersed in Oriental learning; and his works on English antiquities are by far his worst, and abound with passages which cannot stand against sound criticism. The antiquities of the middle ages were but beginning to be studied in Selden's time. No Du Cange nor Muratori had appeared. The diplomatic science, in particular, was unknown: and Dugdale,

Dugdale, another very eminent antiquary, has, in his *Monasticon Anglicanum*, published charters, which Germon, *De Re diplomatica*, has evinced to be forgeries, from marks so gross as to need no investigation.

Unfortunately, we have begun quite at the wrong end of our history. We abound in general histories; but want the proper authorities and proofs, the foundations upon which they should stand. The object is, first to settle the grounds of our history; and, after that, build the fabric who will. A hundred points of the greatest consequence remain to be treated in detached dissertations, to be examined to the bottom by severe criticism, and all the authorities produced. Suppose, as parallel instances to similar dissertations of foreign writers, we had disquisitions, On the Commerce of the Phenicians and Greeks in Britain: Whether any British Nation paid Tribute to the Romans before the time of Claudius: On the ancient Languages in Britain: On the Use of the Latin Tongue in Britain; and how it comes to pass that Britain did not furnish one Latin Writer in the Roman Times, while Gaul and Spain produced many: If Severus built any Wall in Britain: What was the real Cause of the Arrival of the Iutes in Kent, Chance or Invitation: The Extent and History of each Heptarchic Kingdom: The Form of Saxon Government: Of Regal Power among the Saxons: Of the Power of the People: The Private Life of the Saxons: From what Year, and what Time of the Year, our old Historians reckon

reckon the Christian Era, &c. &c. &c. These instances are only given as they flow from the pen; and the reader may easily suggest to himself other subjects more important and curious. It shall only be added, that such pieces would, in the hands of dull and illiterate writers, become insipid, as all other subjects would; but that, in foreign countries, such dissertations not only appear, but are produced by writers of the greatest learning, literary experience, and critical sagacity; often with every charm of elegant and vivacious language. The latter qualities are, indeed, more pleasing than necessary in treating subjects of instruction; and in which truth becomes suspicious if arrayed in the gorgeous dress of eloquence, so often worn by falsehood. Let this point be closed with enumerating a very few names of foreigners distinguished by the illustration of their national history, that we may consider what we have to oppose to them. The Germans boast of Cluverius, Conringius, Schard, Reineccius, Freher, Lindenbrog, Schilter, Heinack, Leibnitz, Mascou, Schœpflin, &c. The French of Vignier, Pasquier, Du Chesne, Valois, Fauchet, Mezeray, La Carry, Masson, Hottoman, Pithou, Petau, Baluze, le Duc d'Espernon, Du Cange, Montesquieu, Du Bos, Le Gendre, Labbé, &c. Italy has so numerous names for each petty state, that the difficulty lies in the choice; but let Sigonius and Muratori be selected, names equal to a thousand.

Topography may be considered as an historical de-

department, which has thriven much in Britain of late, chiefly by the fostering cares of the author of the *British Topography*, and the editor of the *Bibliotheca Topographica*. It gives great pleasure to see that, in this branch at least, we are perhaps equal to other nations. But the warmest admirers of topography will not put it on a par with the general history, or even geography, of a whole kingdom. Local history, however, may contribute materials for general history; though, in the run of our topographers, the historical part be seldom profoundly treated. It is also remarkable, that while Germany has Cluverius and Cellarius; and France her Sansons, De l'Isles, and D'Anvilles; Britain cannot boast of any geographer who has obtained the smallest fame. In chronology, Usher and Simson yield to none.

As it is believed that the reader will allow, from the two grand considerations already stated, to wit, deficiency in the publication of our historical monuments, and deficiency in modern works illustrative of our ancient history, that these letters are not unfounded; but that our national history is really neglected; this preliminary shall be considered as allowed; and other parts of the little plan, laid down in the first letter, shall be entered upon.

PHILISTOR.

LET-

LETTER IV.

In considering the next part of our plan, namely, wherein the neglect of our history chiefly lies, it will be proper to point out, *first*, the period of our history which has been least illustrated; and, *secondly*, the particular provinces of historical research, which have been least cultivated among us.

The period of our history which has been least illustrated, strikes at once, as being that preceding the Norman conquest. It is, indeed, a mortifying reflection, that Englishmen should think the history of their own ancestors of no moment, in comparison with that of the Norman princes and their followers, who settled in this country; should seem to think England of no account till it became a prey to Norman ravagers! Perhaps it may be said, that the want of materials for our history, preceding the Conquest, is a sufficient excuse for our neglect of that period. Certain it is, that these materials are not large, being almost confined to the Saxon Chronicles above-mentioned; while, after the Norman settlement, our numerous historians, chiefly of Norman race, or under Norman patronage, throw a blaze of light around them, which renders even minute parts of our history conspicuous. But the attachment of these writers to the Normans made them pass the more ancient history of England with an invidious parsimony, while they regale us with every incident of Norman times in full display. This partiality of our original writers has affected our antiquaries and his-

historiographers; who, instead of running counter, as they ought, to this disposition, have been drawn into its vortex. Yet it is certainly a matter of the easiest conception, and most palpable truth, that the most obscure period of our history was exactly that which required the most illustration. So that our antiquaries, who have confined what little researches they have made to the Norman and later periods of our history, have acted in diametrical opposition to their duty, both as patriots and as antiquaries.

Another reason for neglecting the earlier parts of our history is, the difficulty arising from the heptarchic division. It is certainly a matter of some difficulty to give a clear history of six or seven small kingdoms; but, as the Greek proverb bears, *all excellent things are difficult;* and the greater the difficulty, there is the more merit in good execution. All modern kingdoms present the same difficulty, in their early history, and generally to a far later period than England: but their antiquaries have only been excited, by this difficulty, to exert the greater accuracy and care. Our heptarchic history is not only totally neglected; but our writers think proper to apologise for their own indolence, by informing us that it is not worth writing. Mr. Hume, sensible of the great carelessness with which he had sketched this part of English history, quotes Milton, as saying, that the wars of the heptarchic states are not more important than those of crows and kites. But this is like many of Mr. Hume's quotations; for Milton, in

in that passage, speaks not of heptarchic wars, but of a paltry squabble between two noblemen of that time. Take his own words, p. 183, edit. 1671, 4to. of his history of England: "The same day Ethelmund at Kinneresford, passing over with the Worcestershire men, was met by Weolstan, another nobleman, with those of Wiltshire, between whom happened a great fray, wherein the Wiltshire men overcame, but both dukes were slain, no reason of thir quarrel writ'n; such bickerings to recount, met oft'n in these our writers, what more worth is it than to chronicle the wars of kites, or crows, flocking and fighting in the air?" The fact is, that the smallest of the heptarchic kingdoms was superior in size and power to any one of the heroic kingdoms of Greece, whose history we read with so much attention; and the whole Grecian story, till the period of Alexander, is not in itself more important or interesting than our heptarchic. The genius of the authors makes all the difference; and this genius, it is hoped, will not always be wanting in our's. Those, who think history becomes important in proportion to the size of the country concerned, should confine themselves to study the Asiatic empires, and leave real history to those who know its nature. It is in minute history that we find that picture of human society which most interests the philosopher.

It is suspected that a third reason why the period preceding the Conquest, by far the most important of our history, is neglected, originates from the writings of an English philosopher—Lord Bolingbroke.

lingbroke. In his Letters on History, this writer considers the early history of any country as quite useless, and regards the modern part, beginning at the Emperor Charles V. as alone worth study. This superficial opinion, of a once fashionable author, had perhaps great weight with those who knew not that it is impossible to have any real knowledge of the modern history of any country without beginning the study at its fountains, in ancient events and manners. One might as well think of building a house by beginning at the garrets. Nay more, the foundation is not only to be begun at the proper place; but, as every part of the superstructure ultimately rests upon the foundation, this radical part must be examined with far more care and attention than any of the rest. Mr. Hume began his history with the Stuarts, and so wrote backwards. The consequence is, that he has quite mistaken the most glaring features of our constitution, and carried the despotism of the Stuarts along with him through all our history. Nor can any problem in mathematics be more certain than that it is impossible either to write or read history properly by retrogression. The knowledge of the ancient part is not only necessary in itself, but necessary to understand the modern. To a philosopher, the ancient part is the most interesting, from the strong and uncommon views of human nature to be found in it. Nay, to a common reader, it must be the most interesting from the greatness and singularity of its events. In early history

tory alone are found those great incidents, and total revolutions, which elevate and surprise. The modern history of Europe consists merely of wars which end in nothing, and in the filthy chicane of politics, so disgusting to every ingenuous mind. Since the eleventh century, the several kingdoms and states of Europe remain almost the same; and any radical revolutions which have happened might be comprised in a few pages. The period of great events begins at the fall of the Roman empire, and lasts till the eleventh century.

The History of England, excluding that of the Romans in Britain, falls into two periods; from the arrival of the Saxons to the Conquest; and from the Conquest till now. Each period contains about seven centuries. In Greek or Roman History, either period would occupy much about the same room. But the proportion in ours is, that the former part fills half a volume; the latter, seven volumes and a half! In Mezeray, the part of French history preceding the year 1066 fills two volumes and a half; that succeeding, four volumes and a half. This latter proportion is superior to ours; and we might at least allot two volumes out of eight for the period preceding the Conquest. As it is, every one may judge that the former period of our history must be miserably abridged indeed; and it is much to be wished that some able writer would give us an history of England preceding the Conquest, at due length. Materials he will find not wanting, if he brings industry to discover and to use them. PHILISTOR.

LETTER VIII.

Some other particular provinces of our history, which have been peculiarly neglected, remain to be briefly hinted at, before proceeding to another part of this subject, namely, the causes which may have contributed to the neglect of our national history, and which shall be entered upon in the next letter.

The chronology of our history may be regarded as a neglected department. Events, narrated by our ancient writers, are frequently put, with a variation of one, two, or more years. This often depends merely upon the different modes they followed in calculating the commencement of the year. Some began it in the month of March, and antedated events near a year: thus the year 1000 with them begins 25th March, 999. Others began the year in March, and yet retarded it three months; reckoning for example, the space of the year 1000, preceding 25th March, as belonging to the year 999. Others began the year 25th Dec. Others, at Easter, and varied its commencement as Easter varied. Some, who compute from 1st Jan. still reckon one or two more years from Christ's birth, than we do. Gervase of Canterbury, who lived in the thirteenth century, tells us in the Preface to his Chronicle: "Inter ipsos etiam chronicæ scriptores nonnulla dissentio est. Nam, cum omnium unica et præcipue sit intentio, annos Domini, eorumque continentias, supputatione veraci enarrare; ipsos Domini annos, diversis modis, et terminis, numerant:

rant: sicque in ecclesiam Dei multam mendaciorum confusionem inducunt. Quidam enim annos Domini incipiunt computare ab Annunciatione; alii a Nativitate; quidam a Circumcisione; quidam verò a Passione."

The industrious and exact authors of *L'Art de vérifier les Dates*, from which work the above remarks are borrowed, have done every thing to adjust and settle, even to month and day, the events of French history. But a large and laborious work on the chronology of ancient English history is much wanted.

Another neglected province is the geography of Britain and Ireland in the middle ages. The *Notitia Galliarum* of Valesius, or Valois, 3 vols. folio, may be proposed as an example for such a work. Hardly a village or castle can be found in ancient French historians, but its situation is adjusted and illustrated in that great work, published last century; while to this day we have only Somner's Glossary at the end of Twysden's *Decem Scriptores*, and Gibson's at the end of the Saxon Chronicle; productions equally meagre and erroneous. Instead of solid and elaborate works on a subject so radically necessary to the understanding of our history, it is risible to see many of our antiquaries dealing in etymology of names; a matter of all others the most puerile, uncertain, and uninteresting. Our old writers drew all names from the Latin; *Britannia*, from *Brutus*, &c.; and though their etymologies were little better than his, who derived *Seneca* from *se necans*, because he killed himself,

yet

yet they were fully as rational as the Hebrew and Phenician etymology of names introduced by Bochart, or the Celtic etymology now in fashion. Of the Celtic dialects we have no ancient remains; and to derive ancient names from a language in its modern state seems complete absurdity. Swift, who ironically gives etymologies of Greek and Latin names from the English, may be regarded as the prophet of this new frenzy.

The diplomatic line has also been neglected by our writers, though the works of Madox deserve high praise. In England, the number of ancient charters preserved is amazing; and perhaps no country in Europe can boast of equal treasures in this line. If only the most valuable and curious were published, they would fill many volumes in folio. Rymer's Collection of Historical Muniments does honour to the nation; and Prynne's compilation has its value. But a collection of those preceding the Conquest is still wanting; and special dissertations on their authenticity, &c. Of later times, many valuable and curious charters remain unpublished; which, though perhaps of little importance to our history, might, nevertheless, illustrate ancient laws and manners.

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Classical and Critical.

ESSAI SUR L'ÉTUDE DE LA LITTÉRATURE.

The following is in Mr. Gibbon's *hand-writing, on the back of the title-page of an interleaved copy of this Essay.*

Mes amis me firent publier cet ouvrage, pour ainsi dire, malgré moi. Cette excuse banale des auteurs ne l'est point cependant pour moi. Mon père voulut me le faire publier l'hiver passé. Ma jeunesse, et un fonds d'orgueil qui me rend beaucoup plus sensible aux critiques qu'aux éloges, m'empêchèrent de goûter son projet. Mais me trouvant à la campagne avec lui au mois de Mars, il renouvella ses instances d'une manière si vive que je ne pus m'en défendre. M. Mallet me fit connoître un libraire nommé Becket, à qui je cédai mon manuscrit, moyennant quarante exemplaires pour moi. M. Maty corrigea les feuilles. L'impression de l'ouvrage, entreprise au commencement de Mai, ne fût achevée qu'à la fin de Juin, et mon livre ne se débitoit que vers le milieu du mois suivant. M. Mallet se chargea de la distribution d'une bonne

partie des présens que j'avois envie d'en faire. Voici l'extrait d'une lettre qu'il m'écrivit le 9 Juillet 1761.

" DEAR SIR,

" I HAVE executed the orders you gave me, and all the books have been delivered some days. Lord Chesterfield returns you his thanks, I expect in writing, and have had Lady Hervey's in that manner. Lord Hardwicke, with his compliments for the book to himself, assured me he would send the other to his son, and recommend you to his acquaintance. Lord Egremont will be glad to know you, if ever you should think of a journey to Augsbourg. I found Lord Granville reading you, after ten at night; his single approbation, which he assures you of, will go for more than that of a hundred other readers. I have gone further, in sending one copy to the Count de Caylus, another to the Duchess d'Aiguillon, and in giving a third to M. de Bussy."

To EDWARD GIBBON, Esq.

Dear Sir,

No performance is, in my opinion, more contemptible than a Dedication of the common sort; when some great man is presented with a book, which, if Science be the subject, he is incapable of understanding; if Polite Literature, incapable of tasting: and this honour is done him as a reward for virtues which he neither does, nor desires to possess. I know but two kinds of dedications, which can do honour either to the patron or author. The first is, when an unexperienced writer addresses himself to a master of the art, in which he endeavours to excel; whose example he is ambitious of imitating; by whose advice he has been directed; or whose approbation he is anxious to deserve.

The other sort is yet more honourable. It is dictated by the heart, and offered to some person who is dear to us, because he ought to be so. It is an opportunity we embrace with pleasure of making public those sentiments of esteem, of friendship, of gratitude, or of all together, which we really feel, and which therefore we desire should be known.

I hope, dear Sir, my past conduct will easily lead you to discover to what principle you should attribute this epistle; which, if it surprises, will, I hope, not displease you. If I am capable of pro-

ducing any thing worthy the attention of the public, it is to you that I owe it; to that truly paternal care which, from the first dawnings of my reason, has always watched over my education, and afforded me every opportunity of improvement. Permit me here to express my grateful sense of your tenderness to me, and to assure you, that the study of my whole life shall be to acquit myself, in some measure, of obligations I can never fully repay.

I am, dear Sir,
With the sincerest affection and regard,
Your most dutiful son, and faithful servant,
E. GIBBON, junior.

May the 28th, 1761.

AVIS

AVIS AU LECTEUR.

C'est un véritable essai que je produis au grand jour. Je souhaiterois me connoître. Ma prévention et celle de quelques amis, m'en inspireroient des idées trop avantageuses, si mon Apollon,* cette voix secrette que je ne puis faire taire, ne m'avertissoit souvent de me défier de leurs éloges. Dois-je me borner à recueillir avec reconnoissance les bienfaits de mes prédécesseurs? Puis-je espérer d'ajouter quelque chose au trésor commun des vérités ou du moins des idées? Je tâcherai d'entendre l'arrêt du public et même son silence, et je ne l'entendrai que pour m'y soumettre. Point de Philippiques contre mon siècle, point d'appel à la postérité.

L'envie de justifier une étude favorite, c'est-à-dire, l'amour-propre un peu déguisé, fit naître les réflexions suivantes. Je voulois affranchir une science estimable, du mépris où elle languit aujourd'hui. Il est vrai qu'on lit encore les anciens, mais on ne les étudie plus. On n'y apporte plus cette attention, et cet appareil de connoissances que Cicéron et Bossuet exigent de leurs lecteurs. Il est encore des gens de goût, mais il est peu de littérateurs; et ceux qui savent que les gens de lettres peuvent se passer des récompenses plus aisément que de l'estime du public, ne s'en étonneront point.

C'est un essai, je le repète encore; ce n'est point

* —— Cynthius aurem
Vellit et admonuit.

un traité complet qu'on va lire. J'ai envisagé la littérature sous quelques points de vue qui m'avoient frappé. Plusieurs, sans doute, me sont échappés. J'en ai négligé quelques autres. Je ne suis point entré dans la carrière immense des beaux-arts, des beautés qu'ils empruntent de la littérature, et de celles qu'ils lui rendent. Que ne suis-je un Caylus ou un Spence!* J'éleverois un monument éternel à leur alliance. L'on y verroit l'image de Jupiter éclorre dans le cerveau d'Homère, et venir se placer sous le ciseau de Phidias. Mais je ne me suis point dit avec le Corrège; " et moi aussi je suis peintre."

Le 3 Février, 1759.

Après avoir gardé, pendant deux ans, ce petit ouvrage, l'amusement de mon loisir à la campagne, je me hasarde enfin à le donner au public. J'ai besoin de son indulgence pour le fond des choses, et pour le langage. Ma jeunesse m'y donne un juste titre pour l'un, et ma qualité d'étranger me la rend bien nécessaire pour l'autre.

Le 16 Avril, 1761.

* 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.

A L'AU-

À L'AUTEUR.

Je reçois, mon cher Monsieur, les feuilles de votre ouvrage, toutes mouillées au sortir de la presse. Le sentiment qui vous engagea à me les communiquer, est passé dans mon cœur. Ne me demandez plus mon jugement, il ne peut être que partial.

Mais le public aura-t-il les yeux d'un ami; cet essai de vos forces, ce germe heureux d'ouvrages plus considérables, sera-t-il accueilli, sera-t-il épargné? inquiétude naturelle à un jeune auteur! Elle l'honore, elle n'est permise qu'à lui. A Dieu ne plaise que vous perdiez de long tems cette précieuse défiance de l'approbation du public, qui vous mit en état de la mériter! Si jamais vieux écrivain vous prenez moins de peine, c'est que vous vous connoîtrez mieux et craindrez moins vos juges.

Voudrois-je ôter à la jeune beauté la modeste rougeur qui lui fait méconnoître ses charmes, et qui ne cessera que quand ils ne seront plus? Non, Monsieur, je ne vous rassure point; je veux jouir de vos allarmes; vos censeurs vont paroître; armez-vous d'intrépidité.

Avez-vous pu croire qu'on pardonneroit à un homme né pour assister aux assemblées tumultueuses du sénat, et à la destruction des renards de sa province, des discussions sur ce qu'on pensa, il y a deux mille ans, sur les divinités de la Grèce, et

sur les premiers siècles de Rome? Quoi! pas la moindre allusion à ce qui se passe de nos jours! Une brochure, où il n'est question ni de la guerre ni du commerce, où l'on ne prescrit point de limites ni ne propose aucune réduction, où l'on ne fait aucun compliment au prince, ni de leçon à ses ministres! En vérité je vous admire, et qu'en dira-t-on, je vous le demande, en Hampshire?

Le Grec doit être laissé au collège et à la roture; ainsi l'a-t-on peut-être décidé chez nos voisins, et cette mode menace de devenir contagieuse. Je sais que Paris ne se croit pas encore déshonoré d'un Caylus et d'un Nivernois, et que votre île compte avec plaisir ses Lyttelton, ses Marchmont, ses Orrery, ses Bath, ses Granville. Mais vous êtes jeune, et l'on soupçonne ceux que je viens de vous nommer d'être un peu du siècle passé. Vos notes sont savantes, mais qui à Newmarket ou dans le caffé d'Arthur peut les lire?

Point d'ordre ni de liaison, dira le géomètre piqué. N'en soyez point surpris, il voit en vous un transfuge. Vous n'avez point donné la pomme à sa Venus, et il juge un écrit de goût sur le pied des élémens d'Euclide.

Parmi vos critiques je vois le littérateur lui-même. Je ne dirai pas que vous pensez, et lui laissez le soin de recueillir. Je vous respecte trop pour voler ce bon mot à Voltaire. Mais vos notes ne consistent point en corrections de passages. Quel vers d'Aristophane avez-vous restitué? De quel manuscrit vous appuyez-vous? D'ailleurs vous envisagez quelques objets sous un point de

vue

vue ou nouveau ou singulier. Votre chronologie est celle de Newton; vous justifiez l'anachronisme de Virgile; vos Dieux ne sont pas ceux de . . . Craignez sa nouvelle édition; vous aurez place dans ses notes.

Je ne vous reproche point l'obscurité, dirai-je, ou la profondeur de quelques unes de vos pensées, vos phrases coupées, la hardiesse de vos figures. La nation académique sera moins facile, et frondera quiconque voudroit vous appliquer une de vos notes, et l'aveu modeste de l'orateur Romain, en relisant dans l'age de la maturité, un morceau applaudi de sa jeunesse. *Quantis illa clamoribus, adolescentuli,* il avoit 26 ans, *diximus de supplicio parricidarum? quæ nequaquam satis deferbuisse post aliquanto sentire cœpimus . . . Sunt enim omnia, sicut adolescentis, non tam re et maturitate, quam spe et expectatione, laudati.**

J'ai gardé pour le dernier le plus grand de vos crimes. Vous êtes Anglois, et vous choisissez la langue de vos ennemis. Le vieux Caton frémit, et dans son *Club* Antigallican, vous dénonce, le *punch* à la main, un ennemi de la patrie. " Mes chers amis, dit-il, la liberté est prête d'expirer. Ce peuple, dont nous avons toujours triomphé, regagne par ses artifices plus que ne lui enlèvent nos armes. N'est-ce pas assez que nous ayons des baladins, des friseurs, des cuisiniers de Paris, qu'on boive dans notre île, qu'on boive des vins, qu'on lise des livres François; faut-il encore, grands

* Cicero. Orator. 29.

Dieux!

Dieux! est-ce dans le plus haut période de notre gloire qu'un Anglois devoit donner ce premier exemple? faut-il encore qu'on en écrive?"

Contre une attaque aussi grave quel rempart vous ferez-vous? Trouverez-vous des défenseurs où vous n'avez point de complices? Oserai-je élever ma voix moi, qui, Anglois simplement par choix sans l'être de naissance, n'ai pu, après vingt ans de séjour dans votre île, naturaliser ma langue aussi bien que mon cœur?

Dirai-je ce que Plutarque, à peu près dans le même cas que moi, auroit dit, que rien ne fut plus vain que la prophétie de l'acre censeur, que le Grec perdroit sa patrie, puisqu'au contraire elle s'éleva au comble de la gloire et du pouvoir dans le tems que les lettres Grecques et l'érudition étrangère y fleurirent le plus,* que ce peuple qui, tant qu'il fut libre, plaça sa grandeur dans ce qui seul fait la grandeur d'un peuple, fit venir ses grammairiens, mais non ses généraux de la Grèce, au lieu que Carthage y prit ses soldats et ses généraux, et en défendit la langue ;† que Flaminius, Scipion, Caton même, ... mais comme eux je parle Grec à votre homme. Il ignore également que Cicéron fut initié à Athènes, et que le nom de Chesterfield se trouve dans les registres d'une célèbre académie de Paris: il jureroit que les Edouards et les Henris ne parlèrent ou du moins ne lurent jamais de François, et si je le pressois, il me soutiendroit peut-être que le roi de Prusse se-

* Plutarch. in Cat. Major. † Justin. xx. 5.

roit

roit déjà maître de Vienne, s'il n'eût pas écrit, en style de Voltaire, les Mémoires de Brandebourg.

Mépriser sa propre langue, rien sans doute de plus honteux. Mais la méprise-t-on à moins qu'on ne donne l'exclusion à toute autre? Cicéron, qui écrivit l'histoire de son consulat en Grec, préféra donc cette langue, lui qui n'eut jamais de rival dans la sienne, qui la croyoit, peut-être par préjugé, beaucoup plus riche que la Grecque,* et qui, s'il ne la rendit pas telle, étendit les bornes de sa juridiction plus que César celles de l'empire.

S'il étoit vrai que le génie insociable des diverses langues empêche celui qui veut les concilier, d'exceller dans aucune, on auroit tort sans doute de s'exposer au risque de corrompre la pureté de celle qui nous est naturelle, sans pouvoir se flatter de réussir dans celle qui ne l'est pas. Mais tant s'en faut que l'expérience ait confirmé cette prétendue crainte des mélanges. Jamais les Romains n'écrivirent mieux en Latin qu'au sortir des écoles Grecques. Le morceau de Cicéron, dont j'ai parlé, nous a probablement valu les chef-d'œuvres Latins de Salluste, et sans l'histoire de Polybe, revue par le héros qui avoit été son disciple, nous n'aurions peut-être jamais eu ni Tite Live ni Tacite.

Toute langue, qui se suffit, est bornée. La vôtre, plus que toute autre, s'est enrichie par ses emprunts. Seroit-il impossible que l'Italien ne pût encore la rendre plus douce, l'Allemand plus com-

* De Finib. lib. iii.

pré-

préhensive, le François plus précise et plus régulière? Semblables à ces lacs dont les eaux s'épurent et s'éclaircissent par le mélange et l'agitation de celles qu'ils reçoivent des fleuves voisins, les langues modernes ne demeurent vivantes que par leur communication, et si je l'osois dire par, leur choc réciproque.

Non, ce n'est point de l'écrivain qui s'exerce à écrire avec pureté dans une langue étrangère, que la sienne a lieu de craindre qu'il ne l'altère mal à propos. Le dégré de perfection, auquel elle peut atteindre, est son objet, et l'analogie sa règle. Il connoît trop les richesses de sa langue, pour la charger de mots inutilement transplantés. Il a étudié son caractère, et ne se permet point de constructions forcées, sous prétexte de se faire lire. Respectant même ses bizarreries, il sait qu'un long usage exige de grands ménagemens, et que l'homme sensé ne se distingue jamais beaucoup, et très rarement le premier.

Qui sont donc les véritables corrupteurs des langues? Ces petits beaux-esprits qui, faute de nouvelles idées, n'ont pour se distinguer que leur néologique jargon; ces jeunes voyageurs qui, de Paris qu'ils ont mal vu, rapportent et font circuler l'expression du jour qu'ils n'ont pas comprise; et plus futiles que les uns et les autres, ces demi-savans, qui croyent donner du relief à leur paradoxes, et de la variété à leur style, par l'introduction de synomimes barbares, dont leur dictionnaire leur a, peut-être à grand'peine, indiqué le sens.

Rarement

Rarement un étranger parvient-il à écrire dans une langue, qui n'est pas la sienne, de manière à n'être pas reconnu. Mais faut-il qu'il ne le soit pas? Lucullus auroit pu se passer d'affecter des Latinismes, de peur d'être pris pour un Grec, et je ne crois pas que vous vous piquiez d'être moins facile à reconnoître pour un Anglois que Lucullus pour un Romain. Mais c'est cela même qui, aux yeux d'un François, vous donnera un nouveau mérite. Il remarquera un mot, un tour étranger à sa langue, et peut-être souhaitera qu'il ne le fût pas. Ces traits saillans, ces figures hardies, ce sacrifice de la règle au sentiment, et de la cadence à la force, lui caractériseront une nation originale, qui mérite d'être étudiée, et qui gagne toujours à l'être. L'individu ne lui échappera pas, et il saura discerner ce que vous devez à votre île, et ce que votre île vous doit.

Quand on ne sait qu'une langue, c'est par les traductions seules qu'on connoît les auteurs étrangers. Suffisent-elles pour en juger? Ferai-je la satyre des personnes qui se consacrent à la pénible tâche de traduire, en affirmant que leur moindre défaut est de nous faire perdre le caractère national et personnel de leurs auteurs? Ah! que ces auteurs n'ont-ils écrit eux-mêmes, quoique mal, dans une autre langue! Mon expression est celle qui accompagne ma pensée. Vous qui me traduisez, sentez-vous ce que j'ai senti? Montaigne seroit toujours Montaigne, s'il eut lui-même été le cuisinier Anglois de ses essais, et j'estimerois vingt fois plus un des livres de Milton écrit en François

ou

ou en Italien par Milton, que les traductions élégantes de Du Boccage et de Rolli.

Que si, dans vos climats si heureusement isolés, quelques personnes jalouses de l'universalité que le François s'est acquis sur le Continent, se plaignoient que vous rompez la dernière digue qui s'oppose à l'inondation, qu'elles me permettent de ne pas regarder comme un grand malheur, qu'une langue commune lie de plus en plus les états de l'Europe, facilite les conférences des ministres, prévienne les longueurs des négociations et les équivoques des traités, fasse souhaiter la paix, et la rende plus durable et plus chère. Le premier pas qu'on doive faire pour s'accorder, c'est de travailler à s'entendre.

Vous venez, Monsieur, de donner un grand exemple. Au milieu des succès de vos armes vous avez honoré les lettres de vos ennemis. Ce dernier triomphe est le plus noble. Puisse-t-il devenir général et réciproque, et le tems venir, où les divers peuples, membres épars de la même famille, s'élevant au-dessus des distinctions partiales d'Anglois, de François, d'Allemand, et de Russe, mériteront le titre d'homme!

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec des sentimens qui ne dépendent d'aucun climat ni d'aucun siècle,

MONSIEUR,

Votre très humble et très obéïsant serviteur,

M. MATY.

Du Musée Britannique,
le 16 Juin, 1761.

ESSAI

ESSAI

SUR

L'ÉTUDE DE LA LITTÉRATURE.

I. L'HISTOIRE des empires est celle de la misère des hommes. L'histoire des sciences est celle de leur grandeur et de leur bonheur. Si mille considérations doivent rendre ce dernier genre d'étude précieux aux yeux du philosophe, cette réflexion doit le rendre bien cher à tout amateur de l'humanité. Idée de l'histoire littéraire.

II. Que je voudrois qu'une vérité aussi consolante ne reçût aucune exception! Mais, hélas! l'homme ne perce que trop souvent dans le cabinet du savant. Dans cet asile de la sagesse, il est encore égaré par les préjugés, déchiré par les passions, avili par les foiblesses.

L'empire de la mode est fondé sur l'inconstance des hommes; empire dont l'origine est si frivole et dont les effets sont si funestes. L'homme de lettres n'ose secouer son joug, et si ses réflexions retardent sa défaite, elles la rendent plus honteuse.

Tous les pays, tous les siècles ont vu quelque science l'objet d'une préférence souvent injuste, pendant que les autres études languissoient dans un

un mépris tout aussi peu raisonnable. La métaphysique et la dialectique sous les successeurs d'Alexandre,* la politique et l'éloquence sous la république Romaine, l'histoire, la poësie dans le siècle d'Auguste, la grammaire et la juriprudence sous le Bas-Empire, la philosophie scholastique dans le treizième siècle, les Belles-Lettres jusqu'aux jours de nos pères, ont fait, tour-à-tour, l'admiration et le mépris des hommes. La physique et les mathématiques sont à présent sur le trône. Elles voyent toutes leurs sœurs prosternées devant elles, enchainées à leur char, ou tout-au-plus occupées à

* Ce siècle fut celui des sectes philosophiques, qui combattoient pour les systêmes de leurs maîtres respectifs, avec tout l'acharnement des théologiens.

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

" L'amour des systêmes, (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 systêmes. 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, nommée 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.

orner

orner leur triomphe. Peut-être leur chute n'est pas éloignée.

Il seroit digne d'un habile homme de suivre cette révolution dans les religions, les gouvernemens, les mœurs, qui ont successivement égaré, désolé et corrompu les hommes. Qu'il se gardât bien de chercher un système; mais qu'il se gardât bien davantage de l'éviter.

III. Si les Grecs n'avoient été esclaves, les Latins seroient encore barbares. Constantinople tomba sous le fer de Mahomet. Les Médicis accueillirent les Muses désolées: ils encouragèrent les lettres. Erasme fit plus, il les cultiva. Homère et Cicéron pénétrèrent dans des contrées inconnues à Alexandre, et invincibles pour les Romains. Ces siècles trouvoient qu'il étoit beau d'étudier les anciens et de les admirer:* le nôtre pense qu'il est plus aisé de les ignorer et de les mépriser. Je crois qu'ils ont tous les deux raison. Le guerrier les lisoit sous sa tente. L'homme d'état les étudioit dans son cabinet. Ce sexe même, qui, content des graces, nous laisse les lumières, embellissoit l'exemple d'une Délie, et souhaitoit de trouver un Tibulle dans son amant.

Renaissance des Belles-Lettres. Goût qu'on eut pour elles.

* Feuilletez la Bibliothèque 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.

Elizabeth (ce nom dit tout pour le Sage) apprenoit dans Hérodote à défendre les droits de l'humanité contre un nouveau Xerxes, et au sortir des combats se voyoit célébrée par Eschyle sous le nom des vainqueurs de Salamine.* †

Si Christine préféra la science au gouvernement d'un état, le politique peut la mépriser, le philosophe doit la blâmer, mais l'homme de lettres chérira sa mémoire. Cette reine étudioit les anciens : elle en considéroit les interprètes. Elle distingua ce Saumaise, qui ne mérita ni l'admiration de ses contemporains, ni le mépris dont nous nous efforçons de le combler.

On le poussa trop loin.

IV. Sans doute elle poussa trop loin l'admiration pour ces savans. Souvent leur défenseur, jamais leur zélateur, j'avouerai sans peine que leurs mœurs étoient grossières, leurs travaux quelquefois minutieux ; que leur esprit, noyé dans une érudition pédantesque, commentoit ce qu'il falloit sentir, et compiloit au lieu de raisonner. On étoit assez

* 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 Théât. des Grecs du P. Brumoy, tom. ii. p. 171, &c.

† 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 Sophocles 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.

éclairé

éclairé pour sentir l'utilité de leurs recherches; mais l'on n'étoit ni assez raisonnable ni assez poli, pour connoître qu'elles auroient pu être guidées par le flambeau de la philosophie.

V. La lumière alloit paroître. Descartes ne fut pas littérateur, mais les Belles-Lettres lui sont bien redevables. Un philosophe éclairé,* héritier de sa méthode, approfondit les vrais principes de la critique. Le Bossu, Boileau, Rapin, Brumoy apprirent aux hommes à connoître mieux le prix des trésors qu'ils possédoient. Une de ces sociétés qui ont mieux immortalisé Louis XIV. qu'une ambition souvent pernicieuse aux hommes, commençoit déjà ces recherches qui réunissent la justesse de l'esprit, l'aménité et l'érudition, où l'on voit tant de découvertes, et quelquefois, ce qui ne cède qu'à peine aux découvertes, une ignorance modeste et savante. Quand il devenoit plus raisonnable.

Si les hommes raisonnoient autant lorsqu'ils agissent que lorsqu'ils discourent, les Belles-Lettres seroient devenues l'objet de l'admiration du vulgaire et de l'estime des sages.

VI. C'est de cette époque qu'elles datent le commencement de leur décadence. Le Clerc, à qui les sciences et la liberté doivent des éloges, s'en plaignoit déjà, il y a plus de soixante ans. Mais c'est dans la fameuse dispute des anciens et des modernes qu'elles reçurent le coup mortel. Il n'y a jamais eu un combat aussi inégal. La logique Décadence des Belles-Lettres.

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

exacte de Terrasson, la philosophie déliée de Fontenelle, le style élégant et heureux de La Motte, le badinage léger de St. Hyacinte, travailloient de concert à réduire Homère au niveau de Chapelain. Leurs adversaires ne leur opposoient qu'un attachement aux minuties, je ne sais quelles prétensions à une supériorité naturelle des anciens, des préjugés, des injures et des citations. Tout le ridicule leur demeura. Il en rejaillit une partie sur ces anciens, dont ils soutenoient la querelle: et chez cette nation aimable, qui a adopté, sans y penser, le principe de Milord Shaftesbury, on ne distingue point les torts et les ridicules.

Depuis ce tems, nos philosophes se sont étonnés que des hommes pussent passer une vie entière à rassembler des faits et des mots; et à se charger la mémoire au lieu de s'éclairer l'esprit. Nos beaux-esprits ont senti quels avantages leur reviendroient de l'ignorance de leurs lecteurs. Ils ont comblé de mépris les anciens, et ceux qui les étudient encore.*†

VII.

* On a ôté à cette étude le nom de Belles-Lettres, qu'une longue prescription 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

† Fontenelle dans sa digression sur les anciens et les modernes, et ailleurs.—Oeuv. de Gresset. tom ii. p. 45.

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

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

VII. Je voudrois faire succéder à ce tableau quelques réflexions, qui pourront fixer la juste valeur des Belles-Lettres.

Grands hommes littérateurs.

Les exemples des grands hommes ne prouvent rien ; Cassini, avant de régler le cours des planètes, crut y lire le destin des hommes.* Cependant, lorsqu'ils sont en grand nombre, ils préviennent avant l'examen, après l'examen ils confirment. On sent d'abord qu'un génie capable de raisonner, une imagination vive et brillante ne goûteroient jamais une science, qui ne seroit que de mémoire. De tous ces hommes qui ont éclairé la terre, plusieurs se sont livrés à l'étude des Belles-Lettres; beaucoup l'ont cultivée; aucun, ou presqu'aucun, ne l'a méprisée. Toute l'antiquité se montroit sans voile aux yeux de Grotius : éclairé par sa lumière, il développoit les oracles sacrés, il combattoit l'ignorance et la superstition, il adoucissoit les horreurs de la guerre. Si Descartes, livré tout entier à sa philosophie, méprisoit toute étude qui ne s'y rapportoit pas, Newton† ne dédaigna pas de con-

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, (1) 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. (2)

* Fontenelle dans son Eloge.—VOLTAIRE, tom. xvii. p. 79.

† Newton réformoit la chronologie ordinaire, et y trouvoit des erreurs de cinq à six cens ans. Voyez mes Remarques Critiques sur cette Chronologie.

(1) M. D'Alemb. dans l'art. Erudition de l'Encycl. Françoise.

(2) M. D'Alemb. dans le discours préliminaire de l'Encyclopédie, et ailleurs.

struire un système de chronologie, qui a eu des partisans et beaucoup d'admirateurs : Gassendi, le meilleur philosophe des littérateurs et le meilleur littérateur des philosophes, expliquoit Epicure en critique, et le défendoit en physicien : Leibnitz passoit de ses recherches immenses sur l'histoire aux infiniment-petits. Si son édition de *Martianus Capella* avoit paru, son exemple auroit justifié les littérateurs, ses lumières les auroient éclairés.* Le Dictionnaire de Bayle sera un monument éternel de la force, et de la fécondité de l'érudition combinée avec le génie.

Littérateurs grands hommes.

VIII. Si nous ne faisons attention qu'à ceux qui ont consacré presque tous leurs travaux à la littérature, les vrais connoisseurs sauront toujours distinguer et apprécier l'esprit délicat et étendu d'Erasme, l'exactitude de Casaubon et de Gerard Vossius, la vivacité de Juste-Lipse, le goût, la finesse de Taneguy-le-Febvre, les ressources, la fécondité d'Isaac Vossius, la pénétration hardie de Bentley, l'aménité de Massieu et de Fraguier, la critique solide et éclairée de Sallier, l'esprit profond et philosophique de Le Clerc et de Freret. Ils ne confondront point ces grands hommes avec de simples compilateurs, un Gruter, un Saumaise, un Masson, et tant d'autres, hommes à la vérité utiles par leurs travaux, mais qui ne méritent jamais notre admiration, qui excitent rarement notre goût, et qui quelquefois seulement exigent notre estime.

Le Gout.

IX. Les anciens auteurs ont laissé des modèles

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

pour

pour ceux qui oseront marcher sur leurs traces : des lectures aux autres, où ils pourront puiser les principes du bon goût, et remplir leur loisir par l'étude de ces précieuses productions, où la vérité ne se montre qu'embellie de tous les trésors de l'imagination. Les poëtes et les orateurs doivent peindre la nature. Tout l'univers peut leur fournir des couleurs ; mais parmi cette variété immense on peut ranger sous trois classes les images dont ils se servent : l'homme, la nature, et l'art. Les images de la première espèce, le tableau de l'homme, de ses grandeurs, de ses petitesses, de ses passions, de ses changemens, sont celles qui conduisent le plus sûrement un écrivain à l'immortalité. Chaque fois qu'on lit Euripide, où Térence, on y découvre de nouvelles beautés. Cependant ce n'est ni à la conduite souvent défectueuse de leurs pièces, ni aux finesses cachées de leur heureuse simplicité, que ces poëtes doivent leur renommée. Le cœur se reconnoît dans leurs tableaux vrais et naïfs, et s'y reconnoît avec plaisir.

Trois sources de beautés.

La nature, toute vaste qu'elle est, a fourni peu d'images aux poëtes. Bornés, par leur objet ou par le préjugé des hommes, à son écorce, ils n'ont pu peindre que la successive variété des saisons, une mer irritée par les tempêtes, les zéphirs du printems respirant l'amour et les plaisirs. Un petit nombre de génies ont bientôt épuisé ces tableaux.

X. L'art leur restoit. J'entends par l'art tout ce dont les hommes ont orné ou défiguré la nature, les religions, les gouvernemens, les usages. Ils s'en sont tous servis : et il faut convenir qu'ils ont

Images artificielles.

tous eu raison. Leurs concitoyens et leurs contemporains les entendoient sans peine, et les lisoient avec plaisir. Ils aimoient à retrouver dans les ouvrages des grands hommes de leur nation, tout ce qui avoit rendu leurs ancêtres respectables, tout ce qu'ils regardoient comme sacré, tout ce qu'ils pratiquoient comme utile.

Les mœurs des anciens favorables à la poësie dans l'art militaire.

XI. Les mœurs des anciens étoient plus favorables à la poësie que les nôtres : c'est une forte présomption qu'ils nous y ont surpassés.

A mesure que les arts se sont perfectionnés, les ressorts se sont simplifiés. Dans la guerre, dans la politique, dans la religion, de plus grands effets ont été produits par des causes plus simples. Sans doute les Maurice et les Cumberland * entendoient mieux l'art militaire que les Achille et les 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 et marchoient au hasard."†

Cependant les batailles du poëte François sont-elles diversifiées comme celles du poëte Grec? Ses héros sont-ils aussi intéressans? Tous ces combats

* 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 talens 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.

† Oeuvres de Volt. tom. ii. p. 300.

singu-

singuliers des chefs, tous ces longs discours aux mourans, toutes ces rencontres inattendues, prouvent l'enfance de l'art, mais donnent au poëte le moyen de nous faire connoître ses héros, et de nous intéresser à leur destin. Aujourd'hui les armées sont de vastes machines animées par le souffle du général. La Muse se refuse à la description de ses manœuvres : elle n'ose percer ce tourbillon de poudre et de poussière, qui cache à ses yeux le brave et le lâche, le chef et le soldat.

Dans la politique.

XII. Les anciennes républiques de la Grèce ignoroient les premiers principes d'un bon gouvernement. Le peuple s'assembloit en tumulte pour décider plutôt que pour délibérer. Leurs factions étoient furieuses et immortelles, leurs séditions fréquentes et terribles, leurs plus beaux jours remplis de méfiance, d'envie et de confusion :* leurs citoyens étoient malheureux, mais leurs écrivains, l'imagination échauffée par ces affreux objets, les peignoient comme ils les sentoient. La tranquille administration des loix, ces arrêts salutaires qui, sortis du cabinet d'un seul ou du conseil d'un petit nombre, vont répandre la félicité chez un peuple entier, n'excitent chez le poëte que l'admiration, la plus froide de toutes les passions.

Dans la religion.

XIII. La mythologie ancienne qui animoit toute la nature, étendoit son influence sur la plume du

* 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.

poëte.

poëte. Inspiré par la muse, il chantoit les attributs, les aventures, et les malheurs des dieux. L'Etre infini, que la religion et la philosophie nous ont fait connoître, est au-dessus de ses chants : le sublime à son égard devient puérile. Le *Fiat* de Moïse nous frappe;* mais la raison ne sauroit suivre les travaux de la Divinité qui ébranle sans efforts et sans instrumens des millions de mondes, et l'imagination ne peut voir avec plaisir les diables de Milton, combattre pendant deux jours les armées du Tout Puissant.†

Les anciens connoissoient leurs avantages, et les employoient avec succès. Ces chef-d'œuvres que nous admirons encore en sont la meilleure preuve.

Moyens de sentir les beautés.

XIV. Mais nous, placés sous un autre ciel, nés dans un autre siècle, nous perdrions nécessairement toutes ces beautés, faute de pouvoir nous placer au même point de vue, où se trouvoient les Grecs et les Romains. Une connoissance détaillée de leur siècle est le seul moyen qui puisse nous y conduire. Quelques idées superficielles, quelques

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

† Le compas d'or dont le Créateur mesure l'univers étonne chez Milton. Peut-être chez lui est-il puérile : chez Homère il eût 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 paroît 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.

lumières

lumières puisées au besoin dans un commentaire, ne nous laisseront saisir que les beautés les plus sensibles et les plus apparentes : toutes les graces, toutes les finesses de leurs ouvrages nous échapperont ; et nous traiterons de gens sans goût leurs contemporains, pour leur avoir prodigué des éloges, dont notre ignorance nous empêchera de sentir la justesse. La connoissance de l'antiquité, voilà notre vrai commentaire : mais ce qui est plus nécessaire encore, c'est un certain esprit qui en est le résultat ; esprit qui non seulement nous fait connoître les choses, mais qui nous familiarise avec elles, et nous donne à leur égard les yeux des anciens. Le fameux exemple de Perrault peut faire sentir ce que je veux dire : la grossièreté des siècles héroïques choquoit le Parisien. En vain Boileau lui remontroit-il qu'Homère vouloit et devoit peindre les Grecs, et non point les François ; son esprit demeuroit convaincu, sans être persuadé.* Un goût antique (j'entends pour les idées de convention) l'eût éclairé plus que toutes les leçons de son adversaire.

XV. J'ai dit, il y a un moment, que la raison autorisoit ces images artificielles ; mais au tribunal de l'amour de la gloire, je ne sais si la décision seroit la même. Nous aimons tous la gloire : mais rien n'est plus différent que la nature et le dégré de cet amour. Chaque homme varie dans sa manière de l'aimer. Cet écrivain n'aime que les éloges de ses contemporains. La mort met fin à

Images artificielles tiennent à l'amour de la gloire.

* V. les Remarques de M. Despréaux sur Longin.

toutes

toutes ses espérances et à toutes ses craintes. Le tombeau qui couvre son corps peut ensevelir son nom. Un tel homme peut sans scrupule employer des images familières aux seuls juges dont il recherche les applaudissemens. Cet autre lègue son nom à la postérité la plus reculée.* Il se plait à penser que, mille ans après sa mort, l'Indien des bords du Gange, et le Laponois au milieu de ses glaces, liront ses ouvrages, et porteront envie au pays et au siècle qui l'ont vû naître.

Celui qui écrit pour tous les hommes ne doit puiser que dans des sources communes à tous les hommes, dans leur cœur et dans le spectacle de la nature. Le seul orgueil peut l'engager à passer ces limites. Il peut présumer que la beauté de ses écrits lui assurera toujours des Burmans, qui travailleront à l'expliquer, et qui l'admireront encore plus, parcequ'ils l'auront expliqué.

Et à la nature du sujet.

XVI. Non-seulement le caractère de l'auteur, mais encore celui de son ouvrage, influe à cet égard sur sa conduite. La haute poësie, l'épopée, la tragédie, et l'ode emprunteront plus rarement ces images que la comédie et la satire, parcequ'elles peignent les passions, et que celles-ci crayonnent les mœurs. Horace et Plaute sont presqu'inintelligibles à quiconque n'a pas appris à vivre, et à penser comme le peuple Romain. Le rival de Plaute, l'élégant Térence, est mieux entendu, parcequ'il a sacrifié la plaisanterie au bon goût, au lieu que Plaute a immolé les bienséances à la

* Vie de Bacon par Mallet, p. 27.

plaisanterie.

plaisanterie. Térence songeoit qu'il peignoit des Athéniens; tout dans ses pièces est Grec, hormis le langage:* Plaute savoit qu'il parloit à des Romains: on retrouve chez lui à Thèbes, à Athènes, à Calydon, les mœurs, les loix et jusqu'aux bâtimens de Rome.†

XVII. Dans les poëtes héroïques, les mœurs, bien qu'elles ne fassent pas le fond de leurs tableaux, en ornent souvent le lointain. Il est impossible de sentir le plan, l'art, et les détails de Virgile, sans être instruit à fonds de l'histoire, des loix, et de la religion des Romains, de la géographie de l'Italie, du caractère d'Auguste, de la relation singulière et unique que ce Prince soutenoit avec le sénat et le peuple.‡ Rien de plus frappant, et de plus intéressant pour ce peuple, que le contraste de Rome couverte de paille, renfermant trois mille citoyens dans ses murs,§ avec cette même Rome capitale de l'univers, dont les maisons étoient des palais, les citoyens des princes, et les provinces des

Contraste de l'enfance et de la grandeur de Rome.

* V. Terent. Eunuch. Act. ii. Sc. ii. 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.

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

‡ 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.

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

empires.

empires. Puisque Florus a su saisir ce contraste,* on peut croire que Virgile ne l'a pas manqué. Il l'a peint des traits d'un grand maître. Evandre conduit son hôte par ce village, où tout, jusqu'au monarque, respiroit la rusticité. Il lui en explique les antiquités, et le poëte laisse habilement entrevoir à quoi ce village, ce capitole futur, caché par les ronces, étoit réservé.† Que ce tableau est

* 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 Præneste, deliciæ, nuncupatis in capitolio votis petebantur. Idem tunc Fæsulæ, quod Carræ nuper. Idem nemus Aricinum, quod Hercynius saltus: Fregellæ quod Gessoriacum: Tiberis quod Euphrates. Coriolos, quoque, proh pudor! victos, adeo gloriæ fuisse ut captum oppidum 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 Veïentes cæde Tolumni
Vincere dum Veïos posse, laboris erat.
Nec dum ultra Tiberim, belli sonus, ultima præda
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, pénétre 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.

† Virg. Æned. L. viii. v. 185—370.

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

(1) L. Annæi Flori, L. i. c. xi. (2) Propertii Eleg. L. iv. Eleg. xi. v. 23.

vif!

vif! Que ce contraste est parlant pour un homme instruit dans l'antiquité! Qu'il est fade aux yeux de celui qui n'apporte à la lecture de Virgile, d'autre préparation qu'un goût naturel, et quelque connoissance de la langue Latine!

XVIII. Mieux on possède l'antiquité, plus on admire l'art de ce poëte. Son sujet étoit assez mince. La fuite d'une bande d'exilés, le combat de quelques villageois, l'établissement d'une bicoque, voilà les travaux tant vantés du pieux Enée. Mais le poëte les a annoblis, et il a su, en les annoblissant, les rendre encore plus intéressans. Par une illusion trop fine pour ne pas se dérober au commun des lecteurs, et trop heureuse pour déplaire aux juges, il embellit les mœurs des siècles héroïques, mais il les embellit sans les déguiser.* Le pâtre Latinus et le séditieux Turnus sont transformés en monarques puissans. Toute l'Italie craint pour sa liberté. Enée triomphe des hommes et des dieux. Virgile sait encore faire rejaillir sur les Troyens toute la gloire des Romains. Le fondateur de Rome fait disparoître celui de La- Art de Virgile.

* 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.

vinium. C'est un feu qui s'allume. Bientôt il embrasera toute la terre. Enée (si j'ose hasarder l'expression) contient le germe de tous ses descendans. Assiégé dans son camp, il nous rappelle César et Alexia.* Nous ne partageons point notre admiration.

Jamais Virgile n'employe mieux cet art, que lorsque, descendu aux enfers avec son héros, son imagination en paroît affranchie. Il n'y crée point d'êtres nouveaux et fantasques. Romulus et Brutus, Scipion et César s'y montrent, tels que Rome les admira ou les craignit.

Les Georgiques.

XIX. On lit les Georgiques avec ce goût vif qu'on doit au beau, et avec ce plaisir délicieux que l'aménité de leur objet inspire à toute ame honnête et sensible. On pourroit cependant sentir croître son admiration, si l'on découvroit chez leur auteur un but aussi relevé que l'exécution en est achevée. Je puise toujours mes exemples chez Virgile. Ses beaux vers et les préceptes de son ami Horace, fixèrent le goût des Romains, et peuvent instruire la postérité la plus reculée. Mais pour développer mes idées, il faut les prendre d'un peu loin.

Les vétérans.

XX. Les premiers Romains combattoient pour la gloire et pour la patrie. Depuis le siège de Veïes† ils recevoient une paye assez modique, et

* 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)

† Liv. L. iv. c. 59, 60.

(1) Notice de l'ancienne Gaule, par M. d'Anville, p. 49.

quelquefois

quelquefois des récompenses après les triomphes;* mais ils les recevoient comme une grace, et non comme une dette. La guerre finie, chaque soldat, devenu citoyen, se retiroit dans sa cabane et y suspendoit ses armes inutiles, prêt à les reprendre au premier signal.

Quand Sylla rendit la tranquillité à la république, les choses étoient bien changées. Plus de trois cens mille hommes, accoutumés au carnage et au luxe,† sans biens, sans patrie, sans principes, exigeoient des récompenses. Si le dictateur les leur avoit données en argent, suivant le taux établi ensuite par Auguste, elles lui auroient couté plus de trente-deux millions de notre monnoye,‡ somme immense

* Liv. L. xxx. c. 45, &c. Arbuthnot's Tables, p. 181, &c.

† Sallust in Bell. Catilin. p. 22. Edit. Thysii.

‡ Ce taux étoit de trois mille drachmes, ou douze mille sesterces pour le simple légionaire,(1) du double pour le cavalier et le centenier, et du quadruple pour le tribun.(2) La légion Romaine, depuis l'augmentation de Marius,(3) 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 légionaires à 3000 drachmes ou 12,000 sesterces, ou £105 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 £410 chacun,	115,620
En tout	£32,489,220

Suivant les calculs de M. Arbuthnot cette somme ne seroit que

(1) Dion. Cass. L. liv. Lips. Ex. ad. L. i. Annal. Tacit. C.
(2) Wotton's History of Rome, p. 154. (3) Rosin. Antiq. p. 964.

immense dans les tems les plus prospères, mais alors au-dessus des facultés de la république. Sylla embrassa un parti, que la nécessité et son intérêt particulier, plutôt que le bien de l'état, lui dictèrent: il donna des terres aux soldats. Quarante-sept légions furent dispersées dans l'Italie. On fonda vingt-quatre colonies militaires.* Expédient ruineux: si on les mêloit, ils quittoient leurs habitations pour se retrouver; si on les laissoit en corps, le premier séditieux y trouvoit une armée toute prête.† Ces vieux guerriers ennuyés du repos, et trouvant au-dessous d'eux d'acheter par la sueur ce qui pouvoit ne couter que du sang,‡ dissipèrent leurs nouveaux biens par la débauche, et n'espérant de salut que dans une guerre civile, servirent puissamment les desseins de Catilina.§ Auguste, pressé par les mêmes embarras, suivit le même plan, et en crai-

de £30,705,220, la drachme valant $7\frac{3}{4}$ sous d'Angleterre.(1) Mais quelques recherches que j'aie faites, la drachme Attique des derniers tems, égale au denier Romain en poids comme en valeur, valoit $8\frac{1}{3}$ de cette monnoye.(2)

* 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.

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

‡ Tacit. de Mor. German. p. 441.

§ Sallust. in Bell. Catilin. p. 40. Cicero in Catilin. Orat. ii. c. 9.

(1) Arbuth. Tables, p. 15.

(2) V. mes Rem. MSS. sur les poids, &c. des anciens. Hooper, p. 108. et Eissenschmidt, p. 23, &c.

gnit

gnit les mêmes suites. La triste Italie fumoit encore

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

Les hardis vétérans n'avoient acheté leurs possessions que par une guerre sanglante, et leurs fréquens actes de violence montroient assez qu'ils se croyoient toujours les armes à la main.†

But de Virgile.

XXI. Qu'y avoit-il alors de plus assorti à la douce politique d'Auguste, que d'employer les chants harmonieux de son ami, pour les réconcilier à leur nouvel état? Aussi lui conseilla-t-il de composer cet ouvrage.

Da facilem cursum, atque audacibus annue cœptis;
Ignarosque viæ mecum miseratus agrestes,
Ingredere; et votis jam nunc assuesce vocari.‡

L'agriculture avoit cependant plus de cinquante écrivains Grecs;§ les livres de Caton et de Varron étoient des guides plus sûrs, plus minutieux, et plus exacts que ne pouvoit l'être un poëte. Mais il falloit faire goûter à des soldats le repos de la campagne plutôt que de les instruire dans les principes de l'agriculture: de là toutes ces descriptions touchantes des plaisirs innocens du campagnard, ses jeux, ses foyers, ses retraites délicieuses opposées aux amusemens frivoles des hommes, et à leurs affaires plus frivoles que leurs amusemens.

* Racin. Mithrid. Act. iii. Sc. 1.
† V. Donat. in Vit. Virgil. Virgil, Eclog. ix. v. 2, &c.
‡ Virg. Georg. l. i. v. 40. § Varro de Re Rustic. l. i. c. 1.

Il y a dans ce tableau de ces traits vifs et inattendus, de ces détours cachés et heureux, qui montrent dans Virgile, un génie pour la satire, que des vues supérieures et la bonté de son cœur l'empêchoient seules de cultiver.* Quel vétéran ne se reconnoissoit pas dans le vieillard Corycien?† Comme eux accoutumé aux armes dès sa jeunesse, il trouvoit enfin le bonheur dans une retraite sauvage, que ses travaux avoient transformée en un lieu de délices.‡

L'Italien, las de mener une vie remplie de craintes légitimes, déploroit avec Virgile les malheurs du tems, et plaignoit son prince de se voir emporté par la violence des vétérans,

Ut cum carceribus sese effudêre quadrigæ,
Addunt in spatium, et frustra retinacula tendens
Fertur equis auriga, neque audit currus habenas,§

et recommençoit ses travaux dans l'espoir d'un nouveau siècle d'or.

Son succès. XXII. Si l'on adopte mes idées, Virgile n'est plus un simple écrivain, qui décrit les travaux rustiques. C'est un nouvel Orphée, qui ne manie sa lyre, que pour faire déposer aux sauvages leur fé-

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

† Virg. Geor. L. iv. v. 125, et seq.

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

§ Virg. Georg. L. i. v. 512.

rocité,

rocité, et pour les réunir par les liens des mœurs et des loix.*

Ses chants produisirent cette merveille. Les vétérans s'accoutumèrent insensiblement au repos. Ils passèrent en paix les trente ans qui s'écoulèrent avant qu'Auguste eût établi, non sans beaucoup de difficulté, un trésor militaire pour les payer en argent.†

La Critique. Idée de la critique.

XXIII. Aristote, qui portoit la lumière dans les ténèbres de la nature et de l'art, est le père de la critique. Le tems, dont la justice lente, mais sûre, met enfin la vérité à la place de l'erreur, a brisé les statues du philosophe, mais a confirmé les décisions du critique. Destitué d'observations, il a donné des chimères pour des faits. Formé dans l'école de Platon, et dans les écrits d'Homère, de Sophocle, d'Euripide et de Thucydide, il a puisé ses règles dans la nature des choses et dans la connoissance du cœur humain. Il les a éclaircies par les exemples des plus grands modèles.

Deux mille ans se sont écoulés depuis Aristote. Les critiques ont perfectionné leur art. Cependant ils ne sont pas encore d'accord sur l'objet de leurs travaux. Les le Clerc, les Cousin, les Desmaiseaux, les de Sainte-Marthe,‡ nous en offrent

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

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

‡ Clerici Ars Crit. L. i. c. 1.

des définitions différentes. Pour moi, je les crois toutes ou trop partiales, ou trop arbitraires. La critique est, selon moi, l'art de juger des écrits et des écrivains, ce qu'ils ont dit, s'ils l'ont bien dit, s'ils ont dit vrai.* De la première de ces branches découle la grammaire, la connoissance des langues et des manuscrits, le discernement des ouvrages supposés, le rétablissement des endroits corrompus. Toute la théorie de la poësie et de l'éloquence se tire de la seconde. La troisième ouvre un champ immense, l'examen et la critique des faits. On pourroit donc distinguer la nation des critiques, en critiques grammairiens, en critiques rhéteurs et en critiques historiens. Les prétensions exclusives des premiers ont nui non seulement à leur travail, mais à celui de leurs confrères.

Matériaux du critique.

XXIV. Tout ce qu'ont été les hommes, tout ce que le génie a créé, tout ce que la raison a pesé, tout ce que le travail a recueilli, voilà le département de la critique. La justesse d'esprit, la finesse, la pénétration, sont toutes nécessaires pour l'exercer dignement. Je suis le littérateur dans son cabinet, je le vois entouré des productions de tous les siècles: sa bibliothèque en est remplie: son esprit en est éclairé, sans en être chargé. Il étend ses regards de tous côtés. L'auteur le plus éloigné du travail de l'instant, n'est pas oublié: un trait lumineux pourroit s'y rencontrer, qui confirmeroit les découvertes

* 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.

vertes du critique ou qui ébranleroit ses hypothèses. Le travail de l'érudit est achevé. Le philosophe de nos jours s'y arrête et loue la mémoire du compilateur. Celui-ci en est quelquefois la dupe, et prend les matériaux pour l'édifice.

Opérations du critique.

XXV. Mais le vrai critique sent que sa tâche ne fait que commencer. Il pèse, il combine, il doute, il décide. Exact et impartial, il ne se rend qu'à la raison, ou à l'autorité qui est la raison des faits.* Le nom le plus respectable le cède quelquefois au témoignage d'écrivains auxquels les circonstances seules donnent un poids momentané. Prompt et fécond en ressources, mais sans fausse subtilité, il ose sacrifier l'hypothèse la plus brillante, la plus spécieuse, et ne fait point parler à ses maîtres le langage de ses conjectures. Ami de la vérité, il cherche le genre de preuves qui convient à son sujet, et il s'en contente. Il ne porte point la faux de l'analyse sur ces beautés délicates, qui se fanent sous la touche la moins rude; mais aussi, peu content d'une admiration stérile, il fouille jusques dans les principes les plus cachés du cœur humain, pour se rendre raison de ses plaisirs et de ses dégoûts. Modeste et sensé il n'étale point ses conjectures comme des vérités, ses inductions comme des faits, ses vraisemblances comme des démonstrations.

La critique une bonne logique.

XXVI. On a dit que la géométrie étoit une bonne logique, et l'on a cru lui donner un grand éloge: il est plus glorieux aux sciences de développer ou de perfectionner l'homme, que de reculer

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

les bornes de l'univers. Mais la critique ne peut-elle pas partager ce titre? Elle a même cet avantage: la géométrie s'occupe de démonstrations qui ne se trouvent que chez elle; la critique balance les différens dégrés de vraisemblance. C'est en les comparant que nous réglons tous les jours nos actions, que nous décidons souvent de notre sort.* Balançons des vraisemblances critiques.

Controverse sur l'histoire Romaine.

XXVII. Notre siècle, qui se croit destiné à changer les loix en tout genre, a enfanté un Pirrhonisme historique, utile et dangereux. M. de Pouilly, esprit brillant et superficiel, qui citoit plus qu'il ne lisoit, douta de la certitude† des cinq premiers siècles de Rome; mais son imagination peu faite pour ces recherches, céda facilement à l'érudition et à la critique de M. Freret et de l'Abbé Sallier.‡ M. de Beaufort fit revivre cette controverse, et l'histoire Romaine souffrit beaucoup des attaques d'un écrivain, qui savoit douter et qui savoit décider.

Traité entre Rome et Carthage.

XXVIII. Un traité des Romains et des Carthaginois devint entre ses mains une objection accablante.§ Ce traité se rencontre chez Polybe,

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

† 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 de Henri quatre.

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

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

historien

historien exact et éclairé.* L'original se conservoit à Rome de son tems. Cependant ce monument authentique contredit tous les historiens. L. Brutus et M. Horatius y paroissent comme exerçant le consulat ensemble, quoiqu'Horatius n'y parvint qu'après la mort de Brutus. Les Romains y ont des sujets qui n'étoient encore que leurs alliés. On entend parler de la marine d'un peuple qui ne construisit ses premiers vaisseaux que dans la première guerre Punique, deux cens cinquante ans après le consulat de Brutus. Quelles conclusions fatales ne tire-t-on pas de cette contrariété? Elles sont toutes au désavantage des historiens.

XXIX. Cette objection a fort embarrassé les adversaires de M. de Beaufort. Ils ont douté de l'authenticité de ce monument original. Ils en ont avancé la date. Tachons par une explication vraisemblable de concilier le monument et les historiens. Séparons d'abord la date d'avec le corps du traité. Celui-ci est du tems de Brutus. Celle-là est de la façon de Polybe ou de ses antiquaires Romains. Les noms des consuls ne se lisoient jamais dans les traités solemnels, dans les *fœdera* consacrés par toutes les cérémonies de la religion. Les seuls ministres de cette religion, les *féciaux*, les signoient: et cette circonstance distinguoit les *fœdera* et les *sponsiones*. Nous devons ce détail à Tite Live.† Il fait disparoître la difficulté. Les antiquaires

Le traité éclairci.

Les consuls.

* Polyb. Hist. L. iii. c. 22.

† Spoponderunt consules, legati, quæstores, tribuni militum, nominaque eorum qui spoponderunt adhuc extant, ubi si ex fœdere

antiquaires auront pris les féciaux pour les consuls. Mais sans songer à cette méprise, ces antiquaires, que rien n'obligeoit à la précision dans l'explication des monumens publics, ont marqué l'année du régifuge, par les noms célèbres du fondateur de la liberté et de celui du capitole. Il leur importoit peu de s'assurer s'ils exercèrent le consulat ensemble.

Les sujets des Romains.

XXX. Les peuples d'Ardée, d'Antium, de Terracine n'étoient point sujets des Romains, ou s'ils l'étoient, les historiens nous ont donné une idée très fausse de l'étendue de la république. Transportons-nous dans le siècle de Brutus, et puisons dans la politique des Romains, une définition du terme d'allié assez éloignée de la nôtre. Rome, quoique la dernière colonie des Latins, songea de bonne heure à réunir toute cette nation sous ses loix. Sa discipline, ses héros et ses victoires lui acquirent bientôt une supériorité décidée. Fiers, mais politiques, les Romains en usèrent avec une sagesse digne de leur bonheur. Ils comprirent que des cités mal-asservies arrêteroient les armes, épuiseroient les trésors, et corromproient les mœurs de la république. Sous le nom plus spécieux d'alliés, ils surent faire aimer leur joug aux vaincus. Ceux-ci consentirent avec plaisir à reconnoître Rome pour la capitale de la nation Latine, et à lui fournir un corps de troupes dans toutes ses guerres. La république ne leur devoit qu'une protection, marque de sa souveraineté et qui leur coutoit si

fœdere acta res esset præterquam duorum fecialium non extarent. Tit. Liv. L. ix. c. 5.

cher.

cher. Ces peuples étoient alliés de Rome, mais ils virent bientôt eux-mêmes qu'ils en étoient esclaves.*

XXXI. Cette explication diminue la difficulté, me dira-t-on, mais ne la dissipe pas. Ὑπηκοοι, l'expression dont se sert Polybe, signifie sujet, dans le sens propre du mot. Je ne le contesterai pas. Mais nous n'avons que la traduction de ce traité; et si l'on accorde à ses copies une confiance conditionelle pour le fond des choses, il ne doit pas être permis de rien conclure de leurs expressions prises à la rigueur. Les assemblages d'idées sont si arbitraires, les nuances si légères, les langues si différentes, que le plus habile traducteur peut chercher des expressions équivalentes, mais n'en trouve guères que de semblables.† Le langage de ce traité étoit ancien. Polybe se fia aux antiquaires Romains. La vanité leur grossit les objets. *Fœderati* ne signifie pas des alliés égaux: rendons-le, dirent ils, par sujets.

XXXII. La marine des Romains embarrasse encore nos critiques. Polybe nous assure que la flotte de Duillius fut leur premier essai dans ce genre.‡ Eh bien, Polybe se trompe, puisqu'il se contredit; voilà toute ma conclusion. Mais en admettant même son récit, l'histoire Romaine ne s'écrouleroit cependant pas. Voici une hypothèse qui

Leur marine.

* Tit. Liv. L. viii. c. 4.

Le préteur Annius appelle le gouvernement des Romains, *Regnum impotens.*

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

‡ Polyb. L. i. c. 20.

qui explique ce phénomène d'une manière raisonnable; et c'est tout ce qu'on est en droit d'exiger d'une hypothèse. Tarquin opprime le peuple et les soldats. Il s'approprie tout le butin. On se dégoûte de la milice. On équipe de petits bâtimens qui font des courses sur mer. La république naissante les protège, mais met un frein par ce traité à leurs déprédations. Des guerres continuelles, la paye qu'on accorde aux troupes de terre, font négliger la marine; et dans un siècle ou deux, on oublie qu'elle a jamais existé.* Polybe aura parlé d'une façon un peu trop générale.

XXXIII. D'ailleurs la première marine des Romains ne pouvoit être composée que de bâtimens à cinquante rames. Gelon et Hieron construisirent des vaisseaux plus grands.† Les Grecs et les Carthaginois les imitèrent; et dans la première guerre Punique, les Romains mirent en mer de ces vaisseaux à trois ou quatre rangs de rames, qui étonnent encore nos antiquaires et nos méchaniciens. Cet armement étoit bien propre à faire oublier leurs essais antiques et grossiers.‡

Réflexions sur cette dispute.

XXXIV. J'ai défendu avec plaisir une histoire

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

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

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

utile

utile et intéressante. Mais j'ai voulu surtout montrer par ces réflexions, combien sont délicates les discussions de la critique, où il ne s'agit pas de saisir la démonstration, mais de comparer le poids des vraisemblances opposées ; et combien il faut se défier des systêmes les plus éblouissans, puisqu'il y en a si peu qui soutiennent l'épreuve d'un examen libre et attentif.

XXXV. Une nouvelle considération embarrasse la critique d'une nouvelle difficulté. Il est des sciences qui ne sont que des connoissances : leurs principes sont des vérités de spéculation et non des maximes de conduite. Il est plus facile de comprendre stérilement une proposition, que de se la rendre familière, de l'appliquer avec justesse, de s'en servir comme d'un guide dans ses études, et d'un flambeau dans ses découvertes.

La critique une pratique sans être une routine.

La marche de la critique n'est point une routine. Ses principes généraux sont vrais, mais stériles. Celui qui ne connoît qu'eux, se méprend également, qu'il veuille les suivre ou qu'il ose s'en écarter. Le génie plein de ressources, maître des règles, mais maître aussi des raisons des règles, paroît souvent les mépriser. Sa route nouvelle et hardie semble l'en éloigner : mais suivez-le jusqu'au bout, vous voyez en lui un admirateur, mais un admirateur éclairé des mêmes règles, qui sont toujours la base de ses raisonnemens et de ses découvertes. Que toutes les sciences fussent *legum non hominum respublica*, voilà le souhait du peuple des savans. Son accomplissement feroit son bonheur : mais on ne sait que trop que le bonheur des peuples

et

et la gloire de ceux qui les éclairent ou qui les gouvernent, sont des objets souvent différens, et quelquefois opposés. Les savans du premier ordre ne veulent que des études semblables à la lance d'Achille : elle n'étoit faite que pour les mains du héros. Essayons de la manier.

Le poëte peut-il s'écarter de l'histoire?

XXXVI. Le législateur de la critique a prononcé, que le poëte doit rendre les héros tels que l'histoire nous les fait connoître :

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

Réduirons-nous donc le poëte au rôle d'un froid annaliste? Lui ôterons-nous ce grand pouvoir de la fiction, ce contraste, ce choc des caractères, ces situations inattendues où l'on tremble pour l'homme, où l'on admire le héros? Ou bien, plus amis des beautés que des règles, lui pardonnerons-nous plus aisément les anachronismes que l'ennui?

La loi et raison de la loi. Exemple de Virgile.

XXXVII. Charmer, attendrir, élever l'esprit, c'est-là l'objet de la poësie. Les loix partiales ne doivent jamais faire perdre de vue qu'elles ne sont que des moyens destinés à aider ses opérations, et non à les embarrasser. On a vu que la philosophie hérissée de démonstations, ose à peine entamer les idées reçues ; comment la poësie pourroit-elle espérer de plaire qu'en s'y prêtant? Nous nous

* V. Bentley et Sanadon au v. 120. de l'Art Poëtique d'Horace.

† Horat. Ars Poet. v. 119. et seq.

plaisons

plaisons à revoir les héros et les événemens de l'antiquité: paroissent-ils travestis, ils produisent la surprise, mais une surprise qui révolte contre les nouveautés. Lorsqu'un auteur veut hasarder quelque changement, il doit réfléchir s'il en naît une beauté frappante ou légère, mais toujours proportionnée à la violation des loix. Ce n'est qu'à ce prix qu'il peut racheter son attentat.

Les anachronismes d'Ovide nous déplaisent.* La vérité y est corrompue sans être embellie. Que le Mézence de Virgile est d'un caractère différent! Ce prince ne périt que par les armes d'Ascagne. †Mais quel lecteur assez glacé pour y songer un instant, lorsqu'il voit Enée, ministre des vengeances célestes, devenir le protecteur des nations opprimées, lancer la foudre sur la tête du coupable tyran, mais s'attendrir sur la victime infortunée de ses coups, le jeune et pieux Lausus digne d'un autre père, et d'un destin plus propice? Que de beautés l'histoire faisoit perdre au poëte! Encouragé par ce succès, il l'abandonne quand il eût dû la suivre. Enée arrive dans l'Italie si désirée; les Latins accourent pour défendre leurs foyers, tout menace du plus sanglant combat.

* 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.

† Serv. ad Virg. Æneid. L. iv. v. 620. Dion. Halycarn. Antiq. Rom. L. i.

" Déjà

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

Le nom d'Enée fait tomber les armes aux ennemis. Ils craignent de combattre ce guerrier, dont la gloire s'élève des cendres de sa patrie. Ils courent embrasser ce prince annoncé par tant d'oracles, qui leur apporte du fond de l'Asie, ses dieux, une race de héros, et la promesse de l'empire de l'univers. Latinus lui offre un asile et sa fille. †Quel coup de théâtre! Qu'il étoit digne de la majesté de l'épopée, et de la plume de Virgile! Qu'on lui compare, si on l'ose, l'ambassade d'Ilioneus, le palais de Latinus, et le discours du monarque.‡

Eclaircissemens et restrictions.

XXXVIII. Que le poëte, je le répète encore, ose hasarder, pourvû que le lecteur retrouve toujours dans ses fictions, ce même dégré de plaisir que la vérité et les convenances lui eussent offert. Qu'il ne bouleverse pas les annales d'un siècle pour dire une antithèse. L'invention ne trouvera pas cette loi trop sévère, si elle réfléchit que le sentiment appartient à tous les hommes, que les connoissances ne sont le partage que d'un petit nombre, et que le beau agit plus puissamment sur l'ame que le vrai sur l'esprit. Qu'elle se souvienne toutefois qu'il est des écarts que rien ne peut faire oublier. L'imagination forte de Milton, la versification harmonieuse de Voltaire, ne nous reconcilieroient jamais avec César lâche, Catilina ver-

* Racin. Iphig. Act v. Sc. dern.
† Tit. Liv. L. i. c. 1.
‡ Virg. Æneid. L. vii. v. 148. jusqu'à 285.

tueux,

tueux, Henri IV. vainqueur des Romains. Disons en rassemblant nos idées, que les caractères des grands hommes doivent être sacrés ; mais que les poëtes peuvent écrire leur histoire, moins comme elle a été, que comme elle eût dû être ; qu'une création nouvelle révolte moins que des changemens essentiels, parce que ceux-ci supposent l'erreur, et celle-là une simple ignorance ; et qu'enfin on rapproche plus aisément les tems que les lieux.

On doit sans doute de l'indulgence aux siècles reculés, où les systêmes des chronologistes sont les fictions des poëtes, à l'agrément près. Quiconque ose condamner l'épisode de Didon est plus philosophe ou moins homme de goût que moi.*

XXXIX.

* On peut douter cependant si cet épisode blesse la véritable chronologie. Dans le systême 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)."

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

Les Sciences Naturelles.

XXXIX. Plus on a approfondi les sciences, plus on a vu qu'elles étoient toutes liées. On a cru

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 truie couchée sur le rivage montroit, par ses trente petits qui l'environnoient, le nombre d'années qui devoient s'écouler avant que le jeune Ascagne jettât les fondemens d'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 cens 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'embarrassent peu de faire tenir sa parole au Maître du tonnerre. Ils font détruire la ville d'Albe par Tullus Hostilius près de cinq cens 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 règne 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 cens ans après la mort de ce roi et le commencement du règne d'Hostilius. Numa mourut donc 581 ans avant l'ère Chrétienne. Quel art

(1) Virgil. Æneid. 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 Chronology, p. 52, &c. (5) V. Plutarch. in Numa.

dans

cru voir un bois immense. Au premier coup d'œil tous les arbres qui le formoient paroissoient isolés,

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 poëtique. 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 (1), donnoit au royaume d'Albe la même durée de trois cens 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 abbréviateur. "Albam longam condidit quæ trecentis annis caput regni fuit." (2) Tite-Live lui-même, ce père de l'histoire Romaine, qui fait paroître quelquefois tant d'attachement à la chronologie reçue (3), mais qui glisse d'ordinaire sur les endroits scabreux, 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 règne de chaque roi Latin dont il rapporte le nom (4)! Or il se tait sur cet article. Rien de plus nécessaire que de fixer au moins l'intervalle entre Enée et Romulus; il ne le fait point. Ce n'est pas tout. "La destruction d'Albe, dit il, suivit de 400 ans sa fondation." (5) En retranchant cent ans pour les règnes 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.

(1) Flav. Vopisc. in Proem. Aurelian. (2) Justin. L. xliii. c. 1.
(3) Tit. Liv. L. i. c. 18. et alibi passim. (4) Idem. l. i. c. 29.
(5) Tit. Liv. L. i. c. 29.

mais a-t-on percé la superficie, on a vu que toutes les racines étoient entremêlées.

Il n'y a point d'étude, pas même la plus chétive et la moins connue, qui n'offre quelquefois des faits, des ouvertures, des objections à la plus sublime et à la plus éloignée des connoissances. J'aime à peser sur cette considération. Il faut faire voir aux nations et aux professions différentes, leurs besoins réciproques. Montrez à l'Anglois les avantages du François; faites connoître au physicien les secours que la littérature lui présente; l'amour-propre supplée à ce que la discrétion vous a fait supprimer. Ainsi la philosophie s'étend: l'humanité gagne. Les hommes étoient rivaux; ils sont frères.

Liaison de la physique et de la littérature.

XL. Dans toutes les sciences nous nous appuyons sur les raisonnemens et sur les faits. Sans ceux-ci nos études seroient chimériques: privées de ceux-là elles ne sauroient être qu'aveugles. C'est ainsi que les Belles Lettres sont mélangées. Toutes les branches de l'étude de la nature, qui cache souvent sous une petitesse apparente une grandeur réelle, le sont pareillement. Si la physique a ses Buffons, elle a aussi (pour parler le langage du tems) ses érudits. La connoissance de l'antiquité leur offre aux uns et aux autres, une riche moisson de faits propres à dévoiler la nature, ou du moins à empêcher ceux qui l'étudient, de prendre un nuage pour une divinité. Quelles lumières le médecin ne puise-t-il pas dans la description de la peste qui désola Athènes? J'admire avec lui la force majes-

tueuse

tueuse de Thucydide,* l'art et l'énergie de Lucrèce;† mais il va plus loin: il étudie dans les maux des Athéniens ceux de ses concitoyens.

Je sais que les anciens s'appliquoient peu aux sciences naturelles; que destitués d'instrumens, et isolés dans leurs travaux, ils n'ont pû rassembler qu'un petit nombre d'observations mêlées d'incertitudes, diminuées par les injures du tems, et jettées au hasard dans un grand nombre de volumes:‡ mais la pauvreté doit-elle inspirer la négligence? L'activité de l'esprit humain s'excite par les difficultés. La nécessité, mère du relâchement, seroit un assemblage étrange.

XLI. Les partisans mêmes les plus zélés des modernes, ne disconviendront pas, je pense, des secours que les anciens possédoient et dont nous manquons. Je rappelle en frémissant les spectacles sanglans des Romains. Le sage Cicéron les détestoit et les méprisoit.§ La solitude et le si-

Avantages des anciens. Spectacles de l'amphithéâtre.

* Thucydid. l. i.

† Lucret. de Rer. Natur. l. vii. v. 1136, &c.

‡ M. Freret croyoit les observations philosophiques des anciens plus exactes qu'on ne le pense. Quiconque connoît 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.

§ 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 surtout aux combats des bêtes sauvages. "Reliquæ sunt venationes, (dit il) 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?"

lence l'emportoient de beaucoup chez lui, sur ces chefs-d'œuvre de magnificence, d'horreur et de mauvais goût.* En effet, se plaire au carnage, n'est digne que d'une troupe de sauvages. On ne pouvoit élever des palais, pour y faire combattre des bêtes, que chez un peuple qui préféroit les décorations aux beaux vers, et les machines aux situations.† Mais tels étoient les Romains; leurs vertus, leurs vices, et jusqu'à leurs ridicules étoient tous liés à leur principe dominant, l'amour de la patrie.

Cependant ces spectacles, si affreux aux yeux du philosophe, si frivoles à ceux de l'homme de goût, devoient être bien précieux pour le naturaliste. Qu'on se représente le monde épuisé pour fournir ces jeux, les trésors des riches et le pouvoir des grands mis en œuvre pour déterrer des créatures singulières par leur figure, par leur force, ou par leur rareté, pour les amener dans l'amphithéâtre de Rome, et pour mettre en jeu l'animal entier.‡ Ce devoit être une école

* Cicero ad Famil. l. vii. Epist. 1.

† Horat. l. iii. Ep. 1. v. 187.

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

Mon exemple étoit très bon, ma citation fort mauvaise. J'aurois dû recourir à l'original, (1) 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 cens 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-

(1) V. Vopisc. in Vit. Prob. p. 240. edit. Salmas. Paris 1620.

deux

école admirable, surtout pour cette partie la plus noble de l'histoire naturelle, qui s'applique plutôt à étudier la nature et les propriétés des animaux, qu'à décrire leurs os et leurs cartilages. Souvenons-nous que Pline a fréquenté cette école, et que l'ignorance a deux filles, l'incrédulité et la foi aveugle. Ne défendons pas moins notre liberté contre l'une que contre l'autre.

Païs où les physiciens anciens étudioient la nature.

XLII. Si l'on sort de ce théâtre, pour entrer dans un autre plus vaste, et pour examiner quelles étoient les contrées soumises aux naturalistes et aux physiciens de l'antiquité, nous ne les plaindrons pas.

Je sais que la navigation nous a ouvert un nouvel hémisphère; mais je sais aussi que la découverte d'un matelot et le voyage d'un marchand, n'éclairent pas toujours le monde, comme ils l'enrichissent. Les limites du monde connu sont plus étroites que celles du monde matériel; et les bornes du monde éclairé sont encore plus resserrées. Du tems des Pline, des Ptolomée, et des Galien, l'Europe à présent le siège des sciences, l'étoit également; mais la Grèce, l'Asie, la Syrie, l'Egypte, l'Afrique, païs fé-

deux éléphans, dix élans, dix tigres, soixante lions apprivoisés, trente léopards apprivoisés, dix hyènes, un hippopotame, un rhinocéros, dix *agrioleontes* (1,) dix *camelopardali*, vingt ânes sauvages, et quarante chevaux sauvages (2.) C'est principalement dans la décadence de l'empire et du goût, qu'il faut chercher cette magnificence.

(1) On ignore ce qu'ils sont. Saumaise lit *argoleontes*, des lions blancs (*a*); Casaubon et Scaliger (*b*) *agrioleontes*, des lions sauvages.
(2) Jul. Capitolin. in Gordian. p. 164.
(*a*) Comment. Salmas. in Hist. Aug. 268.
(*b*) Comment. Casaub. in eand. Hist. p. 169.

conds en miracles, étoient remplis d'yeux dignes de les voir. Tout ce vaste corps étoit uni par la paix, par les loix et par la langue. L'Africain et le Breton, l'Espagnol et l'Arabe se rencontroient dans la capitale, et s'instruisoient tour-à-tour. Trente des premiers de Rome, souvent éclairés eux-mêmes, toujours accompagnés de ceux qui l'étoient,* partoient tous les ans de la capitale pour gouverner les provinces, et pour peu qu'ils eussent de curiosité, l'autorité applanissoit les routes de la science.

La Grande Bretagne inondée par l'océan.

XLIII. C'étoit sans doute de son beau-père Agricola, que Tacite apprît que l'océan inondoit la Grande Bretagne, et rendoit ce païs un amas de marais.† Hérodien nous confirme ce fait.‡ Cependant aujourd'hui, à quelques endroits près, le terrein de notre île est assez élevé.§ Pourroit-on ranger ce fait parmi ceux qui confirment le système de la diminution des eaux? Trouvera-t-on dans les ouvrages des hommes, de quoi affranchir le païs du joug de l'océan? Le sort du marais de Pomptine‖ et de quelques autres, nous donneroit d'assez minces

* V. Strab. L. xvii. p. 816. Edit. Casaub.

† Tacit. in Vit. Agricol. c. 10.

‡ Herodian. Hist. l. iii. c. 47.

§ Voici les paroles d'Hérodien, " Τὰ γὰρ πλεῖστα της βρεταννῶν χώρας ἐπικλύζομενα ταῖς τῆ ὠκεανῃ συνεχῶς ἀμπωτισιν 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 influere penitus atque ambire; etiam jugis atque montibus influere velut in suo."

‖ Le consul Céthégus dessécha ce marais A. U. C. 592. Du tems de Jules-César il étoit derechef inondé. Ce dictateur avoit dessein

minces idées de leurs travaux. Quoiqu'il en soit, content d'avoir fourni les matériaux, j'en laisse l'emploi aux physiciens. Ce n'est pas chez les anciens qu'on apprend à n'approfondir rien, à effleurer chaque chose, et à parler avec le plus de hardiesse de sujets qu'on entend le moins.

L'Esprit Philosophique. Prétensions à l'esprit philosophique.

XLIV. " Après l'esprit de discernement, ce qu'il y a de plus rare au monde (dit le judicieux la Bruyère) ce sont les perles et les diamans." Je mets sans balancer l'esprit philosophique avant celui du discernement. C'est la chose du monde la plus prônée, la plus ignorée et la plus rare. Il n'y a point d'écrivain qui n'y aspire. Il sacrifie de bonne grace la science. Pour peu que vous le pressiez, il conviendra que le jugement sévère embarrasse les opérations du génie: mais il vous assurera toujours que cet esprit philosophique qui brille dans ses écrits, fait le caractère du siècle où nous vivons. L'esprit philosophique d'un petit nombre de grands hommes, a formé, selon lui, celui du siècle. Celui-ci s'est répandu dans tous les ordres de l'état, et leur a préparé à son tour de dignes successeurs.

Ce qu'il n'est pas.

XLV. Cependant si nous jettions les yeux sur les ouvrages de nos sages, leur diversité nous lais-

dessein d'y faire travailler. Il paroît 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."

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

seroit

seroit dans l'incertitude sur la nature de ce talent; et celle-ci pourroit nous conduire à douter s'il leur est tombé en partage. Chez les uns il consiste à se frayer des routes nouvelles, et à fronder toute opinion dominante, fut-elle de Socrate ou d'un inquisiteur Portugais, par la seule raison qu'elle est dominante. Chez les autres cet esprit s'identifie avec la géométrie, cette reine impérieuse qui, non contente de régner, proscrit ses sœurs, et déclare tout raisonnement peu digne de ce nom, s'il ne roule pas sur des lignes et sur des nombres. Rendons justice à l'esprit hardi, dont les écarts ont quelquefois conduit à la vérité, et dont les excès mêmes, comme les rébellions des peuples, inspirent une crainte salutaire au despotisme. Pénétrons-nous bien de tout ce que nous devons à l'esprit géomètre : mais cherchons pour l'esprit philosophique, un objet plus sage que celui-là, et plus universel que celui-ci.

Ce qu'il est. XLVI. Quiconque s'est familiarisé avec les écrits de Cicéron, de Tacite, de Bacon, de Leibnitz, de Fontenelle, de Montesquieu, s'en sera fait une idée aussi juste et bien plus parfaite que celle que j'essayerai de tracer.

L'esprit philosophique consiste à pouvoir remonter aux idées simples; à saisir et à combiner les premiers principes. Le coup d'œil de son possesseur est juste, mais en même tems étendu. Placé sur une hauteur, il embrasse une grande étendue de païs, dont il se forme une image nette et unique, pendant que des esprits aussi justes, mais plus bornés, n'en découvrent qu'une partie. Il peut être géomètre,

mètre, antiquaire, musicien, mais il est toujours philosophe, et à force de pénétrer les premiers principes de son art, il lui devient supérieur. Il a place parmi ce petit nombre de génies qui travaillent de loin en loin à former cette première science à laquelle, si elle étoit perfectionnée, les autres seroient soumises. En ce sens cet esprit est bien peu commun. Il est assez de génies capables de recevoir avec justesse des idées particulières; il en est peu qui puissent renfermer dans une seule idée abstraite, un assemblage nombreux d'autres idées moins générales.

Le secours qu'il peut tirer de la littérature.

XLVII. Quelle étude peut former cet esprit? Je n'en connois aucune. Don du ciel, le grand nombre l'ignore ou le méprise; les sages le souhaitent; quelques-uns l'ont reçu; nul ne l'acquiert: mais je crois l'étude de la littérature, cette habitude de devenir, tour à tour, Grec, Romain, disciple de Zénon ou d'Epicure, bien propre à le développer et à l'exercer. A travers cette diversité infinie d'esprits, on remarque une conformité générale entre ceux à qui leur siècle, leur païs, leur religion ont inspiré une manière à peu près pareille d'envisager les mêmes objets. Les ames les plus exemptes de préjugés, ne sauroient s'en défaire entièrement. Leurs idées ont un air de paradoxe; et en brisant leurs chaines, vous sentez qu'elles les ont portées. Je cherche chez les Grecs des fauteurs de la démocratie; des enthousiastes de l'amour de la patrie chez les Romains; chez les sujets des Commode, des Sévère ou des Caracalla, des apologistes du pouvoir absolu; et chez l'Epicurien de l'antiquité,

l'antiquité,* la condamnation de sa religion. Quel spectacle pour un esprit vraiment philosophique de voir les opinions les plus absurdes reçues chez les nations les plus éclairées, des barbares parvenus à la connoissance des plus sublimes vérités, des conséquences vraies, mais peu justes, tirées des principes les plus erronés, des principes admirables qui approchoient toujours de la vérité sans jamais y conduire, le langage formé sur les idées, et les idées justifiées par le langage, les sources de la morale partout les mêmes, les opinions de la contentieuse métaphysique partout variées, d'ordinaire extravagantes, nettes seulement pendant qu'elles furent superficielles, subtiles, obscures, incertaines, toutes les fois qu'elles prétendirent à la profondeur! Un ouvrage Iroquois, fut-il rempli d'absurdités, seroit un morceau impayable. Il offriroit une expérience unique de la nature de l'esprit humain, placé dans des circonstances que nous n'avons jamais éprouvées, et dominé par des mœurs et des opinions religieuses totalement contraires aux nôtres. Quelquefois nous serions frappés et instruits par la contrariété des idées qui en naîtroient; nous en chercherions les raisons; nous suivrions l'ame d'erreur en erreur. Quelquefois aussi nous reconnoîtrions avec plaisir nos principes, mais découverts par d'autres routes,

* 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. Sallust. in Bell. Catilin. c. 51. Cicero pro Cluent. c. 61.

et

et presque toujours modifiés et altérés. Nous y apprendrions non seulement à avouer, mais à sentir la force des préjugés, à ne nous étonner jamais de ce qui nous paroît le plus absurde, et à nous défier souvent de ce qui nous semble le mieux établi.

J'aime à voir les jugemens des hommes prendre une teinture de leurs préventions, à les considérer qui n'osent pas tirer des principes qu'ils reconnoissent pour être justes, les conclusions qu'ils sentent être exactes. J'aime à les surprendre qui détestent chez le barbare, ce qu'ils admirent chez le Grec, et qui qualifient la même histoire d'impie chez le Payen, et de sacrée chez le Juif.

Sans cette connoissance philosophique de l'antiquité, nous ferions trop d'honneur à l'espèce humaine. L'empire de la coutume nous seroit peu connu. Nous confondrions à tout moment l'incroyable et l'absurde. Les Romains étoient éclairés; cependant ces mêmes Romains ne furent pas choqués de voir réunir dans la personne de César un Dieu, un prêtre et un Athée.* Il vit élever des temples à sa clémence.† Collègue de Romulus, il recevoit les vœux de la nation.‡ Sa statue étoit couchée, dans les fêtes sacrées, auprès de ce Jupiter qu'un instant après il alloit lui-même invo-

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

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

‡ Cicero ad Attic, l. xii. epist. 46, &c. L. xiii. epist. 28.

quer.

quer.* Fatigué de cette vaine pompe, il cherchoit Pansa et Trébatius pour se moquer avec eux de la crédulité du peuple, et de ses Dieux l'effet et l'objet de sa terreur.†

* 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.

† 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 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 tems de l'examiner.

" Præterea cui non animus formidine Divûm,
Contrahitur? cui non conrepunt membra pavore,
Fulminis horribili cum plaga torrida 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.

XLVIII. L'histoire est pour un esprit philosophique, ce qu'étoit le jeu pour le Marquis de Dangeau.* Il voyoit un système, des rapports, une suite, là, où les autres ne discernoient que les caprices de la fortune. Cette science est pour lui celle des causes et des effets. Elle mérite bien que j'essaie de poser quelques règles propres, non à faire germer le génie, mais à le garantir des écarts: peut-être que si on les avoit toujours bien pesées, on auroit pris plus rarement la subtilité pour la finesse d'esprit, l'obscurité pour la profondeur, et un air de paradoxe pour un génie créateur.

L'histoire est la science des causes et des effets.

XLIX. Parmi la multitude des faits, il y en a, et c'est le grand nombre, qui ne prouvent rien au delà de leur propre existence. Il y en a encore qui peuvent bien être cités dans une conclusion partielle, d'où le philosophe peut juger des motifs d'une action, et d'un trait dans un caractère: ils éclaircissent un chainon. Ceux qui dominent dans le système général, qui y sont liés intimément, et qui en ont fait mouvoir les ressorts, sont fort rares; et il est plus rare encore de trouver des esprits qui sachent les entrevoir dans le vaste cahos des événemens, et les en tirer purs et sans mélange.

Règles pour choisir les faits.

A ceux qui ont plus de jugement que d'érudition, il paroîtra peu nécessaire d'avertir qu'on doit toujours proportionner les causes aux effets, ne pas bâtir sur l'action d'un homme le caractère d'un siècle, ne pas chercher dans un effort unique, forcé

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

et

et ruineux, la mesure des forces et des richesses d'un état, et se souvenir que ce n'est qu'en rassemblant qu'on peut juger, qu'un fait éclatant éblouit comme un éclair, mais qu'il instruit peu, si l'on ne le compare avec d'autres de la même espèce. Le peuple Romain fit voir en élisant Caton, qu'il aimoit mieux être corrigé que flatté.* dans ce même siècle, où il condamna la même sévérité dans la personne de Livius Salinator.†

L. Déférez plutôt aux faits qui viennent d'eux-mêmes vous former un système, qu'à ceux que vous découvrez après avoir conçu ce système. Préférez souvent les petits traits aux faits brillans. Il en est d'un siècle ou d'une nation comme d'un homme. Alexandre se dévoile mieux dans la tente de Darius‡ que dans les champs de Guagmela. Je reconnois tout autant la férocité des Romains à les voir condamner un malheureux dans l'amphithéâtre, qu'à les considérer qui étranglent un roi captif au pied du Capitole. Il n'y a point d'apparat dans les bagatelles. On se déshabille lors qu'on espère n'être pas vu; mais le curieux cherche à pénétrer dans les retraites les plus secrettes. Pour décider si la vertu triomphoit chez un peuple dans un certain siècle, j'observe plutôt ses actions que ses discours. Pour le condamner comme vicieux, je fais plus attention à ses discours qu'à ses actions. On loue la vertu sans la connoître, on la connoît sans la sentir, on la sent sans la pratiquer; mais il

* Liv. L. xxxix. c. 40. Plutarch. in Caton.

† Liv. L. xxix. c. 37.

‡ Quint. Curt. de Reb. Gest. Alexandri, L. iii. c. 32.

en

en est bien différemment du vice. On s'y porte par passion; on le justifie par raffinement. D'ailleurs, il y a toujours et partout de grands criminels; mais si la corruption n'est pas générale, ceux-ci-même respectent leur siècle. Si le siècle est vicieux, (et ils sont habiles à le discerner,) ils le méprisent, ils se montrent à découvert, ils bravent ses jugemens, ou ils espèrent de se les rendre favorables. Ils ne se trompent guères. Celui qui dans le siècle de Caton eût détesté le vice, se contente d'aimer la vertu dans celui de Tibère.

Le siècle de Tibère le plus vicieux de tous.

LI. J'ai choisi ce siècle avec réflexion. Le vice parvint alors à son comble. La cour de Tibère me l'apprend, mais un petit fait conservé par Suétone et par Tacite, m'en assure encore mieux; le voici : la vertu des Romains punissoit de mort l'incontinence chez leurs femmes.* Leur politique permettoit la débauche chez les courtisannes :† et pour

* 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.

† 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

pour régler le désordre même, on les forma en corps. Sous Tibère un grand nombre de femmes de condition ne rougirent point de se présenter publiquement devant leurs édiles, de se faire inscrire dans le rôle des courtisannes, et de briser par leur propre infamie, la barrière que les loix opposoient à leur prostitution.*

Parallèle de Tacite et de Tite-Live.

LII. Choisir les faits qui doivent être les principes de nos raisonnemens, on sent combien la tâche est difficile. La négligence ou le mauvais goût d'un historien peuvent nous faire perdre à jamais un trait unique, pour nous étourdir du bruit d'un combat. Si les philosophes ne sont pas toujours historiens, il seroit du moins à souhaiter que les historiens fussent philosophes.

Je ne connois que Tacite qui ait rempli mon idée de cet historien philosophe. L'intéressant Tite-Live lui-même ne sauroit en ce sens lui être comparé. L'un et l'autre ont bien su s'élever au-dessus de ces compilateurs grossiers que ne voyent dans les faits que des faits : mais l'un a écrit l'histoire en rhéteur, et l'autre en philosophe. Ce n'est pas que Tacite ait ignoré le langage des passions, ou Tite-Live celui de la raison : mais l'un, plus at-

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 redemandoit 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. Satir. L. i. Sat. 2. v. 29. II. Prolog. ad Casin. Plaut.

* Sueton. L. iii. c. 35. Tacit. Annal. L. ii. c. 85.

taché

taché à plaire qu'à instruire, vous conduit pas-à-pas à la suite de ses héros, et vous fait éprouver tour-à-tour, l'horreur, l'admiration et la pitié. Tacite ne se sert de l'empire que l'éloquence a sur le cœur, que pour lier à vos yeux la chaine des événemens, et remplir votre ame des plus sages leçons. Je gravis sur les Alpes avec Annibal; mais j'assiste au conseil de Tibère. Tite-Live me peint l'abus du pouvoir, une sévérité que la nature approuve en frémissant, la vengeance et l'amour qui s'unissent à la liberté, la tyrannie qui tombe sous leurs coups:* mais les loix des décemvirs, leur caractère, leurs défauts, leurs rapports enfin avec le génie du peuple Romain, avec le parti des décemvirs, avec leurs desseins ambitieux, il les oublie totalement. Je ne vois point chez lui comment ces loix faites pour une république bornée, pauvre, à demi-sauvage, la bouleversèrent, lorsque la force de son institution l'eut portée au faîte de la grandeur. Je l'aurois trouvé dans Tacite. J'en juge, non-seulement par la trempe connue de son génie, mais encore par ce tableau énergique et varié qu'il offre des loix, ces enfans de la corruption, de la liberté, de l'équité et de la faction.†

LIII. Ne suivons point le conseil de cet écrivain qui unit, comme Fontenelle, le savoir et le goût. Je m'oppose, sans crainte du nom flétrissant d'érudit, à la sentence par laquelle ce juge éclairé, mais sévère, ordonne qu'à la fin d'un siècle on rassemble tous les faits, qu'on en choisisse quel-

Remarque sur une idée de M. D'Alembert.

* Liv. L. iii. c. 44—60.

† Tacit. Annal. L. iii. p. 84. edit. Lips.

ques-uns et qu'on livre le reste aux flammes.* Conservons-les tous précieusement. Un Montesquieu démêlera dans les plus chétifs, des rapports inconnus au vulgaire. Imitons les botanistes. Toutes les plantes ne sont pas utiles dans la médecine, cependant ils ne cessent d'en découvrir de nouvelles. Ils espèrent que le génie et les travaux heureux y verront des propriétés jusqu'à présent cachées.

On a fait les hommes trop systématiques ou trop capricieux.

LIV. L'incertitude est pour nous un état forcé. L'esprit borné ne sauroit se fixer dans cet équilibre dont se piquoit l'école de Pyrrhon. Le génie brillant se laisse éblouïr par ses propres conjectures : il sacrifie la liberté aux hypothèses. De cette disposition naissent les systêmes. On a vu du dessein dans les actions d'un grand homme ; on a apperçu un ton dominant dans son caractère, et des spéculatifs de cabinet ont aussitôt voulu faire de tous les hommes, des êtres aussi systématiques dans la pratique que dans la spéculation. Ils ont trouvé de l'art dans leurs passions, de la politique dans leurs foiblesses, de la dissimulation dans leur inconstance ; en un mot, à force de vouloir faire honneur à l'esprit humain, ils en ont souvent fait bien peu au cœur.

Justement choqués de leur raffinement, et fâchés de voir étendre à tous les hommes, des prétensions qu'on eût dû borner à un Philippe ou à un César, des esprits plus naturels se sont jettés dans l'autre extrême. Ils ont banni l'art du monde moral, pour y substituer le hasard. Selon eux les foibles mortels n'agissent que par caprice. La fureur d'un

* D'Alemb. Mélanges de philosophie et de littérature, vol. ii. p. 1.

écervelé

écervelé établit un empire : la foiblesse d'une femme le détruit.

Causes générales, mais déterminées.

LV. L'étude des causes déterminées, mais générales, doit plaire aux uns et aux autres. Ceux-ci y voyent avec plaisir l'homme humilié, les motifs de ses actions inconnus à lui-même, lui-même le jouet des causes étrangères, et de la liberté de chacun, l'origine d'une nécessité générale. Ceux-là y retrouvent l'enchainement qu'ils aiment, et les spéculations dont leur esprit se nourrit.

Qu'une vaste carrière s'ouvre à mes réflexions! La théorie de ces causes générales seroit entre les mains d'un Montesquieu, une histoire philosophique de l'homme. Il nous les feroit voir réglant la grandeur et la chute des empires, empruntant successivement les traits de la fortune, de la prudence, du courage, et de la foiblesse, agissant sans le concours des causes particulières, et quelquefois même triomphant d'elles. Supérieur à l'amour de ses propres systêmes, dernière passion du sage, il auroit su reconnoître que, malgré l'étendue de ces causes, leur effet ne laisse pas d'être borné, et qu'il se montre principalement dans ces événemens généraux, dont l'influence lente mais sûre change la face de la terre, sans qu'on puisse s'appercevoir de l'époque de ce changement, et surtout dans les mœurs, les religions, et tout ce qui est soumis au joug de l'opinion. Voilà une partie des leçons que ce philosophe eût tirées de ce sujet. Pour moi, j'y trouve simplement une occasion de m'essayer à penser. Je vais indiquer quelques faits intéressans, et tâcherai ensuite d'en rendre raison.

Système de paganisme.

LVI. Nous connoissons le paganisme, ce système riant, mais absurde, qui peuple l'univers d'êtres fantasques, dont la puissance supérieure ne les rend que plus injustes et plus insensés que nous-mêmes. Quelle fut la nature et l'origine de ces dieux? Furent-ils des princes, des fondateurs de sociétés, des grands hommes inventeurs des arts? Une reconnoissance ingénieuse, une admiration aveugle, une adulation intéressée plaça-t-elle dans le ciel, ceux qui pendant leur vie avoient été nommés les bienfaiteurs de la terre? Ou bien faut-il reconnoître dans ces divinités, autant de parties de l'univers auxquelles l'ignorance des premiers hommes avoit accordé la vie et la pensée? Cette question est digne de notre attention; elle est curieuse, mais elle est difficile.

Difficultés de connoître une religion.

LVII. Nous ne connoissons guères le système du Paganisme que par les poëtes* et par les pères de l'église, les uns et les autres très adonnés aux fictions.† Les ennemis d'une religion ne la connoissent jamais, parcequ'ils la haïssent, et souvent la haïssent parcequ'ils ne la connoissent pas. Ils adoptent contr'elle, avec empressement, les calomnies les plus atroces. Ils imputent à leurs adversaires des dogmes qu'ils détestent, et des conséquences auxquelles ils n'ont jamais songé. Les

* Il faut cependant distinguer Homère, Hésiode, Pindare, et les poëtes tragiques, qui vécurent pendant que la tradition étoit plus pure.

† Voyez sur cette article la Recherche Libre du Docteur Midleton, et l'Histoire du Manichéisme de M. de Beausobre, deux beaux monumens d'un siècle éclairé.

sec-

sectateurs d'une religion, de l'autre côté, remplis de cette foi qui se fait un crime de douter, sacrifient pour sa défense, leur raison et même leur vertu. Forger des prophéties, ou des miracles, pallier ce qu'ils ne peuvent défendre, allégoriser ce qu'ils ne peuvent pallier, et nier hardiment ce qu'ils ne peuvent allégoriser, sont des moyens que jamais dévot n'a rougi d'employer. Rappellons-nous les Chrétiens et les Juifs. Interrogez leurs ennemis sur leur compte; c'étoient des magiciens et des idolâtres,* eux, dont le culte étoit aussi épuré, que leurs mœurs étoient sévères. Jamais Musulman n'a hésité sur l'unité de Dieu.† Cependant combien de fois nos bons ayeux ne les ont-ils pas accusés d'adorer les astres?‡ Dans le sein même de ces religions, il s'est élevé cent sectes différentes, qui, s'accusant les unes les autres d'avoir corrompu leur dogmes communs, ont inspiré la fureur aux peuples et la modération aux sages. Cependant ces peuples étoient civilisés, et des livres reconnus pour être émanés de la divinité fixoient les principes de leur croyance. Mais où trouver ces principes, dans un amas confus de fables, qu'une tradition isolée, contradictoire, altérée, dictoit à quelques tribus de sauvages dans la Grèce?

* 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.

† D'Herbelot. Bibliot. Orient. Artic. Allah. p. 100, et Sale's Alcoran. Prelim. Disc. p. 71.

‡ Reland. de Rel. Mahomm. Part ii. c. 6 & 7.

Le raisonnement nous aidera peu.

LVIII. Le raisonnement nous est ici d'un foible secours. Il est absurde de consacrer des temples à ceux dont on voit les sépulcres. Qu'y a-t-il de trop absurde pour les hommes? Ne connoît-on pas des nations très éclairées, qui en appellent au témoignage des sens pour les preuves d'une religion, dont un dogme principal contredit ce témoignage? Cependant si les dieux du paganisme avoient été des hommes, le culte réciproque* que leurs adorateurs leur rendoient, eût été bien peu raisonnable, et une tolérance peu raisonnable n'est pas l'erreur du peuple.

Pensée sur le culte réciproque des sectes Payennes.

Crésus envoye à Delphes. Alexandre consulte l'oracle de Jupiter Ammon.

LIX. Crésus fait consulter l'oracle de Delphes,† Alexandre traverse les sables brûlans de la Lybie pour demander à Jupiter Ammon s'il est son fils.‡ Mais ce Jupiter Grec, ce roi de Crète, devenu le maître de la foudre, n'en eût-il pas écrasé cet Ammon, ce Lybien, ce nouveau Salmonée, qui tentoit de la lui arracher? Deux rivaux se disputent l'empire de l'univers, peut-on à la fois les reconnoître tous deux? Mais si l'un et l'autre ne furent que l'éther, le ciel, la même divinité, le Grec et l'Africain l'auront désigné par les symboles qui convenoient à leurs mœurs, et par les noms que leurs langues leur fournissoient pour exprimer ses attributs. Mais loin de nous les raisonnemens, ce sont les faits qu'il faut interroger. Ecoutons leur réponse.

* Vide Warburton's Divine Legation, tom. i. p. 270—276.

† Herodot. Lib. i.

‡ Diodor. Sic. lib. xvii. Quint. Curt. lib. iv. cap. 7. Arrian. lib. iii.

LX.

LX. Malheureux habitans des forêts, ces Grecs si orgueilleux tenoient tout des étrangers. Les Phéniciens leur apprirent l'usage des lettres ; les arts, les loix, tout ce qui élève l'homme au dessus des animaux, ils le durent aux Egyptiens. Ces derniers leur apportèrent leur religion, et les Grecs, en l'adoptant, payèrent le tribut que l'ignorance doit au savoir. Le préjugé ne fit qu'une résistance de bienséance, et se rendit sans difficulté, après avoir entendu l'oracle de Dodone, qui décida pour le nouveau culte.* Tel est le récit d'Hérodote, qui connoissoit la Grèce et l'Egypte, et dont le siècle placé entre la grossièreté de l'ignorance et les raffinemens de la philosophie rend le témoignage décisif.

La religion Grecque étoit d'origine Egyptienne.

LXI. Je vois déjà disparoître une bonne partie des légendes Grecques, l'Apollon né dans l'île de Délos, le Jupiter enseveli dans la Crète. Si ces dieux habitèrent autrefois la terre, l'Egypte et non la Grèce fut leur patrie. Mais si les prêtres de Memphis surent aussi bien leur religion que l'Abbé Banier,† jamais l'Egypte ne donna naissance à leurs dieux. A travers leur métaphysique ténébreuse, la raison luisit assez pour leur faire sentir que jamais homme ne peut devenir Dieu, ni jamais Dieu être transformé en simple homme.‡ Mystérieux dans leurs dogmes et dans leur culte, ces interprètes du ciel et de la sagesse, déguisèrent, par

La religion Egyptienne allégorique.

* Herodot. Lib. ii.

† Dans sa mythologie expliquée par l'histoire.

‡ Herodot. Lib. ii.

un

un langage pompeux, les vérités de la nature, qu'un peuple grossier eût méprisées dans leur majestueuse simplicité. Les Grecs méconnurent cette religion à bien des égards. Ils l'altérèrent par des mélanges étrangers, mais le fonds demeura, et ce fonds Egyptien fut par conséquent allégorique.*

Le culte héroïque.

LXII. Le culte héroïque, si bien distingué de celui des dieux dans les premiers siècles de la Grèce, nous montre que les dieux n'étoient pas des héros.† Les anciens croyoient que les grands hommes, admis après leur mort aux festins des dieux, jouissoient de leur félicité, sans participer à leur puissance. Ils s'assembloient autour des tombeaux de leurs bienfaiteurs; leurs chants de louanges‡ célébroient leur mémoire, et faisoient naître une émulation salutaire de leurs vertus.

* 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 concluantes, 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?

† Hist. de l'Acad. des Belles-Lettres, tom. xvi. p. 28, &c.

‡ V. Mém. de Littér. tom. xii. p. 5, &c. et Ezech. Spanheim in Callim.

(1) Dans les Mém. de l'Acad. tom. v. xviii. xx. xxiii.

Leurs

Leurs ombres évoquées des enfers goûtoient avec plaisir les offrandes de la dévotion.* Il est vrai que cette dévotion devint insensiblement un culte religieux, mais ce ne fut que très tard, et lorsqu'on identifia ces héros avec des divinités anciennes, dont ils portoient le nom, ou rappelloient le caractère. Dans le siècle d'Homère, on les distinguoit encore. Hercule n'est point un de ses dieux. Il ne reconnoît Esculape que pour un médecin distingué,† et Castor et Pollux sont pour lui des guerriers morts et enterrés à Sparte.‡

Système d'Ephémère.

LXIII. La superstition avoit cependant franchi ces limites, les héros étoient devenus des dieux, et le culte qu'on rendoit aux dieux les avoit tirés du rang des hommes, lorsqu'un philosophe hardi entreprit de prouver qu'ils l'avoient été. Ephémère le Messénien avança ce paradoxe.§ Mais loin d'en appeller aux monumens authentiques de la Grèce et de l'Egypte, qui auroient dû conserver la mémoire de ces hommes célèbres, il va se perdre dans l'océan. Une Utopie méprisée de tous les anciens, une île de Panchaïe, riche, fertile, superstitieuse, et connue à lui seul, lui offre dans un

* Homer. Odyss. L. xi. † Homer Iliad, L. iv. v. 193.

‡ Id. L. v. v. 241. § 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 perscripsit ut monimentum esset posteris rerum suarum." Ce récit de Lactance diffère un peu de celui de Diodore.

temple

temple magnifique de Jupiter une colonne d'or, où Mercure avoit gravé les exploits et l'apothéose des héros de sa race.* Ces fables étoient trop grossières pour les Grecs eux-mêmes. Elles ne valurent à leur auteur que le mépris général avec le nom d'Athée.†‡

LXIV. Enhardis peut-être par son exemple, les Crétois se vantèrent de posséder le tombeau de Jupiter, qui étoit mort dans leur île, après y avoir long tems régné.‖ Callimaque se montre indigné de cette fiction, et son scholiaste nous en dévoile l'origine.§ On avoit écrit sur un tombeau, *Tom-*

* Diodore de Sicile, L. v. p. 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.(1) Il 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'île 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 Médine.

† 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.

‡ Gerrard Vossius de Histor. Græcis, L. i. c. xi. fait voir que non seulement les Payens lui donnoient ce nom, mais encore Théophile 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.

‖ Lactant. Instit. L. i. c. xi. p. 65. Lucian Timon, p. 34. et Jupit. Frag. p. 701. Cicer. de Nat. Deor. L. iii. c. 21.

§ Callimach. Hym. in Jovem. v. 8. et Scholiast. Vet. in loc. edit. Græc.

(1) Mém. de Littér. tom. xv. p. 265, &c.

beau

beau de Minos fils de Jupiter. Le tems ou le dessein fit disparoître les mots de *fils* et *de Minos;* on lut *Tombeau de Jupiter.** Cependant le système d'Ephémère s'accréditoit lentement malgré ses preuves. Diodore de Sicile parcourut la terre, pour rassembler dans les traditions des divers peuples de quoi l'appuyer.† Mais les Stoïciens, dans leur mélange bizarre du Théisme le plus pur, du Spinosisme et de l'idolâtrie populaire, rapportoient ce paganisme, dont ils étoient les zélateurs, au culte de la nature brisée en autant de dieux qu'elle a de faces différentes. Cicéron, cet académicien, pour qui tout étoit objection et rien n'étoit preuve, osé à peine leur opposer le système d'Ephémère.‡

LXV. Ce ne fut que sous l'empire Romain, que les idées du Messénien prirent le dessus. Dans le tems qu'un monde esclave décernoit le titre de dieux à des monstres indignes de celui d'hommes, c'étoit faire sa cour que de confondre Jupiter et Domitien. Bienfaiteurs de la terre, ainsi les appelloit l'adulation, leur droit à la divinité étoit le même; leur nature et leur puissance étoient égales. Par politique ou par méprise, Pline lui-même ne se garantit pas de cette erreur.‖ En vain Plu-

Ne prévalut que sous l'empire Romain.

* Tel est le récit du scholiaste adopté par le Chevalier Newton. Mais Lactance rapporte l'inscription ZAN XPONOY, 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 subi le sort des mortels, δηλωσαι ως ουκετι βροντησειεν αν ο Ζευς, τεθνεως παλαι.

† Diodore de Sicile dans les cinq premiers livres, passim.

‡ Cicer. de Nat. Deor. L. iii. c. 21.

‖ Plin. Hist. Natur. L. vii. c. 51. et pass.

tarque

tarque essaya-t-il de revendiquer la foi de ses ayeux.* Ephémère régna par tout; et les pères de l'Eglise, se servant de leurs avantages, attaquèrent le paganisme du côté le plus foible. Pourroit-on les blâmer? Si les dieux prétendus ne furent pas en effet des hommes déifiés, ils l'étoient devenus, du moins dans l'opinion de leurs adorateurs; et les pères n'en vouloient qu'à leurs opinions.

Echaînement des erreurs.

LXVI. Allons plus loin; tâchons de suivre l'enchaînement non des faits, mais des idées, de sonder le cœur humain, et de démêler ce fil d'erreurs, qui du sentiment vrai, simple, et universel qu'il y a une puissance au dessus de l'homme, le conduisit par dégrés à se faire des dieux, auxquels il eût rougi de ressembler.

Sentimens confus du sauvage.

Le sentiment n'est qu'un retour sur nous-mêmes. Les idées se rapportent aux objets hors de nous. Leur nombre, en occupant l'esprit, affoiblit le sentiment. C'est donc parmi les sauvages, dont les idées sont bornées aux besoins, et les besoins simplement ceux de la nature, que le sentiment doit être le plus vif, quoiqu'en même tems le plus confus. Le sauvage ressent à tout moment des agitations, qu'il ne peut ni expliquer ni reprimer. Ignorant et foible, il craint tout, parcequ'il ne peut se défendre de rien. Il admire tout, parcequ'il ne connoît rien. Le mépris bien fondé de lui-même, car la vanité est un ouvrage de la société, lui fait sentir l'existence d'une puissance supérieure. C'est cette puissance, dont il ignore les attributs, qu'il

* Plut. de Placit. Philosoph. de Isid. et Osirid.

invoque,

invoque, et dont il demande des graces, sans savoir à quel titre il en peut espérer. Ce sentiment peu distinct produisit les dieux bons des premiers Grecs, et les divinités de la plûpart des sauvages, et les uns et les autres n'en surent régler ni le nombre, ni le caractère, ni le culte.

Il adore tout ce qu'il voit;

LXVII. Bientôt le sentiment devint idée. Le sauvage rendit son homage à tout ce qui l'entouroit. Tout devoit lui paroître plus excellent que lui-même. Ce chêne majestueux, qui le couvroit de son feuillage épais, avoit ombragé ses ayeux, depuis l'origine de sa race. Il élevoit sa tête jusqu'aux nues; le fier Aquilon se perdoit à travers ses branches. Auprès de cet arbre altier qu'étoit sa durée, sa taille, sa force? La reconnoissance se joignit à l'admiration. Cet arbre qui lui prodiguoit ses glands, cette onde claire où il se désalteroit, étoient des bienfaiteurs qui rendoient sa vie heureuse; sans eux il ne pouvoit subsister, mais quel besoin avoient-ils de lui? En effet sans les lumières qui nous apprennent combien la raison seule est supérieure à toutes ces parties nécessaires d'un système intelligent, chacune d'elles est au-dessus de l'homme. Mais privé de ces lumières, le sauvage leur accordà à chacune la vie et la puissance. Il se prosterna devant son ouvrage.

pourquoi?

Ses idées sont uniques.

LXVIII. Les idées du sauvage sont uniques, parcequ'elles sont simples. Remarquer les qualités différentes des objets, observer celles qui leur sont communes, et de cette ressemblance former une idée abstraite, qui représente le genre, sans être l'image d'aucun objet particulier; sont les ouvrages

ouvrages de l'esprit, qui agit, qui se replie sur lui-même, et qui déjà surchargé d'idées, cherche à se soulager par la méthode. Dans le premier état, l'ame passive et ignorant ses forces, ne sait que recevoir les impressions étrangères: ces impressions ne lui rendent les objets qu'isolés, et comme ils sont en eux-mêmes! Le sauvage rencontroit ses dieux par tout, chaque forêt, chaque prairie en fourmilloit.

Il combine ses idées et multiplie ses dieux.

LXIX. L'expérience développa ses idées; car les nations, comme les hommes, doivent tout à l'expérience. Son esprit familiarisé avec un grand nombre d'objets étrangers s'apperçut de leur nature commune, et cette nature devint pour lui une nouvelle divinité supérieure à tous ces dieux particuliers. Mais chaque chose qui existe a son existence déterminée à un tems ou à un lieu; et c'est ce qui la distingue de toute autre chose. L'homme a dû se conduire différemment à l'égard de ces deux manières d'exister, l'une sensible et devant ses yeux, l'autre passagère, métaphysique, et qui n'est peut-être que la succession des idées. La nature commune, différentiée uniquement par le tems, a dû faire disparoître les natures particulières, pendant que celles qui sont distinguées par les lieux ont pu subsister comme parties de la nature commune. Le dieu des rivières n'a point attenté sur les droits du Tibre ou du Clitumne,* mais le vent du Sud qui souffloit hier, et celui que nous ressentons aujour-

* Hist. de l'Acad. des Belles Lettres, tom. xii. p. 36. Plin. Epist. L. viii. Epist. 8.

d'hui,

d'hui, ne sont l'un et l'autre que ce tyran furieux, qui soulève les flots de la mer Adriatique.*

LXX. Plus on s'exerce à penser, plus on fait de combinaisons. Deux genres sont différens à quelques égards, ils se ressemblent à d'autres : ils sont destinés au même usage, ils font partie du même élément. La fontaine devient rivière, la rivière se perd dans la mer. Cette mer fait partie du vaste océan qui embrasse toute l'étendue de la terre, et la terre elle-même renferme dans son sein tout ce qui subsiste par un principe de végétation. A mesure que les nations se sont éclairées, leur idolâtrie a dû se raffiner. Elles ont mieux senti combien l'univers est gouverné par des loix générales; elles se sont plus rapprochées de l'unité d'une cause efficiente. Jamais les Grecs n'ont su simplifier leurs idées au delà de l'eau, de la terre et du ciel, qui, sous les noms de Jupiter, de Neptune, et de Pluton, contenoient et régissoient toutes choses. Mais les Egyptiens, d'un génie plus propre aux spéculations abstraites, formèrent enfin leur Osiris† le premier des Dieux, le principe intelligent, qui agissoit sans cesse sur le principe matériel, connu sous le nom d'Isis sa femme et sa sœur. Suite des combinaisons.

* Hor. Carm. L. iii. Od. 3.

" ——— Neque Auster
Dux inquieti turbidus Adriæ."

† 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)

(1) Diodore de Sicile, L. i. c. 8.

Des gens, qui croyoient à l'éternité de la matière, ne pouvoient guères aller plus loin.*

Génération et hiérarchie des dieux.

LXXI. Jupiter, le Dieu de la mer et le noir Pluton étoient frères. Toutes les branches de leur postérité s'étendoient à l'infini, et renfermoient toute la nature. Telle étoit la mythologie des anciens. Pour des hommes grossiers, l'idée de génération étoit plus naturelle que celle de création. Elle étoit plus aisée à saisir, elle supposoit moins de puissance, on y étoit conduit par des liaisons sensibles; mais aussi cette génération les menoit à établir une hiérarchie, dont ces êtres libres mais bornés ne pouvoient pas se passer. Les trois grands Dieux exerçoient une puissance paternelle sur leurs enfans, habitans de la terre, des airs, et des mers; et la primogéniture de Jupiter lui donnoit une supériorité sur ses frères, qui lui mérita le titre de roi des dieux, et de père des hommes. Mais ce roi, ce père suprême, étoit trop borné à tous égards, pour nous permettre de faire honneur aux Grecs de la croyance d'un être suprême.

Dieux de la vie humaine.

LXXII. Ce système, tout mal construit qu'il étoit, rendoit raison de tous les effets de la nature. Mais le monde moral, l'homme, son sort, et ses actions étoient sans divinités. L'éther ou la terre y

* Le culte du soleil a été connu de tous les peuples. Je dirai ce qui m'en paroît 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 indivjsible, les raisonneurs qui n'étoient pas trop difficiles trouvoient en lui tous les grands traits de la divinité.

eût

eût été peu propre. Du besoin de nouveaux dieux naquit une nouvelle chaine d'erreurs, qui, s'unissant avec la première, ne forma qu'un même roman théologique. Je soupçonne que ce système naquit plus tard. L'homme ne songe guères à rentrer en lui-même, qu'après avoir épuisé les objets étrangers.

LXXIII. Deux hypothèses ont toujours été, et seront toujours. Dans l'une, l'homme n'a reçu du Créateur que la raison et la volonté. C'est à lui à décider de l'usage qu'il en fera, et à régler ses actions à son gré. Dans l'autre, il ne peut agir que suivant les loix préétablies de la Divinité, dont il n'est que l'instrument. Le sentiment le trompe, et lorsqu'il croit suivre sa volonté, il ne suit en effet que celle de son maître. Ces dernières idées ont pu naître dans l'esprit d'un peuple à peine sorti de l'enfance. Peu fait aux ressorts compliqués de la machine, les grandes vertus, les crimes atroces, les inventions utiles de ce petit nombre d'ames singulières, qui ne doivent rien à leur siècle, lui parurent surpasser les forces humaines. Il vit partout des dieux agissans, qui inspiroient le vice ou la vertu aux foibles mortels, incapables de se soustraire à leurs volontés.* Ce n'est pas la prudence qui inspire à Pandare le dessein de rompre la trève, et de décocher un trait au cœur de Ménélas. C'est Mi-

Systèmes de la liberté et de la nécessité.

Les anciens suivoient le dernier.

* 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 eût dû être guidé par le sentiment, et le sentiment est tout entier du côté de la liberté.

verve qui le pousse à cet attentat.* La malheureuse Phèdre n'est point coupable. Vénus, outrée des mépris d'Hyppolite, allume dans le cœur de cette reine une flamme incestueuse, qui la précipite au crime et à la mort.† Un dieu se chargea de chaque événement de la vie, de chaque passion de l'ame, et de chaque ordre de la société.

Union des deux espèces de dieux.

LXXIV. Mais ces dieux de l'homme, ces passions et ces facultés généralisées et personnifiées de cette manière, n'avoient qu'une existence métaphysique et trop peu sensible pour les hommes. Il falloit les fondre avec les dieux de la nature, et c'est ici que l'allégorie imagina mille rapports fantasques, car l'esprit veut au moins une apparence de vérité. Il étoit naturel que le dieu de la mer le fut des matelots. L'expression figurée de cet œil qui voit tout, de ces rayons qui percent les airs, pouvoit aisément faire du soleil un habile prophète, et un archer adroit. Mais pourquoi la planète Vénus est-elle mère des amours? Pourquoi s'élève-t-elle de l'écume des flots? Laissons ces énigmes aux devins. Aussitôt que les départemens des dieux de la nature humaine furent établis, ils durent enlever tout le culte des hommes. Ils parloient au cœur et aux passions, au lieu que les dieux

* Homer. Iliad. L. iv. v. 93, &c.

† Αλλ' ετι ταυτη τον δ' ερωτα χρη πεσειν.
Δειξω δε Θησει πραγμα, κακφανησεται.
Και τον μεν ημιν πολεμιον πεφυκοτα
Κτενει πατης αραισι, ...
Η δ' ευκλεης μεν, αλλ' ομως απολυται
Φαιδρα————(1).

(1) Euripid. Hippol. Act. i. v. 40.

physiques,

physiques, qui n'avoient point acquis d'attributs moraux, rentrèrent insensiblement dans le mépris et dans l'oubli. Aussi n'est-ce que dans l'antiquité la plus reculée que je vois fumer les autels de Saturne.*

LXXV. Les dieux s'intéressent donc dans les affaires humaines. Il ne se passe rien dont ils ne soient les auteurs. Mais sont-ils les auteurs du crime? Cette conséquence nous effraye: un payen n'hésitoit point à l'admettre, et ne pouvoit en effet hésiter. Les dieux inspiroient souvent des desseins vicieux. Pour les suggérer, il falloit les vouloir, et même les aimer. Il ne leur restoit pas la ressource d'un petit mal permis dans le meilleur des mondes possibles.† Ce mal n'étoit pas seulement permis, il étoit autorisé, et d'ailleurs les différentes divinités, bornées à leurs départemens particuliers, étoient très indifférentes à un bien général qu'elles ne connoissoient point. Chacune suivoit son caractère, et n'inspiroit que les passions qu'elle ressentoit. Le dieu de la guerre étoit fier, brutal, et sanguinaire; la déesse de la prudence, sage, retenue, peu sincère; la mère des amours, aimable, voluptueuse, emportée dans ses caprices; la ruse et la souplesse convenoient au dieu des marchands; et les cris des malheureux flattoient l'oreille du tyran soupçonneux des morts, du noir monarque des enfers.

Les dieux ont des passions humaines.

* J'entends chez les Grecs; son culte se conserva long tems en Italie.

† Fontenelle dans l'Eloge de M. de Leibnitz.

Ils ont des préférences.

LXXVI. Un dieu père des hommes l'est de tous également. Il ne connoît ni la haine, ni la faveur. Mais les divinités partiales doivent avoir des favoris. Ne distingueront-elles pas ceux dont le goût est conforme au leur? Mars ne peut qu'aimer ces Thraces dont la guerre est l'unique occupation,* et ces Scythes dont la boisson la plus délicieuse est le sang de leurs ennemis.† Les mœurs d'un habitant de Cypre‡ ou de Corinthe, lieux où tout respiroit le luxe et la mollesse, devoient plaire à la déesse des amours. La reconnoissance se joignoit au goût. Des sentimens de préférence étoient dûs à des peuples dont les mœurs n'étoient qu'un culte détourné de leurs dieux tutélaires. Le culte même qu'on leur rendoit se rapportoit toujours à leur caractère. Ces victimes humaines qui expiroient sur l'autel de Mars,§ ces mille courtisanes qui se dévouoient au temple de Vénus,‖ toutes ces femmes distinguées de Babylone, qui lui immoloient leur

* Herodot. L. v. c. 4, 5. Meziriac. Comm. sur les Epitr. d'Ovide, tom. i. p. 162.

† Herodot. L. iv. c. 64, 65.

‡ M. de Vaugelas m'apprend que lorsqu'il s'agit de l'antiquité il faut toujours dire Cypre, quoique le nom moderne soit Chypre. (1) Je vois que MM. de Fenelon (2) et de Vertot (3) ont fait cette distinction.

§ Herod, L. v. c. 4, 5. Minuc. Fœl. Octav. c. 25. p. 258. Luc. Phars. L. i. Lactant. L. i. c. 25.

‖ Strab. Geog. L. viii. p. 378.

(1) Rem. de M. de Vaugelas sur la Langue Françoise, tom. i. p. 102, 103.
(2) Dans le Télémaque.
(3) Dans son Hist. de Malthe.

pudeur,

pudeur,* ne pouvoient qu'attirer à ces divers peuples, la faveur la plus distinguée de leurs protecteurs. Mais comme les intérêts des nations ne sont pas moins opposés que leurs mœurs, il falloit que les dieux adoptassent les querelles de leurs adorateurs. " Quoi! voir avec patience que cette ville qui m'élève cent temples succombe sous le fer d'un conquérant? Ah! plutôt!. . . ." C'est ainsi que chez les Grecs, une guerre parmi les hommes en allumoit une parmi les dieux. Troye bouleversa le ciel. Le Scamandre vit briller l'égide de Minerve, il fut témoin de l'effet des flèches sorties du carquois d'Apollon, il sentit le redoutable trident de Neptune, qui soulevoit la terre sur ses fondemens. Quelquefois les arrêts inévitables du destin rétablissoient la paix.† Mais le plus souvent les divers dieux convenoient mutuellement de s'abandonner

Leurs querelles.

* 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. (1) 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 réponse. Au reste j'ignorois que Babylone fût la ville de l'univers la mieux policée. Quinte Curce la dépeint comme la plus licentieuse; 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 tems ils n'avoient point dégénérés. (2)

† Mythol. de Banier, tom. ii. p. 487. Ovid. Metam. L. xv.

(1) Oeuvres de Voltaire, tom. vi. p. 24.

(2) Quint. Curt. Gest. Alex. L. v. c. i. et Comment. Freinsheim. in Loc.

réciproquement leurs ennemis ;* car sur l'Olympe, comme sur la terre, la haine a toujours été plus puissante que l'amitié.

Ils ont la figure humaine.

LXXVII. Un culte épuré eût été peu assorti à de telles divinités. Les peuples veulent des objets sensibles ; une figure qui décore leurs temples, et fixe leurs idées. Il falloit assurément la plus belle de toutes les figures. Mais quelle est cette figure ? Demandez-le aux hommes, c'est sans doute la leur. Peut-être un taureau répondroit-il un peu différemment.† La sculpture se perfectionne pour servir à la dévotion, et les temples se remplissent de statues de vieillards, de jeunes gens, de femmes, et d'enfans, suivant les attributs différens de chacun des dieux.

Ils éprouvent les plaisirs et les maux corporels.

LXXVIII. La beauté n'est peut-être fondée que sur l'usage. La figure humaine n'est belle que parce qu'elle se rapporte si bien aux usages auxquels elle est destinée. La figure divine est la même ; il faut que ses usages le soient aussi, et même ses défauts. De-là cette génération grossière des dieux, qui ne composent plus qu'une famille à la manière des hommes ; de-là leurs fêtes de nectar et d'ambrosie, et la nourriture qu'ils reçoivent dans les sacrifices.‡ De-là encore leur sommeil,§ et leurs douleurs.‖ Des dieux, devenus des hommes très

* Eurip. Hippolit. Act. v. ver. 1327. et Ovid. Metam. passim.

† Cic. de Nat. Deor, L. i. c. 27, 28.

‡ V. les Césars de Julien par M. Spanheim, p. 257, 258. Rom. 876. les Oiseaux d'Aristophane et Lucien presque partout.

§ Hom. Iliad. L. i. v. 609.

‖ Id. L. v. ver. 335.

puissans,

puissans, devoient souvent visiter la terre, habiter dans les temples, se plaire aux amusemens de l'homme, assister à la chasse, à la danse, et quelquefois devenir sensibles aux charmes d'une mortelle et donner naissance à une race de héros.

Evénemens généraux.

LXXIX. Dans ces grands événemens, où, du jeu d'un grand nombre d'acteurs, dont les vues, la situation et le caractère diffèrent, il naît une unité d'action, ou plutôt d'effet; c'est peut-être dans les seules causes générales qu'il faut chercher la leur.

Mélange de causes dans les événemens particuliers.

LXXX. Dans les événemens plus particuliers, le procédé de la nature est très différent de celui des philosophes. Chez elle il y a peu d'effets assez simples, pour ne devoir leur origine qu'à une seule cause; au lieu que nos sages s'attachent d'ordinaire à une cause, non seulement universelle, mais unique. Evitons cet écueil; pour peu qu'une action paroisse compliquée, admettons y les causes générales, sans rejetter le dessein et le hasard. Sylla se démet du pouvoir souverain. César le perd avec la vie: cependant leurs attentats avoient été précédés par leurs conquêtes: avant de devenir les plus puissans des Romains, ils en étoient les plus renommés. Auguste les suit de près. Tyran sanguinaire,* soupçonné de lâcheté, le plus grand des crimes dans un chef de parti,† il parvient au trône,

* Après la prise de Peruse il sacrifia trois cens des principaux citoyens sur un autel érigé à la divinité de son père. V. Suet. L. ii. c. 15.

† Sueton. L. ii. c. 16.

et

et fait oublier aux républicains qu'ils eussent jamais été libres. La disposition de ces républicains diminue ma surprise. Egalement incapables de liberté sous Sylla et sous Auguste, ils ignoroient cette vérité sous celui-là : des guerres civiles et deux proscriptions plus cruelles que la guerre, leur avoient appris, du tems de celui-ci, que la république, affaissée sous le poids de sa grandeur et de sa corruption, ne pouvoit subsister sans maître. D'ailleurs Sylla, chef de la noblesse, combattoit à la tête de ces fiers patriciens, qui vouloient bien l'armer du glaive du despotisme pour les venger de leurs ennemis et des siens, mais non laisser entre ses mains le pouvoir de les détruire eux-mêmes. Ils avoient vaincu, non pour lui mais avec lui : la harangue de Lépide * et la conduite de Pompée† font assez sentir que Sylla aima mieux descendre du trône qu'en tomber. Mais Auguste, à l'exemple de César,‡ ne se servit que de ces hardis aventuriers, Agrippa, Mécène, Pollion, dont la fortune attachée à la sienne s'évanouissoit dans une aristocratie de nobles, divisés entr'eux, mais unis pour accabler tout homme nouveau.

Ses causes.

LXXXI. Des circonstances heureuses, les débauches d'Antoine, la foiblesse de Lépide, la crédulité de Cicéron travaillèrent de concert pour lui avec cette disposition générale : mais il faut avouer

* Sallust. Fragm. p. 404. Edit. Thys.

† Freinsheim. Supplem. L. lxxxix. c. 26—33.

‡ Tacit. Annal. L. iv. p. 109. Sueton. ubi infra.

aussi

aussi que, s'il ne fit pas naître ces circonstances, il les employa en grand politique. Que la variété de mes objets ne me permet-elle de faire connoître ce gouvernement raffiné, ces chaines qu'on portoit sans les sentir, ce prince confondu parmi les citoyens, ce sénat respecté par son maître!* Choisissons en un trait.

Auguste, maître des revenus de l'empire et des richesses du monde, distingua toujours son patrimoine de particulier du trésor public. Il fit ainsi paroître à peu de frais sa modération, qui laissoit à ses héritiers des biens inférieurs à ceux de plusieurs de ses sujets,† et son amour de la patrie, qui avoit abandonné au service de l'état, deux patrimoines entiers et une somme immense provenue des legs de ses amis défunts.‡

LXXXII. Une pénétration ordinaire suffit pour sentir lorsqu'une action est à la fois cause et effet. Même action cause et effet.

* J'attends 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 paroîtra 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 les autorités particulières que sur des inductions générales: mais ce défaut est celui d'un homme de beaucoup d'esprit.

† Toutes déductions faites de ses legs au peuple et aux soldats, Auguste ne laissa à Tibère et à Livie que millies quingentics, trente millions de livres. L'augure Lentulus mort sous son règne, possédoit quater millies, quatre-vingt millions. V. Sueton. L. ii. c. 101. Senec. de Benefic. L. ii.

‡ Quater decies millies, deux cens quatre vingt millions. V. Suet. Loc. citat et marmor. Ancyran.

Dans

Dans le monde moral il y en a beaucoup qui le sont ; ou plutôt, il y en a très peu qui ne tiennent plus ou moins de la nature de l'une de l'autre.

La corruption de tous les ordres des Romains vint de l'étendue de leur empire, et produisit la grandeur de la république.*

Mais il faut un jugement peu commun, lorsque deux choses existent toujours ensemble, et paroissent intimément liées, pour discerner qu'elles ne se doivent point leur origine l'une à l'autre.

Les sciences ne viennent pas du luxe.

LXXXIII. Les sciences, dit-on, naissent du luxe : un peuple éclairé sera toujours vicieux. Je ne le crois pas. Les sciences ne sont point les filles du luxe ; mais l'une et l'autre naissent de l'industrie. Les arts ébauchés satisfont aux premiers besoins de l'homme. Perfectionnés, ils lui en trouvent de nouveaux, depuis le bouclier de Minerve de Vitellius † jusqu'aux entretiens philosophiques de Cicéron. Mais à mesure que le luxe corrompt les mœurs, les sciences les adoucissent ; semblables aux prières dans Homère, qui parcourent toujours la terre à la suite de l'injustice, pour adoucir les fureurs de cette cruelle divinité.‡

* 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 celle des citoyens.

† 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 coûta 765,625*l.* sterling. V. Sueton. in Vitellio, c. 13. Dr. Arbuthnot's Tables, p. 138.

‡ Μετοπισθ' ατης αλιγεσι κιεσαι. Homer. Iliad. L. ix. v. 500.

Voilà

Voilà quelques réflexions qui m'ont paru solides sur les différens usages des Belles-Lettres. Heureux si je pouvois en inspirer le goût! J'aurois trop bonne opinion de moi-même, si je ne sentois pas les défauts de cet essai; j'en aurois une trop mauvaise, si je n'espérois pas que dans un age moins précoce et avec des connoissances plus étendues je pourrai me voir plus en état d'y suppléer. On pourra dire que ces réflexions sont vraies, mais usées, ou qu'elles sont nouvelles, mais paradoxales. Quel auteur aime les critiques? Cependant la première me déplairoit le moins. L'avantage de l'art m'est plus cher que la gloire de l'artiste. Conclusion.

DIGRES-

DIGRESSION ON THE CHARACTER OF BRUTUS.

THE memory of Cæsar, celebrated as it is, has not been transmitted down to posterity with such uniform and increasing applause as that of his PATRIOT ASSASSIN. Marc Antony acknowledged the rectitude of his intentions. Augustus refused to violate his statues.* All the great writers of the succeeding age enlarged on his praises,† and more than two hundred years after the establishment of the imperial government, the character of Brutus was studied as the perfect idea of Roman virtue.‡ In England as in France, in modern Italy as in ancient Rome, his name has always been mentioned with respect by the adherents of monarchy,§ and pronounced with enthusiasm by the

* Plutarch in Antonio, p. 925, in Brut. p. 1011. Among these were the statues, which the Athenians had erected to Brutus and Cassius, by the side of their own deliverers, Harmodius and Aristogiton.

† Under the jealous tyranny of Tiberius, Cremutius Cordus was arraigned before the senate for the encomiums which he bestowed in his history on Brutus and Cassius. He justified himself by the toleration of Augustus and the example of Asinius Pollio, Messala and Livy: nor was it within the tyrant's power to suppress his writings, or the general sense of mankind. Tacit. Annal. iv. 34, 35.

‡ M. Antonin. de Rebus suis, L. i.

§ Velleius Paterculus, an elegant writer, but servilely devoted to the imperial family, and most probably one of the judges who condemned Cremutius, can only say of Brutus, Corrupto animo ejus in diem quæ illi *omnes virtutes* unius facti *temeritate* abstulit. ii. 72.

friends

friends of freedom. It may seem rash and invidious to appeal from the sentence of ages; yet surely I may be permitted to inquire, in what consisted the DIVINE VIRTUE OF BRUTUS?

The few patriots who, by a bold and well-concerted enterprize, have delivered their country from foreign or domestic slavery, Timoleon, and the elder Brutus, Andrew Doria, and Gustavus Vasa, the three peasants of Switzerland,* and the four princes of Orange, excite the warmest sensations of esteem and gratitude in those breasts which feel for the interest of mankind. But the design of the younger Brutus was vast and perhaps impracticable, the execution feeble and unfortunate. Neither as a statesman nor as a general did Brutus ever approve himself equal to the arduous task he had so rashly undertaken, of restoring the commonwealth; instead of restoring it, the death of a mild and generous usurper produced only a series of civil wars, and the reign of three tyrants whose union and whose discord were alike fatal to the Roman people.

The sagacious Tully often laments that he could be pleased with nothing in the ides of March, except the ides themselves; that the deed was executed with a manly courage, but supported by childish counsels; that the tyranny survived the tyrant; as the conspirators, satisfied with fame and

* Who in the year 1308 delivered their country from the Austrian yoke. See Simlerus de Republica Helvetica; Guillimannus de Rebus Helveticis, and the great Chronicle of Tschudi.

revenge,

revenge, had neglected every measure that might have restored public liberty.* Whilst Brutus and Cassius contemplated their own heroism with the most happy complacency, Marc Antony, who had preserved his life, and the first magistracy of the state, by their injudicious clemency, seized the papers and treasure of the Dictator, inflamed the people and the veterans, and drove them out of Rome and Italy, without any other opposition than some grave remonstrances which the patriots vainly addressed to the Consul.†

The eloquence of Cicero, and the dangerous aid of young Cæsar, awakened in the senate a spirit of freedom and resistance. Brutus and Cassius had time to seize on Macedonia and Syria, whilst the forces of Antony were diverted and almost destroyed in the memorable siege of Modena. The legions stationed in those provinces acknowledged them as lawful proconsuls, the wealth of the east fell into their hands, and they had collected an army of one hundred thousand men,‡ before the triumvirs had cemented their union with the noblest blood of Rome, and were prepared to lead their veteran legions against the last defenders of the public liberty. Cassius was of opinion, that

* See the XIVth, XVth, and XVIth Books of the Epistles to Atticus.

† See Epistol. ad Famil. xi. 2, 3. The spirit of these letters is finely tempered by the politeness with which Brutus and Cassius address the Consul. They respect the magistrate whilst they defy the tyrant.

‡ Appian. L. iv. p. 640.

they should protract their military operations into the approaching winter; but though Cassius was the older and the better soldier,* had been the first author of the conspiracy, and was the principal support of the war, he yielded, with a sigh, to the authority of Brutus, whose mind, oppressed with laborious anxiety, wished impatiently for an immediate division.† The decision was unfavourable; and both the chiefs, relinquishing all their remaining hopes, and withdrawing themselves from the calamities which they had brought on their country, put an end to their lives by a hasty act of despair. "Brutus and Cassius (says the President Montesquieu) killed themselves with a precipitancy that cannot be excused; and it is impossible to read this part of their history without pitying the republic, which was thus abandoned. The death of Cato was the catastrophe of the tragedy; but these men, in some measure, opened the tragedy by their own deaths.'‡

The justice of the memorable ides of March has been a subject of controversy above eighteen hundred years; and will so remain, as long as the interests of the community shall be considered by different tempers in different lights. Men of high and active spirits, who deem the loss of liberty, or

* Fuit autem dux Cassius melior quanto vir Brutus. Velleius Paterculus, ii. 72.

† This anecdote was preserved by Messalla, who in the court of Augustus was always proud of remembering Cassius as his general. Plutarch. in Brut. Tacit. Annal. iv. 34.

‡ Considérations sur la Grandeur des Romains, chap. xii.

some-

sometimes, in other words, the loss of power, the worst of misfortunes, will approve the use of every stratagem and every weapon in the chace of the common foe of society. They will ask how a tyrant, who has raised himself above the laws, and usurped the forces of the state, can be punished, except by an assassination; and whether the circumstance that most aggravates his crime, ought to secure his person and government. On the other hand, the lovers of order and moderation, who are swayed by the calm of reason, rather than by the impetuosity of passion, will never consent to establish every private citizen the judge and avenger of the public injury, or to purchase a temporary deliverance by the severe retaliation that will surely be exercised on those, who have first violated the laws of war. The fate of Cæsar was alleged to colour the edict of proscription;* and perhaps the generous ambition of the younger Guise would have been startled at the massacre of Paris, had it not satisfied his great revenge against the Admiral de Coligny, and other leaders of a party, whom not without reason he accused of his father's murder.† We may observe that the assassination of tyrants has been generally applauded by the ancients. The fate of a great empire is usually decided by the sword of war; but against the petty usurper of a Greek or Italian city, the dagger of conspiracy had been often found as effi-

* Appian. iv. p. 593.

† See the 34th Book of the History of Thuanus.

cacious an instrument. The same doctrine is as generally condemned by the present nations of Europe; influenced by a milder system of manners, and impressed with a deep sense of the bloody mischiefs perpetrated both by the Catholics and the Calvinists during the alliance of religious and political fanaticism.

Whilst the merit of Brutus's GODLIKE STROKE, (for such it has been called*) is at least doubtful, we can only allow in his favour, that by acting up to the established standard of Roman virtue he is entitled to our indulgence, and in some measure to our esteem. But in these nice cases, where the esteem is bestowed on the INTENTION, rather than on the ACTION, we ought to be well assured that the intention was pure from any interested or passionate motive; that it was not the hasty suggestion of resentment or vanity, but the calm result of consistent and well grounded virtue, impatient of slavery, and tender of the rights of mankind. The praises of antiquity, and the noble spirit that breathes in the epistles of Brutus,† may indeed pre-

* Tho' Cato liv'd, tho' Tully spoke,
Tho' Brutus dealt the *godlike stroke*;
Yet perish'd fated Rome.

† He declares (Epist. 16, or 22, in Middleton's edition) that were his father alive again he would not suffer *him* to possess a power above the laws and the senate. Pity it is that this whole correspondence, and particularly this celebrated epistle should be liable to the suspicion of a forgery committed in those ages when Latin had ceased to be a living language. See Tunstal and Markland on one side of the question, and Dr. Middleton on the other.

possess

possess us in favour of his moral character; but it is the uniform tenor of his life, private as well as public, which must in a great degree acquit or condemn the conspirator.

Plutarch singles out of the whole life of Brutus, one exceptionable action; his promising the plunder of Lacedæmon and Thessalonica to his troops.* But had Plutarch been better acquainted with the epistles of Atticus, he would have seen in that faithful mirror of the times, some instances of avarice and inhumanity, which the philosophic Brutus could not have excused by the sad necessity of civil war.

When Cicero was appointed Proconsul of Cilicia, his first object was to relieve the cities of his government, almost ruined by the heavy debts which they had been obliged to contract in order to satisfy the rapaciousness of his predecessors. The case of Salamis, in Cyprus, deserved peculiar compassion. One Scaptius, a Roman money broker, strongly recommended by Brutus, claimed very large sums as due to him from that city. The deputies of Salamis acknowledged the debt, and made a tender of the money with legal interest, as it was fixed by Cicero's edict, at twelve per cent. and compound interest at the end of every year. But Scaptius demanded forty-eight per cent. according to the condition of his usurious bond; and to enforce his demand by military execution, he

* Plutarch. in Brut.

had obtained from the former proconsul a troop of horse, with which he kept the senate house of Salamis closely besieged, till five of the most obstinate senators were actually starved to death. This proconsul was Appius Claudius, the father-in-law of Brutus; and when the province of Cilicia devolved upon Cicero, the same Brutus recommended, with more than common earnestness, the affairs of Scaptius to the favour of the new governor. Cicero was at first surprised at finding so intimate a connexion between a man of merit and an infamous usurer, but he was still more astonished, when the shameful secret was disclosed. The wretched agent disappeared, and the virtuous Brutus, without a blush, avowed HIMSELF the creditor of the Salamians. As soon as he threw off the mask, instead of commiserating the ruin of a city under his immediate patronage, he insisted on the utmost rigour of his iniquitous demands, and requested of Cicero, in the most haughty terms, that he would send the same Scaptius into Cyprus at the head of a second troop of horse to exact the extravagant amount of the accumulated principal and interest. On this occasion the virtue of Cicero was supported by a noble firmness. "I should be desirous (he repeats it in several places) to oblige Brutus, but I cannot sacrifice to his interest, the feelings of humanity, the principles of justice, the uniformity of my character, and the approbation of all good men. I shall be concerned to lose his friendship, but I shall be still more concerned

cerned to lose the esteem I have ever entertained for him."*

The numerous crimes of Verres, exaggerated as they most probably have been, by the strongest powers of eloquence, scarcely furnish such an instance of unrelenting avarice as this transaction of Brutus, which is related by Cicero, with the candid simplicity of a private correspondence. The money due from the city of Salamis amounted to about twenty thousand pounds; a small part of the immense sums which Brutus appears to have lent out on similar securities.† We cannot forbear inquiring, by what arts a private citizen, the son of a proscribed father, and who had never commanded armies, or governed provinces, could accumulate so ample a fortune; the inquiry would lead to some suspicions severe but not unreasonable.

In the beginning of the civil war we find young Brutus in the camp of Pompey, by whose order his father had been put to death about thirty years

* "Brutus," says Cicero, "has not sent me one letter, in which there was not something singular and arrogant. His style gives me little uneasiness; but indeed he forgets *what*, and to whom he is writing." For this whole transaction see the Epistles to Atticus, L. v. 21. vi. 1, 2, 3.

† Brutus, by Cicero's interest, had received from Ariobarzanes, King of Cappadocia, a hundred talents upon account of a much larger sum that was due to him. The concerns of Brutus in Asia, which he recommended to the care of the proconsul, filled a whole volume of requests, or rather mandates, as they are called by Cicero.

before.* This sacrifice of filial piety to a superior and public duty has been highly applauded. But was it in Brutus's power either to remain inactive, or to enlist in the army of Cæsar? Was it in his power to refuse to follow the general of the republic, his uncle Cato, the consuls, ten consulars, the greatest part of the senate, and the flower of the equestrian order?† The defeat of Pharsalia and the death of Pompey removed the general constraint, and displayed the genuine views and characters of the principal men of his party.

There were some very respectable senators, men of an advanced age, moderate tempers, and cool penetration, who had never entertained a favourable opinion of the hopes, or even of the designs of their own party. Cicero, Marcellus, Sulpicius, Varro had been driven by a sense of honour into scenes of war and tumult, as little suited to their talents as to their inclination. They resolved to consider the decision of Pharsalia as final, and not to aggravate, by a vain resistance, the miseries of their country. When Cicero returned to Rome, he avoided the forum and the senate, and devoted his leisure and abilities to the noble design of explaining the Grecian philosophy in the Latin language. Yet his retirement was sometimes invaded

* Plutarch. in Brut. The father was one of the lieutenants of the weak and wicked Lepidus, who raised a rebellion in Italy after the death of Sylla.

† *Decem* fuimus *consulares*, &c.—Qui vero *prætorii*? quorum princeps M. Cato, &c.—ut magna excusatione opus iis sit, qui in illa castra non venerunt. Philipp. xiii. 13, 14.

by

by his own reproaches, and by those of the world; by the comparison of his tame acquiescence, with the glorious struggle of Cato, Scipio, Labienus, and their followers who had anew erected the standard of liberty in Africa.*

These patriots, of more active spirits and more sanguine hopes, thought it even yet a crime to despair of the republic. Fifteen months wasted by Cæsar in the arms of Cleopatra, the romantic campaign of Alexandria and the rapid conquest of Pontus, gave them time to assemble a new army of twelve legions, disciplined by misfortune, and deriving fresh courage from despair. Fertile Africa afforded every supply for carrying on the war. The alliance of Juba filled the Roman camp with an innumerable host of Moors and Numidians. Spain was in arms, and Italy expected her deliverers with a mixture of terror and impatience.† Cæsar again fought and triumphed; but the unconquered soul of Cato easily escaped from life and from the usurper. Such was the constancy of that patriot, and such the lessons which he had ever inculcated to his nephew Brutus; let us next examine what fruits they produced.

After the battle of Pharsalia, Brutus lay concealed in the marshes of Thessaly. He made the

* See the Epistles to Atticus, xi. 7; where he unbosoms himself to his friend with a very wonderful, or rather a very natural mixture of spirit and meanness, of patriotism and selfishness.

† Hist. de Bello African. 18, 40. Sueton. in Cæsar. 66. Dio. Cassius, L. xlii. p. 338. Cicero ad Attic. L. xi. p. 7.

first

first advances to the conqueror, experienced his clemency, and was immediately admitted into his confidence. The latter was obtained by revealing, I will not call it betraying, whatever he had been able to learn of Pompey's designs.* He then left Cæsar to follow the pursuit he had pointed out, and entertained himself with an agreeable tour through the cities of Greece and Asia. In a few months he returned to Rome, resigned himself to the calm studies of history and rhetoric, and passed many of his leisure hours in the society of Cicero and Atticus. Their literary conversations were sometimes interrupted by complaints of the melancholy situation of public affairs.†

At a time when Cicero was in retirement, Marcellus in voluntary exile,‡ and Cato in arms, we might at least expect that the nephew of Cato would have declined any political connexion with the usurper. When Cæsar set out for the African war, Brutus accepted at his hands the government of the Cisalpine Gaul;§ a command of

* Plutarch. in Brut. Some casuists, Spaniards and others, have attempted to justify this conduct. (See Bayle, Dictionnaire, à l'Article *Brutus*.) The feelings of a man of honour are the best confutation of such sophistry.

† See Cicero's two Treatises *De Claris Oratoribus* and *De Orator*. both which he dedicated to Brutus about this time. The latter gave rise to a celebrated controversy between them.

‡ He retired to Mytilene and refused to accept the victor's clemency. His letters (see ad Familiar. L. iv.) are full of noble sentiments, and his behaviour does not appear to have disgraced them.

§ Plutarch. in Brut. Appian. de B. C. L. ii. p. 477. Cicer. ad Famil. L. xiii. p. 10, &c.

infinite

infinite importance from its vicinity to the capital, and from the legions always stationed in that province to protect the frontiers of Italy from the unconquered Rhætians. The same legions gave the governor of the Cisapline Gaul an almost decisive weight in every civil commotion, as a march of a few days brought him to the gates of Rome.* Experience had already acquainted Cæsar with this advantage, and by thus appointing Brutus his Lieutenant during his absence, he shewed the most implicit confidence in his fidelity. Suppose that Rome had attempted to break her chains; suppose the sons of Pompey from Spain, or Cato from Africa, had made a diversion in Italy, what could have been the conduct of the patriot Brutus? His station must have forced him into action, and by his action he must have betrayed either his trust or his country. Into this fatal dilemma had he wantonly thrown himself.

When Cæsar, on his return from the conquest of Africa, visited a part of Gaul, his obsequious governor went out to meet him with the respectful attention of an experienced courtier, and attended him on his way to the triumph, in which a picture of Cato tearing out his own bowels was exposed to the eyes of the Roman people.† I wish not however to conceal that about the same time, Brutus gave some proofs of regard for his uncle's

* Montesquieu has already remarked the importance of that province. Considérations sur la Grandeur, &c. c. xi.

† Plutarch. in Brut. Appian, L. ii. p. 491.

memory,

memory, by marrying his cousin Portia,* and by composing a Treatise on the life and character of Cato; an honourable, rather than a dangerous undertaking; since even the prudence of Cicero permitted him to publish a work on the same subject. The dictator disdained to employ the arms of power, when those of eloquence were sufficient. He appealed to the tribunal of the public, and in a severe and masterly censure of the conduct of Cato, he treated the persons of his two literary antagonists, Cicero and Brutus, with every expression of regard and esteem.†

This polite controversy was so far from leaving any unfavourable impressions in Cæsar's mind, that a few months afterwards he named Brutus the first of the sixteen Prætors with the honourable department of the city jurisdiction, and with a promise of the consulship for one of the ensuing years.‡ Could Brutus accept, could he solicit the honours of the state from a master who had abolished the freedom, and who scarcely preserved the forms of elections?

——— Tinget solennia campi,
Et non admissæ diribet§ suffragia plebis,
Decantatque tribus, et vanâ versat in urnâ;

* Plutarch. Cicer. ad Attic. xiii. 9.

† Cicer. ad Attic. xii. 21. xiii. 46. Cæsar paid a compliment to these two pieces in favour of Cato; but his compliment is obscure and equivocal. He probably meant it should be so.

‡ Plutarch. in Brut. Velleius Paterculus, ii. 56.

§ The common editions read *dirimit*, which puzzles all the commentators. *Diribere* was a term peculiar to the comitia and signifies to poll the votes in the regular *divisions*.

Nec

Nec cœlum servare licet; tonat augure surdo;
Et lætæ jurantur aves, bubone sinistro.*

I have heard much of the heroic spirit of Brutus; of his glorious sacrifice of gratitude to patriotism. True patriotism would have instructed him not to cancel, but to refuse obligations of such a nature from the declared enemy of Cato and the liberty of Rome.

Nay more, by soliciting these honours, Brutus solicited a public occasion of engaging his fidelity to the person and government of Cæsar by a solemn and voluntary oath of allegiance.† "A few days before the execution of their fatal purpose, these patriots all swore fealty to Cæsar, and protesting to hold his person ever sacred, they touched the altar with those hands which they had already armed for his destruction."‡ Antiquity has not preserved the oath, but we may suppose that it was not very different from the warm but faithless professions of Cicero. "We exhort, we beseech you to guard your safety against the secret dangers, which you seem to suspect. We all promise (that I may express for others what I feel for myself) not only to watch over your precious life with the most anxious vigilance, but to oppose our own bodies, our own breasts to the impending stroke."§ Relying on these assurances the dictator

* Lucan. Pharsal. v. 391.
† Appian. L. ii. p. 494.
‡ Hume's Dialogue on the Principles of Morals.
§ Cicer. pro Marcello, c. 10.

dismissed

dismissed his Spanish guards,* and neglected every precaution. He could not persuade himself that those whom he had conquered would be brave enough, or those whom he had pardoned base enough, to shorten a life already sufficient either for nature or for glory.† By those men he was flattered and assassinated. Such solemn perjury cannot be justified except by the dangerous maxim, that no faith is to be kept with tyrants.‡

It was only for usurping the power of the people that Cæsar could deserve the epithet of tyrant. He used the power with more moderation and ability than the people was capable of exerting; and the Romans already began to experience all the happiness and glory compatible with a monarchical form of government.§ To this government Brutus had yielded his obedience and services during three years before he lifted his dagger against Cæsar's life. What *new* crime had Cæsar committed, which so suddenly‖ transformed his minister into an assassin? He aspired to the title of king, and that odious name called upon the

* Sueton. in Cæsar. c. 86.

† Cicero pro Marcel. c. 8.

‡ Appian. L. ii. p. 515. This maxim is introduced in a speech of Brutus to the people; but the speech is evidently manufactured by the historian.

§ See some of Cæsar's vast and beneficial designs in Suetonius, c. 44. The reformation of the calendar still remains a small specimen of them.

‖ Brutus took the oath of allegiance, about seventy-five days before the execution of the conspiracy.

descen-

descendant of Junius Brutus to assert the glories of his race? Such a regard to a word, and such insensibility to the thing itself, may be excused in the populace of Rome; but to a philosopher of an enlarged mind it was surely of little moment under what appellation public liberty was oppressed.

Such are the reflections, which an accurate examination of the character of Brutus has suggested to an enemy of tyranny, under every shape: who will neither be awed by the frown of power, nor silenced by the hoarse voice of popular applause. The monarch and the patriot are alike amenable to the severe but candid inquisition of truth.

Devizes, Feb. 8th, 1762.

Q. HORATII FLACCI EPISTOLÆ AD PISONES ET AUGUSTUM;

WITH AN ENGLISH COMMENTARY AND NOTES.

To which are added, two Dissertations; the one on the Provinces of the Drama, the other on Poetical Imitation; with a Letter to Mr. Mason: in two volumes 12*mo. The second edition. Cambridge.* 1757.

Mr. Hurd, the supposed author of this performance, is one of those valuable authors who cannot be read without improvement. To a great fund of well-digested reasoning, he adds a clearness of judgment, and a niceness of penetration, capable of taking things from their first principles, and observing their most minute differences. I know few writers more deserving of the great, though prostituted name of critic; but, like many critics, he is better qualified to instruct, than to execute. His manner appears to me harsh and affected, and his style clouded with obscure metaphors, and needlessly perplexed with expressions exotic, or technical. His excessive praises (not to give them a harsher name) of a certain living critic and divine, disgust the sensible reader, as much as the contempt affected for the same person, by many who are very unqualified to pass a judgment upon him.

Horace's Art of Poetry, generally deemed an unconnected set of precepts, without unity of de-

sign or method, appears under Mr. Hurd's hands, an attempt to reform the Roman stage, conducted with an artful plan, and carried on through the most delicate transitions. This plan is unrivalled in Mr. Hurd's Commentary. If ever those transitions appear too finely spun, the concealed art of epistolary freedom will sufficiently account for it. The least Mr. Hurd must convince us of is, that, if Horace had any plan, it was that which he has laid down. Every part of dramatic poetry is treated of, even to the satires and attellanes; its metre, subject, characters, chorus, explained and distinguished. The rest of the epistle contains those precepts of unity and design, accuracy of composition, &c. which, though not peculiar to the dramatic poet, are yet as necessary to him as to any other.

I shall say little more of the Epistle to Augustus, than that the subject matter is much plainer than in the other, but the connexion of parts far more perplexed. In the two lines from 30 to 32, a critic must be very sharp-sighted, to discover so complicated an argument as Mr. Hurd finds out there: however, his own Commentary is far superior to that on the Art of Poetry; and rises here into a very elegant paraphrase. As my business lies more with Mr. Hurd than with Horace, I shall only select one of the numerous beauties of this Epistle; it is that elegant encomium upon the modern poets, which extends from v. 113 to 139. Every one must observe that fine gradation, which, from describing the poet as a happy, inoffensive creature,

creature, exalts him at last into a kind of mediator between the gods and men. But an art more refined, and nicely attentive to its object, only employs those praises, which belong equally to good and to bad poets. Every one complained of the multitude of bad poets; even these, replies Horace, are not to be despised; such poetry is an employment, which makes its possessor good and happy, by abstracting him from the cares of men; he may turn it to the useful purposes of a virtuous education; and the gods, who attend more to the piety, than the talents of the bard, will listen with pleasure to his hymns.

I shall now consider some of Mr. Hurd's notes upon these Epistles, and then pass to his larger discourses.

Upon v. 94, he starts a new train of thought upon the use of poetical expressions in tragedy. The herd of critics allow them to the hero in his calmer moments, and forbid them in his more passionate ones. On the contrary, (says Mr. Hurd, and I think with reason,) it is that very passion that calls them forth, by rouzing every faculty, and exciting images suitable to the grandeur of his situation. Anger indeed, which exalts the mind, inspires more bold and daring images; those of grief are more weak, humble, and broken: but when passion sleeps, it is fancy alone that can create figures, and fancy is a very improper guide for the severe genius of dramatic poetry. Vol. i. p 68—77.

Perhaps the natural correspondency between

passion and the poetical figures, may be more exactly ascertained, by defining what is properly meant by poetical figures. It is (if I am not mistaken) a comparison, either expressed or understood, between two objects, about one of which the mind is particularly engaged, and which it perceives bears some affinity to another. The comparison, properly so called, expresses every feature of that resemblance at full length, the allusion points it out in a more slight and general manner, and the metaphor, disdaining that slow deduction of ideas, boldly substitutes to the object of the comparison, that to which it is compared. In the instance Mr. Hurd has taken from Tacitus, "Ne vestis serica viros *fœdaret*," we may note this difference between the three species of figures. In a comparison he might have said, "that a silken garment was so disgraceful to a man, that it was like a pollution to his body." Had he said, "that a silken garment, like a pollution, was to be avoided by a man," it would have been an allusion: but, dropping every intermediate idea, he reports the law by which no silken garment was to pollute a man. This is a metaphor, and of his own creation; but there are many where spiritual faculties, and operations, are expressed by material images, which, though figurative in their origin, are, by time and use, almost become literal. These are the figures of poetry. I am sensible there are rhetorical ones also, but those, I believe, relate rather to the expression and distribution of the former.

Let

Let us now, from these principles, investigate the workings of passion. It has been often observed, that the highest agitation of the mind is such as no language can describe; since language can only paint ideas, and not that sentimental, silent, almost stupid, excess of rage or grief, which the soul feels with such energy, that it is not master of itself enough to have any distinct perceptions; such passion baffles all description: but when this storm subsides, passion is as fertile in ideas, as it was at first barren: when some striking interest collects all our attention to one object, we consider it under every light it is susceptible of; even that rebel attention, chained down with difficulty to any range of ideas, endeavours as much as possible to enlarge the sphere of them; and as the agitation of our mind crouds them upon us, almost at the same instant, instead of presenting them slowly and singly, we cannot avoid being struck with many comparisons suitable to our situation. The past, the present, the future, our misfortunes, those of other men, our friends, our enemies, our ancestors, our posterity, form within us numberless combinations of ideas, either to assuage or irritate the reigning passion.* But those of

* 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,)

of the first species, though they strike us with force, we reject as much as in our power; and therefore the poet who expresses them in words ought rarely to go farther than an allusion, or a metaphor: those indeed are in general the darling figures of passion, as it loves to pass with rapidity from one idea to another. However, in those conjunctions of ideas which feed and irritate the passion, she will sometimes dwell with complacency upon them, and pursue them to the minutest resemblances of a simile. I appeal to the breast of every one for the evidence of these positions; and as to the last, I shall instance the noble speech with which Juno opens the Æneid, and rousing herself to vengeance, from the comparison of her behaviour with that of Pallas, collects every circumstance of it which could stimulate her more strongly to the execution of it.

Vol. i. p. 81—87.

To return to Mr. Hurd's notes. He employs several passages to prove, what I fancy no one would have disputed him; that though the words, pulchrum, beau, beautiful, are often used to express the general conception of beauty, they are sometimes made to signify that particular sort of beauty which pleases the imagination, opposed to that which affects the heart.

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?

Aristotle

Aristotle had blamed the Iphigenia of Euripides, as a character ill-supported; so timid at first, afterwards so determined. The general opinion had extended the same reproach to his Electra. Mr. Hurd undertakes their vindication. If Electra feels so much remorse after the murder of her mother, though the principal author of it, we must consider that she is no where described as devoid of natural tenderness; though the thirst of revenge, supported by the maxims of her times, such as the doctrine of remunerative justice, of fate, and of the heinousness of adultery, had for a time subdued it. Besides, her hatred was chiefly pointed at Ægisthus, and her remorse is greatly exaggerated. As to Iphigenia, her timidity, when acquainted she was to be sacrificed, is easily accounted for; as she was surprised, and, at that time, ignorant of the reasons which required it. Even to the last, her constancy is yet mixed with some regret and repining.

Upon v. 148, Mr. Hurd attempts to account for, and establish one of the most important rules of Epic poetry. A poet may either tell his story in the natural historical order, or, rushing at once into the middle of his subject, he may afterwards introduce, by way of episode, the events previous to it. Which method should he observe? Homer, at least in one of his poems, has preferred the last;* and in

Vol. i. p. 110–112.

* 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.

that, as well as in most other things, has been followed by his successors; by Virgil, by Milton, by Voltaire, and (in this instance I may call him an epic poet) by Fenelon. But as many things that have stood the test of time, cannot endure that of reason, I shall venture to start some objections to this method, and to consider, in a few words, Mr. Hurd's defence of it.

1st, Supposing the rule founded on reason, it is too vague to reduce to practice. Since the greatest part of the poem is to consist in a recital, where the poet himself speaks, when is that recital to begin? with the principal action? But in those great, though simple subjects, that alone are worthy of the epic muse; such, for example, as the establishment of Æneas in Italy; there are a great number of previous events, which either hasten or retard the catastrophe. Are *they* part of the subject? They are intimately connected with it, and no critic ever required unity of place in the epopæa. Are they not? How then can the loves of Æneas and Dido be justified? And if they can, why may not Æneas's meeting Andromache in Epirus be as much a part of the principal subject, as his meeting Dido at Carthage? I might in this manner follow the thread of the episodical story, perhaps to the beginning of the second, but certainly to the beginning of the third book of the Æneid, (and were I to take the Odyssey, or any other epic poem, it would be the same,) and ask at every pause, why the bard might not begin his invocation from thence, like Horace himself:

Demo

——— Demo unum, demo et etiam unum,
Dum cadat, elusus ratione ruentis acervi.

But enough has been said on this head.

2dly, When, without any preparation, we are thrown at once into the midst of the subject, unacquainted with the characters or situation of the hero; such a conduct can be productive only of a surprise and perplexity to the reader, which, if they are any beauties, are at least beauties of an inferior species of poetry. Nor is this all; this very ignorance and perplexity of the reader diminishes the interest of that part of the poem; for how can we love beauties we are yet ignorant of, or tremble for misfortunes of which we have a very faint idea? Nor can it be said that the nature of an epic subject preserves it from this inconveniency; since it always is, or ought to be, some story already famous. It may be so; but we are not yet acquainted with the alterations it may have suffered under the hands of the poet: nor can the similar example of dramatic poetry be alleged. It is there an unavoidable defect; but we ought not therefore voluntarily to transfer it to another species of poetry.

3dly, When this objection begins to vanish, and the reader, interested in the present misfortunes of the hero, has little or no curiosity to inquire into his past ones, it is then the poet chooses to tell them. I suppose we have read the first book of the Æneid; it is impossible to read it as it deserves, without taking the greatest part in the important scene which begins to disclose itself; so romantic a meeting of a Trojan chief and a Tyrian princess,

upon

upon the shores of Africa, and the gods themselves employing every artifice to inspire them with a mutual passion, and prevent the establishment of the Roman empire. At the instant we are impatient to know the event, and expect the poet should hasten to it, we are entertained with a long recital of the sack of Troy, and the voyages of Æneas. After this is at last ended, and we return to Dido, we have almost forgot who she was. Is this consulting the pleasure of the reader? and that pleasure ought to be the aim of every writer. I do not know whether I may not have expressed myself too strongly in saying, we have little, or no curiosity, to learn the past fortunes of the hero; but, however, let it be considered, 1st, That before they are told us in a regular narration, a thousand hints of them must have been dropped, which betray the secret; so that we only come to it with that languid curiosity, of learning the particulars of what we have already a general idea. 2dly, That we are not to consider our positive degree of curiosity, to know the events previous to the beginning of the poem, but to compare it with the desire we feel of pursuing the sequel, which must be far more ardent; for in every operation of the mind there is a much higher delight in descending from the cause to the effect, than in ascending from the effect to the cause. In the perusal of a fable, it is the event we are anxious about, and our anxiety increases, or diminishes, as that event is known or unknown to us. It is easy to apply this to the present argument.

4thly,

4thly, and lastly, (for though I endeavour to be concise, I am frightened when I look back,) The style of the poet will suffer as much by this inversion as his plan. Bold figures and poetical imagery are the essence of the epopœa; but with what propriety can they be introduced in that episode, where it is the hero, not the poet, that speaks? There are two sources of these figures; strong passion, and a fine imagination. The first can operate, in any strong degree, only during the actual influence of the misfortune which gave birth to it; and though the recollection of the latter may call forth some sparks of the former, yet it will be a faint, reflected heat, very unequal to that great effect, of transporting both the speaker and the hearer. On the other hand, a fine imagination is no essential part of a hero. Homer and Achilles are very different characters; nay, should the chief personage, like Ulysses, be a celebrated orator, even that will not authorize his employing the beauties of poetical language, since his recital, to be properly introduced, must be unpremeditated, and occasional: not like the poet, who, besides the fire of natural genius, is indulged with every advantage of time, labour, and a particular inspiration of the gods.* The episodical story

* 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 αιταϊξειεν Οδυσσευς
Στασκεν, υπαι δε ιδεσκε καλα χθονος ομμαλα πηξας,
Σκηπτρον

story must, therefore, be simple, unadorned, and far inferior, as to style, to the rest of the poem. I am sensible the Æneas of Virgil is as great a poet as Virgil himself; but either the principles I have laid down are false, or this example is a strong proof of the inconveniences of the method; since it obliged so correct a writer, to offend either the judgment, or the imagination of his readers.

I cannot pass to Mr. Hurd's arguments, without mentioning a difficulty which seems to affect my second objection, viz. this ignorance and perplexity is an objection only to the first perusal. It is true; but, if precepts are to direct the composition of the writer, it is certainly that first perusal, and the effects it may produce, that he should principally consider; especially as to what relates to the clearness of his plot: and should it be said, that in my third objection our curiosity to know the event can be likewise only balked on the first perusal, to the preceding answer I must add, that whoever con-

Σκηπτρον δε ουΐ' οπισω, ουδε προπρηνες, ενωμα,
Αλλ' αμφις εχεσκεν, αϊδρει φωτι εοικως·
φαιης κεν ζακοτον τινα εμμεναι, αφρονα θ' αυτως·
Αλλ' οτε δη ρ' οπα τε μεγαλην εκ στηθεος ιει,
Και επεα, νιφαδεσσιν εοικοτα χειμεριησιν,
Ουκ αν επειτ' Οδυσηϊ 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 Quintilian: "Sed summam adgressus, *(Homerus)* ut in Ulysse, facundiam, "magnitudinem illi junxit; cui orationem nivibus hybernis, et "copiâ verborum, atque impetu, parem tribuit. Cum hoc igitur "nemo mortalium contendet."—Quintil. xii. C. 10.

siders

siders the power of imagination, will find that reply by no means exact. Although, when we can coolly reflect, we are acquainted with the event, yet the true poet, by interesting our passions, chains us down to the present moment, and prevents our seeing any thing beyond it. When I read the tragedy of Iphigenia for the twentieth time, I know Iphigenia will not be sacrificed; but the struggles of Agamemnon, the rage of Achilles, the despair of Clytemnestra, make me ignorant, and tremblingly anxious for the event.

Let us now hear Mr. Hurd, who, employing the particular example of the Æneid, justifies this common method from two reasons. 1. The nature of an epic poem; and, 2. The state and expectation of the reader.

1. The nature of an epic poem obliges the poet to relate, at full length, every event he himself relates. Now, the destruction of Troy, related in this manner, must have taken up several books. By that time it would have taken such hold of the imagination of the reader, that the remainder of the poem would have appeared little more than an appendix to it. The conclusion is certain; but on what is the principle founded? upon an assertion advanced without the least proof. I should rather think, that, as an epic poem must preserve an unity of hero, and of action, every event, instead of being related at full length, need only occupy a space proportionate with its importance and degree of connexion with the principal subject. This is at least the rule of history; and if poetry should only

only deviate from it, for the sake of making the fable one, connected, marvellous, heroic, and answering to our notions of justice,* I do not see how the poet is dispensed from it in this instance. If from reason we go to authority, does not Virgil himself dispatch in sixty lines, the state of Italy at the arrival of the Trojans, with the ancestors, history, and character of Latinus?

Æneid. L. vii. v. 45—105.

2. I do not see any material difference between this and the last argument. To find any, I must suppose Mr. Hurd means that, had Virgil begun the poem with the taking of Troy, that story, however concisely told, would have engrossed too much of the reader's attention. I believe it would; but no rule can be founded upon this particular instance, where the preliminaries of the poem happen to be incomparably more important than the subject matter of it. When a poet finds himself under such a difficulty, I think the common method may be very serviceable to him.

I flatter myself I have now proved this rule never essential to the epopœa, and in general hurtful to it. But has it no advantages? The only one I can discover is, that making the hero tell part of his own story, gives the poem a more varied, and dramatic air, brings the reader more familiarly acquainted with the chief personages, and furnishes the writer with unaffected strokes, rather indeed of

* 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.

manners

manners and of character than of passion. To these ends it may be serviceable. Let it however be remembered, that the poet who has obtained them the most completely, has done it, in one of his poems, without the assistance of this method.

Mr. Hurd, though a very rational admirer of antiquity, looks upon the chorus as essentially necessary to tragedy, and blames the moderns for having rejected it. The subject is curious, and, I think, has never been well considered; but, as such a discussion would lead me too far, I shall defer it till another opportunity, and only report here the substance of Mr. Hurd's commentary.

The chorus, rejected by us notwithstanding the authority of Aristotle and Horace, joined to the example of the ancient tragedians, and of our own Milton and Racine, has many advantages to recommend it. The principal are, 1. The chorus interposing in the action, and bearing a part of it, gives it an air of probability, and real life, and fills up that vacuity which is so sensibly felt upon the modern stage. 2. The chorus is as useful to the ethics, as to the poetry of the stage. It is a perpetual moral commentary upon the drama, enforcing every virtuous sentiment, rectifying every vicious one; and pointing out the important lessons which may be drawn from the catastrophe. Nor can it be said that the audience do not want this assistance. A sharp-sighted Athenian audience, even with the help of the chorus, could not distinguish between the real sentiments of Euripides and those he was obliged to suit to his characters. These uses of the

Vol. i. p. 116—119.

chorus

chorus naturally ascertain its laws. 1. Its songs must be animated with a spirit of virtue and morality; and 2. Their subject matter must be relative to and connected with the plot of the play and the actual situation of the personages. The Greek tragedians, who invented the chorus, have scarce ever deviated from the spirit of it. But Seneca, who seems to have endeavoured by his faults to illustrate the admonitions of Horace, has often mistaken it in the grossest manner. Mr. Hurd selects his Hippolitus, one of his best plays, and examines it act by act upon these principles. Every where his chorus bears a most idle and uninteresting part. The example of the third act, which contains the false accusation of Hippolitus, and the too easy deception of Theseus, may suffice. What had the chorus to do here, but to warn against the too great credulity, and to commiserate the case of the deluded father? Yet it declaims in general upon the unequal distribution of good and ill. Mr. Hurd traces the source of these blunders to an injudicious imitation of some passages of Euripides, without any attention to character or situation.

Vol. i. p. 120 —127.

The second law of the chorus is without exception; but several things may be said to explain or modify the first. 1. The use of modern sentences is not only necessary, but peculiar to the chorus. That is their proper place; if they were frequently put into the mouths of the speakers, it would only give the drama an air of stiffness and pedantry, very opposite to real life. If the Greeks (especially Euripides) have acted otherwise, they were only to be

be justified from the manners of their age. That age was peculiarly addicted to moral sentences, from a singular mixture of simplicity and refinement. Their simplicity inspired them, as it does always, with a spirit of moralizing, expressed in short proverbial sentences: at the same time, moral philosophy was never more universal, and even fashionable. Both these causes operating upon the manners and conversation of the Greeks, could allow the poet, without offending against probability, to extend those maxims to the personages of the drama which succeeding times should confine to the chorus. Accius and Pacuvius indeed, and after them Seneca, injudiciously copied the Greeks in this instance; though writing to a nation whose manners were very different. 2. Though the chorus should always take the side of morality, it must not be so much that of a pure, philosophical morality, as of the popular system of ethics of that age and country. This restriction will be a reply to many cavils. We are shocked in the Medea, when we see a virtuous chorus not only conceal, but even abet the cruel designs of that princess against her husband, her rival, and the tyrant Creon; designs most justly repugnant to the purer lights of modern religion and philosophy: but we must consider that, in the Pagan world, the severest revenge for such injuries as the violation of the marriage-bed, so far from being a crime, was almost an act of duty; and that since positive laws allowed it to the husband, a chorus of women might very well think no natural law for-

Vol. i. p. 155 —163.

Vol. i. p. 131 —139.

bade it to the wife. 3. Great allowance must be made for bad politics, as well as bad ethics: a chorus of free citizens will be virtuous and independent; but should they (as in the Antigone) be composed of the servile ministers of a tyrant, their words, and even their thoughts, will be slavish, and the will of their masters, their only rule of right and wrong; their depravity will be the fault of the subject, not of the poet. Nay this depravity will convey a fine moral lesson of the baleful influence of arbitrary power.

Vol. i. p. 127—131.

Mr. Hurd thinks the verses from 202—220, which are generally considered as a censure on the corruption of the modern music, are in fact an encomium on its improvement; couched under an irony, by which he sneers at the too great austerity of those who blamed it without a sufficient attention to the alteration of manners, and the mixed company a public assembly is made up of.

The account our commentator gives of the Satyrs, Mimes, and Attellanes, is as curious as it is new. I shall only report the substance. 1. The attellanes were originally a Roman entertainment; so called from Attella, a town of the Osci, in Campania; for which reason, both the language and characters were Oscan; and the introduction of an old provincial dialect was a source of pleasantry very apposite to the unpolished taste of those ages. 2. In the seventh century of Rome, Pomponius began to write Latin attellanes; preserving however an antique cast of expression. This reformation, and a more moral turn which he gave his attellanes, procured

procured him the name of inventor of them; and the honour of being imitated by the dictator Sylla. 3. Soon after, and before Horace wrote, the Oscan characters, now become absurd, had disappeared, and made way for the Greek satyrs. 4. Horace finding this entertainment established, and even necessary for the populace of Rome, undertook to regulate it, and to substitute to the gross ribaldry of the attellanes, the poignant wit of the Greek satyrs. 5. If it is asked, in what that wit consisted, it may be answered, principally in the double character of the satyrs themselves, who, though rustic and grotesque personages, were supposed in ancient mythology to be great masters of civil and moral wisdom: but should Horace be censured, as he has been, for preferring these attellanes to the elegant mimes of Laberius, it may be replied, that we rate too high the merit of these mimes. Cicero despised them, and the best ancients represent them as a confused medley of comic drollery, on a variety of subjects, without any order or design; delivered by one actor, and heightened with all the licence of obscene gesticulation.

This inelegancy (to pass to another remark of Mr. Hurd) was the general character of ancient wit, which consisted rather in a rude illiberal satire, than in a just and temperate ridicule, restrained within the bounds of decency and good manners: Cicero and Horace themselves, though masters of every other part of elegant composition, joke with a very ill-grace. A favourite topic of ancient raillery was corporal defects; a decisive proof of

Vol. i. p. 165—184.

the coarseness of their humour; and this practice was recommended by rule, and enforced by the authority of their greatest masters. After this we must not be surprised if they preferred those authors whose wit was like their own, rough and coarse: Plautus to Terence, Aristophanes to Menander. We must follow Mr. Hurd for a few moments into his inquiry into the causes of this defect. 1. The free and popular governments of antiquity. These, by setting all the citizens on a level, took off those restraints of civility which arise from a fear of displeasing; and which can alone curb the licentiousness of ridicule. The only court to be paid was from the orators to the people. These were to be entertained with the coarse banter proper to please them; and, design passing into habit, these orators, and after them the nation, accustomed themselves to it at all times. The old comedy was therefore an excellent school for an orator, and always recommended as such: but when arbitrary power had moulded the Roman manners to more obsequiousness and decency, Terence and Menander began to receive a deserved applause; though even then, ancient wit was never thoroughly refined; for, 2. The old festal entertainments still subsisted, the Panathenæa and Dionysiæ of the Greeks, the Bacchanalia and Saturnalia of the Romans; and preserved always an image, as well of the frank libertine wit of their old stage, as of the original equality and independency of their old times. Upon this subject I agree with Mr. Hurd; but I think this influence of government

Cic. de Orator. L. xi. C. 59 and 66.

ment upon the manners and literature of a nation, might be the subject of a very original inquiry. I have a good many ideas myself, though, as the Abbé Trublet calls it, "*Je n'ai pas achevé de les penser.*"

Upon v. 404, Mr. Hurd explains his author differently from his predecessors. They extended that encomium to all poetry, which Horace meant only for the lyric. In fact it is only adequate to that species which is besides so particularly pointed out by "*Musa lyræ solers, et cantor Apollo.*" This is a delicate stroke of Horace, after his panegyric upon dramatic poetry, to shew the lyric had also its merit, and to prevent the Pisos from despising the choice he had made. Vol. i. p. 234—237.

These are the principal notes upon the Art of Poetry. On the Epistle to Augustus, I find but two worthy much notice.

The first is the explanation of a magnificent allegory, which opens the third Georgic. Virgil, after apologizing for the meanness of his subject, breaks away, with a poetical enthusiasm, to foretel his successes in the future great work of the Æneid. He shadows it under the idea of a triumph, in which he is to lead captive all the Grecian muses: the monument of the triumph is to be the usual one, a temple consecrated by games and sacrifices, and every ornament of which alluded to the tutelary divinity Augustus. Thus, under the popular authorized veil of the apotheosis of that prince, he lets us at once into the whole secret of his plan. This explanation is exquisitely fine; Vol. ii. p. 30—50. but

but if my memory is good, the P. Catrou had started it before Mr. Hurd.

2dly, The other remark is to explode a practice, familiar to Ovid, and not unknown to more correct writers; that of coupling two substantives to a verb which does not strictly govern both, or which at least must be taken in two different significations. He proves very copiously, against the Professor d'Orville, that such a practice breaks the natural connexion of our ideas, and turns the attention of the reader from the subject, to a discovery and admiration of the art of the writer. He therefore pronounces it unworthy of serious poetry.

Vol. ii. p. 61—75.

As yet I have only spoken of Mr. Hurd's notes. His discourse upon the several provinces of the drama is a truly critical performance; I may even say, a truly philosophical one. From simple definitions of each species, he deduces a very extensive theory. To touch the heart by an interesting story, is the end of tragedy; to please our curiosity, and perhaps our malignity, by a faithful representation of manners, is the purpose of comedy. To excite laughter is the sole, and contemptible aim of farce.

Vol. i. p. 247—308.

These inquiries are delicate; sometimes we think we are reasoning upon things, when in fact we are only cavilling about words. It is more especially so with regard to those ideas which do not represent substances, but only modes of thinking, and moral combinations. There we can be only guided by practice and experience. They are out of the province

province of reason. If Plautus and Aristophanes have given the name of comedy to a species of entertainment of which the essence was ridicule, they had a right to do it. If their successors Terence and Menander have given the same name to their more serious drama, we must either prove these definitions not incompatible, or give some other appellation to the object of the last. All that reason can do upon this head is, dropping names, to investigate the sources of our pleasures, to class them, and to see how far they agree, or interfere, with each other.

It is very natural that the contemplation of human life should be the favourite amusement of man. It is his easiest, and yet least mortifying, method of studying himself. This contemplation can be only considered in two different lights, manners and actions. We must allow, though we cannot explain it, that our humanity makes us hurt and yet pleased with the misfortunes of our fellow creatures; and that the recital of a story, terrible or pathetic, rouses every faculty in the human heart. On the other hand, daily experience convinces us that our reflections and conversations never turn upon any subject so often, and with so much pleasure, as the various characters of mankind. It is to give us these pleasures, less strongly perhaps, but through the means of fiction, more completely, that two entertainments have been invented, to the first of which we may hypothetically give the name of tragedy; and to the second, that of comedy. The laws of each species are to be de-

duced from their ends: but in following Mr. Hurd, I shall only mention those particular to what we have just now called comedy.

The first law of comedy must relate to the choice of character. They must be mixed ones. Human nature never deals in manners perfectly good or completely bad: but the poet is not confined to those characters only which excite contempt and ridicule; virtuous, amiable persons, who inspire us with sentiments of love and approbation, may be properly introduced, since all probable domestic manners lie within the province of comedy. These characters will not indeed occur so often as those of another kind, not only because they are less frequent in real life, but because they admit of less variety. For reason and virtue pursue a steady uniform course, while the extravagant wanderings of vice and folly are infinite: however, when properly brought upon the stage, they will occasion more pleasing sensations there than in society; whereas the ridicule of a scenical character is much weaker than that of a real one: perhaps our malignity may furnish a reason for this difference. 2dly, Another rule of comedy relates to the management of characters; they are to be displayed in a natural manner, and, as much as may be, the personages are to give their own characters; but that by undesigned actions or expressions, by which they lay themselves open without knowing it. Nor is that character always to appear, since it cannot always exist, but as the ruling passion is modified by others, or called forth by circumstances.

circumstances. A contrary method, though too common, is turning a man into a single passion; a man, such as nature never made, since those who are the most under the dominion of a ruling passion, act and talk, upon many occasions, like the rest of mankind. Actions are the province of tragedy, and manners that of comedy; this forms their distinctive difference. However, they cannot avoid running a good deal into each other. Without manners no action can be carried on, since we act according to our passions: nor could it affect us much, since our terror, or our pity, depends chiefly upon our love and hatred. On the other hand, how could manners be represented without a probable series of events, contrived to call them forth in a natural manner? We can only say, therefore, that in tragedy the action is the principal, manners an accessory circumstance; in comedy manners are the principal, action the accessory circumstance. In both the poet must take care that the end be not lost in the means. For this reason the complicated plots of the Spanish writers have been justly laid aside as contrary to the true genius of comedy. It may be worthy of some notice, in speaking of characters, that the most natural ones are comic; many highly so, are unfit for tragedy. Tragedy requires characters, good or bad, but of a power and energy equal to the greatest effects: but many passions, (the passions of weak minds,) such as vanity, can never with truth be raised to that dramatic importance; the actions produced by such passions will be always,

ways, like themselves, puny and insignificant: but the energy of the stronger passions may be softened and reduced to the level of common life. Cruelty and ill-nature may disturb either a family or a nation; besides, there are other passions, the power of which, though great, is vilified by their object. The various species of avarice have produced the most tragic events; but the love of money is of so vile and groveling a nature, that it would degrade the most pathetic tragedy that turned upon it.

This difference of the two species cannot well be disputed: but it has been asked, whether they have not been distinguished by the rank, as well as the character, of the personages; or in other words, whether tragedy is confined to the public and exalted characters of kings and generals, and comedy to the humbler stations of private life? Without any regard to authority, I shall examine this question, mixing indifferently my own reasons and Mr. Hurd's.

As to tragedy, it may indeed be said, that we are the most affected by those misfortunes which might happen to ourselves; and that therefore the distresses of a private family must touch us more nearly than those of a monarch: but to counteract that advantage we may remark, that the story of those whom we are accustomed to look upon with awe and veneration, attaches us in the strongest manner, and awakes our terror and pity much more than the wretchedness of private men. These indeed are popular notions; but the poet's business

ness lies in complying with those notions, not in reforming them. Besides, the misfortunes of the great, though not superior in themselves to those of the multitude, are yet far more important in their consequences, which heighten the distress, by extending the influence of it to the whole community. To these general remarks I may add a particular one, that in the noblest subjects, those founded upon ambition, love of our country, &c. the rank of the personages cannot be too exalted; since upon that depends the greatness of the prize for the one, and of the sacrifices in the other; and consequently great part of the importance of the action and strength of passion.

But cannot comedy admit of monarchs? they have their private life, and may not the ridicules of it be displayed upon the stage? I think not; but I must give my reasons.

1. The first will be taken from the spectators. We love comedy, because it offers to us a faithful representation of what we meet with in life. It must be therefore the life of the most considerable part of the audience, that the poet should represent: but what is that part? The question is easily resolved, by looking through human society, and observing that insensible gradation from the man of quality to that degree immediately above the mechanic and the labourer; every link, from the highest to the lowest, enough connected with the others to have some acquaintance with their manners; and enough improved by education, to laugh at their own follies. These then are the manners a

poet

poet should copy in their different appearances: should he touch those of the prince or peasant, they must either be the same or different. If the same, why go out of the way for them? if different, who will be found to understand or relish them? This is particularly true of the manners of princely life. With those of the lowest we are better acquainted; and the poet may find some archetypes among the spectators: but the grossness of them will disgust every one whom he can desire to please.

2. But are the manners of princes different from those of their subjects? are there any qualities peculiarly royal? I know but one; that is, the thinking that there are such: in other words, I mean a fondness for flattery. That ridicule can, I confess, be no where so well represented as on the throne; since those will always receive, and love, the most extravagant adulation, who have it most in their power to reward and punish: but still I think it a better subject for satire than comedy. It would be difficult to put in action the follies of a monarch; the great theatrical resource is, the opposition and contrast of characters that display each other. The severity of Demea, and the easiness of Micio, throw a light upon one another. Should we be half so well acquainted with the misanthropy of Alceste, were it not for the fashionable, complaisant character of Philinte? But the poet would be almost destitute of this resource, if he laid his scene in courts, which offer one uniform set of manners moulded upon the example of the prince. What contrast could be found to set off

off *his* character? None; since such a contrast supposes freedom and equality. This I take to be the true reason; not merely that politeness which in high life obliges even equals to conceal from each other their real characters. This is rather an advantage: we pursue with pleasure the various arts of concealment which it inspires, and when, as it must often happen, chance, familiarity, passion, interest, throw it off its guard, and display the man in his true colours, the long constraint gives them a new vivacity, and the discovery gives a higher relish to our entertainment.

3. But the most important objection to these characters still remains. They can have no private life. They have doubtless many things ridiculous and insignificant in themselves, hardly any thing that is so in its consequences. Every action of theirs is important by the influence it has upon the community; and if we paint their follies, those follies, rendered vices by their tragical effects, would in themselves excite contempt and indignation for their consequences; and, as the first of these passions is as repugnant to tragedy, as the second is improper for comedy, could produce only a very motley and disagreeable composition. Therefore, when M. de Fontenelle asks, whether Augustus, in his last sickness, surrounded by aruspices, who promise him a speedy recovery; by Parthian ambassadors, who restore to him standards about which he is totally indifferent; fawned upon by Livia, who is impatient for his death; whether all this would not make as good a comedy as the

Malade

Malade Imaginaire; the answer will not be difficult: No. Because the follies and weaknesses of the last, as they are innocent, divert us; while the fawning of Livia, and her power over her husband, fill us with horror and indignation; when we reflect that, by setting Tiberius on the throne, they made the world unhappy for three-and-twenty years, and finished the ruin of the liberty and nobility of the republic.

The practice of M. de Fontenelle, though very happy, is rather a confirmation of this theory. In his comedies he endeavours to reconcile us to those great personages, but he is continually reduced to shifts of lowering our idea of their importance, and divesting them of their power and majesty, before he can make them real comic characters. His common expedients are, making them of mean extraction, though raised to the throne; not putting them in possession of the crown till the end of the play; and laying his scene in Greece, in order to fill their court with simple citizens instead of with nobles.

I cannot help thinking that farce (the third species of Mr. Hurd's) is rather a corruption, than a distinct species of comedy. Is not his own definition a proof of this? That, as comedy is a faithful, so farce is an exaggerated picture of human life: if they are distinct, there is little occasion to fear any encroachments into the province of comedy from farce: but many comic writers, to please the corrupt taste of the multitude, have descended to all the extravagance of farce. There is another

subject,

subject, which farce has preserved from the old comedy. This is the painting personal, individual characters: but that practice, seldom followed, and never authorized upon the modern stage, rather deserves the animadversion of the magistrate than of the critic. As to follies, not confined to a man, but to an age or country, I think Mr. Hurd too severe in banishing them into farce: he seems sensible of it himself; and, in the instance of the Alchemist, attempts to soften his sentence by a distinction rather chimerical.

I have, though without design, already so much extended this extract, that I shall abridge the other discourse of Mr. Hurd far more than its merit would otherwise justify. The subject of it is extremely curious; poetical imitation examined upon very original principles; a question in which the reputation of all the great writers since Homer is vitally concerned. It is thus stated by Mr. Hurd: "Whether that conformity of phrase or sentiment between two writers of different times which we call *imitation* may not, with probability enough, for the most part, be accounted for from general causes arising from our common nature; that is, from the exercise of our natural faculties upon such objects as lie common to all observers." Vol. ii. p. 105—207.

It has often been observed, with truth, that as our capacities are narrow, and the materials of observation the same to all men; it is impossible that in so great a number of those who have thought, and published their thoughts, some should not have coincided in the same opinions, without any knowledge

ledge of each other. I believe that I may appeal to every man of letters, whether sometimes he has not met with things in books, which he had observed before he had ever seen those books; and things too of an uncommon and particular nature. Even in those sublimer mathematics, so different by their evidence and universality from our other speculations, the same discoveries have been made by different men, who seem rather to have coincided with, than to have followed each other. Is not that the decision of the moderate part of mankind upon the celebrated dispute of Sir Isaac Newton and Leibnitz, in the beginning of this century? If this is the case in those general abstracted branches, which contain such amazing combinations of ideas, it is surely probable that in works of imagination, which contain much fewer, this ought oftener to happen. Besides, the most original poetry is in fact imitation, imitation of nature; and in those images which are confessedly natural, it seems difficult to say why two men of genius may not have seen them without any previous knowledge of each other. From these reasons, the candid critic will readily allow that there may be similitude without imitation.

V. Fontenelle in the Eloge of Leibnitz, tom. v. p. 520—531.

But a slight glance on the history of the sciences, and a few reflections on mankind, will reduce this candour within its due limits. Let us remember that, 1. Since the time of Homer, who perhaps was without models to imitate, that author has been introduced into the earliest part of our education; that succeeding times added to his lessons those of the

the other Greeks; that the Romans studied them with care; and that, since the revival of letters, we are made acquainted, as soon as possible, with the Greeks and Latins. That those impressions, engraved on our minds before we reflect, afterwards grow up with us; and when we look abroad into the moral and natural world, which these companions often prevent us from doing, we see it only with the eyes of the ancients. Authority, founded on reason, would oblige us to act in this way. The ancient compositions have stood the test of time and examination; and the veneration that is paid to them, is enough to engage a modern to endeavour to associate himself to it, by transfusing into his own writings the spirit, the thoughts, and even the expressions, of these admired models: and, 2. Inclination will direct him to the imitation of some particular model; of some writer whose soul is most congenial to his own, and whom he can read with the greatest delight, and imitate with the most ease. These reasons bring us back to our first suspicion, that where there is a striking similitude, there is imitation; since where there are two ways of accomplishing it, it is natural to prefer the easiest, especially when it is confessedly very common.

Mr. Hurd found it necessary to go further, if he intended to clear his authors from the charge of imitation; accordingly he endeavours to prove, by a very elaborate deduction, that both the ideas, and the methods, employed by the ancients, were not only *natural ones*, but the *sole natural ones;*

so that if succeeding poets, endued with judgment, looked abroad into nature, they not only *might*, but *must* meet with them; while men of irregular fancies could avoid *them only* by avoiding truth and probability. This theory accounts for resemblances of works, by resemblances of things; and forbids any suspicion of imitation, unless we are guided to it by particular circumstances. In a matter of such vast extent, it is as difficult to refute as to prove. There would indeed be a very short method of overthrowing at once Mr. Hurd's doctrine; could I write a work of imagination, full of beauties, formed on the model of nature, and yet different from those of the ancients, I should then demonstrate that they have not exhausted it: but such a confutation is far beyond my power. Without aspiring to genius, I shall think myself very happy, if I can frame my opinions according to the dictates of good sense.

If we examine this question *à posteriori*, from practice and experience of what *has* been done, though we shall meet with nothing very decisive, I think, however, that the advantage will not be on Mr. Hurd's side: he will, indeed, quote many striking similarities of this kind, from writers who could have had no knowledge of one another; but he will be answered, 1. That such writers can hardly be found; that the sacred writings should not be mentioned, nor compared, with Homer; since we are talking of human, not divine compositions; and that Shakespeare, the modern who appears

appears freest from exception, though ignorant himself, lived in a learned age. 2. That *their* example can only be quoted against those who think every similarity *must* be an imitation, without any regard to the circumstances of the writers. That, as such a coincidence is possible, we must employ it to explain a phænomenon for which we could not otherwise account; but that when the more easy and probable one may be recurred to, we ought to employ it. On the other hand, an antagonist of Mr. Hurd's would have occasion for no great compass of reading to discover, in the most modern writers, many original images and sentiments. He would select them, particularly, from those very writers, who, from an apprehension that every thing had been already said, had cramped their natural genius, by an open, perpetual imitation of the ancients; and he would infer, with some plausibility, that had they written from their own natural feelings and observations, they would have been still more original. He would desire Mr. Hurd to reconcile this with his principles, and even press him for a precise answer, at what period of the history of letters the scene had been closed, nature exhausted, and succeeding writers reduced to the hope of imitating successfully. Wherever he chose to fix it, the critic would bring against him so many later original images, that the resource of disputing their claim, and hunting for some distant allusion, or general resemblance, would be hardly sufficient.

Without following minutely our author through

his copious deductions *à priori*, in which he has certainly shewn great learning and ingenuity, I shall only make two or three general observations, which may give an idea, both of his method of reasoning, and of my objections to it.

He enters upon a task, in my opinion, far above human abilities. To examine the origin of our ideas is the business of metaphysics, and the greatest philosophers have failed in the attempt. But it is perhaps still more difficult to embrace them all at one view, and to class them according to their different objects, in so accurate a manner as to assure ourselves that we have suffered no material species to escape. This is, however, what Mr. Hurd undertakes. He makes three divisions of the world of ideas which can enter into poetry. 1. The vast compages of corporeal forms of which this universe is compounded. 2. The internal workings and movements of our own mind; under which the manners, sentiments, and passions are comprehended. 3. The outward operations, which are made objective to sense by the means of speech, gesture, and action. These are again by him subdivided with an exactness in which I shall not pursue him. I shall only remark, 1. That his smallest species are yet too general to prove any thing. That Milton, for instance, must, like Homer, have made use of moral, religious, and economical sentiments, and could not invent any new species, I shall readily allow; nor is it upon such general resemblances that a charge of imitation is ever founded. It is upon more particular similarities,

similarities, where Mr. Hurd can never attain to shew that *those* ideas were the *only ones*. The only method Mr. Hurd can there follow, is a sort of vicious reasoning in a circle; to look for the images upon every subject he can meet with in the oldest authors, and then to conclude that they are the only ones existing.

2. Even supposing that he had exhausted the whole stock of nature, and had shewn that every image, singly, had been so obvious as to be seen and employed by the first writers, a much larger field would still remain; their different combinations, which are infinite. With regard only to human manners, the great sources of character, passion, and situation, may be combined in such a variety of ways, as no algebra could reach. Let us, for a moment, abandon fiction, and enter into historic truth. Consult the annals of any nation; observe the various effects of the modifications of those three principles upon their history, and then say whether the operations of human nature are easily classed, or circumscribed.

3. This consideration of the shifting picture of mankind, as an illustration, leads us to consider it in itself. We shall find it a most extensive and infinite range of ideas, almost sufficient of itself to preserve genius from imitation; since to the writers of every age and country it appears in a different shape. It is the manners, the government, the religion, of that age and country he is to study; and whether the nature of his subject allows him to introduce them at full length; whether he can

only adorn his works with distant allusions to them; whether he can only catch the general spirit of them, they will always make him an original. I shall quote one instance of what I mean, and that from an authority Mr. Hurd will hardly dispute. When Milton conceived the glorious plan of an English epic, he soon saw the most striking subjects had been taken from him; that Homer had taken all morality for his province, and Virgil exhausted the subject of politics. Religion remained; but as Paganism, though it furnished very agreeable scenes of machinery, took too slight a hold on men's minds to build the story of the epopœa upon it, he had recourse to Christianity; and, taking his story from an article of our faith, struck out a new species of epic poetry; but he could never have done it, had not the manners of that age, attached to religion in general, and to that tenet in particular, warmed his imagination, and given it a dignity and importance, which he could never have transfused into his poem, if he had not first felt it himself. Nor is this observation repugnant to another I have made elsewhere,—that the manners of the ancients were more favourable to poetry than ours. I think so still, of their manners, as well as their languages. Yet I would have our poets employ our own, not only for the sake of variety, but because we shall make the best use of those with which we are the most intimately acquainted.

Warburton's Divine Legation.

Essai sur l'Etude de la Littérature, p. 19.

From these observations I must decline subscribing to Mr. Hurd's theory, or circumscribing the poet's

poet's images within such narrow limits. It is, however, without running into the other extreme, or condemning every resemblance as a designed formal imitation. I take the exact difference between Mr. Hurd and myself to be this: I look upon imitation to be the most natural, and general, cause of any striking resemblance between two writers; and therefore assign it, without particular reasons to the contrary. Mr. Hurd, on the other hand, thinks it may generally be accounted for by a resemblance of mental operations; and therefore never suspects an imitation, without particular circumstances which lead to the detection of it.

He employs another discourse with a review of these circumstances; but as every one is accompanied with examples taken from the ancients and moderns, and criticised with great taste, I can only reduce the great number he alleges to three, drawn from the different lights in which we may consider every resemblance, and fix the probability of its happening, by chance, or by design. 1. How close is the resemblance? Is the thought exactly the same? Is it introduced upon the same occasion? Is it expressed in the same manner, the same words, or words nearly the same? Is it a short passage, or one of a considerable length? 2. What degree of acquaintance can the second poet be supposed to have had with the first? Did he live in a learned, or an ignorant age? Was he himself a man of letters, or without education? Did he affect the fame of originality, or did he

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modestly profess a desire and habit of imitating the ancients? Was the first author an acknowledged favourite of his? 3. What appearance is there that the idea should have naturally struck the second? Was it common, or particular; did it agree with the style and design of his work; with his own character; with the real appearance of nature; with the manners and opinions of his age, country, and profession; or at least with those he describes? Is it introduced in a general unaffected manner, or brought in without any occasion, and clothed in uncommon, obsolete language? Mr. Hurd thinks these circumsances, all or some, necessary to form a suspicion: I allow they are very useful to confirm one.

I have at last finished Mr. Hurd's performance. I reckoned upon six or seven pages; I am now writing the thirtieth. Another time I hope to confine my extracts within proper limits.

Blandford, 18th March, 1762.

NOMINA,

NOMINA, GENTESQUE

ANTIQUÆ ITALIÆ.

INTRODUCTION.

From the several passages in the *Extracts from Mr.* Gibbon's *Journal of his Studies*, it appears that previously to his Tour through Italy, he had endeavoured to make himself a complete master of its geographical and classical antiquities; and, with that view, had attentively perused the *Italia Antiqua et Sicilia Antiqua* of Cluvierus. The following pages seem to contain regular minutes, made by him in this course of his reading.

He begins with observations on the ancient appellations and inhabitants of Italy; its divisions, air, and soil; and on the Apennines. Then, crossing the Po, into the Cisalpine Gaul, he proceeds to Liguria, its western division, and thence descends through Etruria, Rome, Latium, Campania, and Lucania, to Brutium, the southernmost point of the part of Italy which borders on the Tuscan Sea. Then crossing into Calabria, the southernmost point on the opposite shore, he ascends through

through Apulia, Samnium, Picenum, Umbria, Æmilia, and Flaminia, to Istria and Venetia, the eastern division of the Cisalpine Gaul. That completes the literary tour: and he closes it with some general observations on the number and construction of the public roads in Italy.

NOMINA,

NOMINA, GENTESQUE ANTIQUÆ ITALIÆ.

Sect. I.

NOMINA.

On sait que l'Italie s'appelloit aussi Oenotria, Saturnia, Ausonia, Hesperia, &c. et que le nom d'une tribu particulière devenoit souvent générique par les conquêtes ou le commerce. Les grammairiens anciens et les critiques modernes ont vainement tenté de percer les ténèbres de ces origines, et de trouver dans le Latin, le Grec, le Phénicien, ou le Celtique, des étymologies raisonnables pour des mots que le caprice et le hasard ont peut-être dictés à des peuples qui parloient des langues dont nous connoissons à peine les noms, l'Etrusque, l'Osque, et le Sabine. L'Hespérie seule exprime une idée connue et avérée. Les navigateurs Grecs donnoient toujours ce nom au pays le plus occidental qu'ils connoissoient; d'abord à l'Italie, ensuite à l'Espagne, et enfin aux îles Canaries, et peut-être à l'Amérique.

GEN-

GENTES.

V. Hist. de l'Académie des Belles Lettres, tom. xviii. p. 72—114.

J'EXPOSERAI le système du savant Freret sur la population de l'Italie. Je sens qu'il peut avoir ses endroits foibles, mais en général il me paroît simple, lumineux, et fondé sur les grands principes. Il suppose, 1. Que les premières peuplades se sont faites par terre. 2. Que ces peuples Nomades, peu attachés à leurs terres, cédoient sans peine aux nouvelles migrations, et qu'ainsi c'est à l'extrémité méridionale de l'Italie qu'il faut chercher ses premiers habitans. 3. Que l'Italie, entourée de hautes montagnes, doit avoir reçu ses premiers peuples par les gorges où elles sont les moins difficiles à franchir pour des sauvages, à qui de pareils obstacles devoient être très importans. Voici les colonies :

I. *Colonies Illyriennes.* Ces nations qui n'étoient séparées de l'Italie que par la partie la moins élevée des Alpes y passèrent bientôt. Il y avoit trois nations Illyriennes, 1. Les Liburni ; 2. Les Siculi ; et 3. Les Veneti. Les Liburni occupèrent enfin toute la côte orientale depuis Mont Garganus jusqu'au pays des Salentins. Ils étoient distingués en trois tribus. 1. Les Apuli ; 2. Les Calabri ; et 3. Les Peucetii ou Pædiculi. On voit par Strabon qu'elles avoient une langue commune, et par Pline que les Peucetii étoient d'origine Illyrienne. Il paroît que les Peligni et les Prætutii avoient aussi une origine Liburnienne. 2. Les Siculi s'établirent sur la côte occidentale. Il paroît que ce nom générique, aussi bien que ceux de Osci ou Opiques

N.B. Je ne vois point la preuve que les Siculi étoient d'origine Illyrienne.

Opiques et d'Ausones, comprenoient tous les peuples depuis le Tibre. On peut se contenter de cette idée générale, sans vouloir démêler la confusion qui règne dans les auteurs à l'égard des petites guerres et des migrations de leurs tribus particulières, dont il se forma enfin les cités des Latins, des Sabins, des Samnites, &c. Une tribu qui n'est connue que par le nom générique de *Siculi* le porta en Sicile 80 ans avant la guerre de Troye, 1364 ans avant J. C. selon la chronologie d'Hérodote et de Thucydide. 3. Les Heneti ou Veneti conservèrent toujours leur pays. Ils devinrent bientôt les alliés des Romains contre leurs ennemis communs les Gaulois, dont Polybe les a bien su distinguer par la langue. Ils n'étoient point Celtes; encore moins étoient ils Paphlagoniens.

II. *Les Colonies Ibériennes.* Ces peuples n'étoient point renfermés dans les limites de l'Espagne. Ils occupoient un territoire très étendu entre les Pyrennées et les Alpes, et ce fut en se répandant de proche en proche le long des côtes qu'ils franchirent à la fin les Alpes maritimes pour passer en Italie, qu'ils parcoururent plutôt qu'ils ne s'y établirent. Dans leur marche un détachement Ibérien passa du promontoire Populonium dans la Corse où ses mœurs et sa langue, malgré tant de mélanges, se conservèrent jusqu'au tems de Senèque qui sut les distinguer de celles des Grecs et des Liguriens. Une autre tribu Ibérienne, *(les Sicani,)* poussée peu à peu jusqu'au promontoire de Rhegium, passa en Sicile et se fixa dans la partie occidentale de l'île où les *Siculi* les trouvèrent. Cette circon-

circonstance feroit croire que leur migration en Italie a dû avoir lieu près de 1500 ans avant J. C. Ne seroit-elle pas par hasard le voyage d'Hercule avec les bœufs de Geryon? Les uns et les autres traînent avec eux des troupeaux nombreux, seules richesses d'un peuple pasteur; ils partent du même point, suivent la même route, surmontent les mêmes obstacles que leur opposoient les nations de la Ligurie et du Latium, s'arrêtent au même terme, le pays d'Eryx, où ils fondent une colonie après avoir vaincu les naturels du pays. Ces conformités sont grandes, et je ne les ai point choisies.

III. *Les colonies Celtiques.* Les *Umbri*, *Ambra*, ou *Ambrones*, étoient d'origine Gauloise selon le témoignage de Bocchus, et l'on sait l'aventure des Liguriens de l'armée de Marius qui reconnurent pour leurs parens une tribu Helvétienne de leurs ennemis à leur cri commun d'*Ambrones*. Ces colonies peuplèrent une grande partie de l'Italie depuis les Alpes et l'Addua jusqu'au Tibre et au Nar. Mais l'invasion des Toscans leur enleva la meilleure partie de leurs établissemens, et sépara les cités qui prirent le nom de *Ligures* d'avec celles qui conservèrent celui d'*Umbri*. Je vois que l'Abbé Langlet de Fresnoy place cette migration dans les tems les plus reculés, à l'an 1912 avant J. C. J'ignore ses raisons, mais je crains qu'elles ne tiennent au roman des Titans du P. Pezron. Il ne faut pas confondre cette migration des Celtes avec celle de Bellovesus vers l'an 600 qui reprit sur les Toscans les pays entre les Alpes et l'Apennin.

IV. *Les colonies Pélasgiques.* Toutes les fables

bles que Denys d'Halicarnasse en a débitées ne sont propres qu'à y répandre des doutes. L'Arcadie, pays méditerrané, qui n'avoit point de vaisseaux à la guerre de Troye, fournit, dix-sept générations auparavant dans le tems qu'elle étoit sauvage, une flotte nombreuse à Oenotrus qui va peupler l'Italie. Rejettons hardiment tous les systêmes, toutes les conjectures, et tous les détails d'un historien qui évite les difficultés et qui dissimule les contradictions dans les siècles réculés où nous voyons à peine la lumière. Etendons notre idée des Pélasges à toutes les nations barbares qui habitoient la Grèce, la Macédoine et l'Epire, et qui ne quittoient ce nom générique qu'à mesure qu'elles entroient dans le corps Hellénique. Quelques-uns de ces peuples passèrent en Italie. En sacrifiant tous les accessoires de cette tradition il en faut conserver le fondement. Je voudrois aussi, malgré M. Freret, conserver la manière de leur migration et croire qu'ils sont venus en Italie par mer. Je reconnois le grand principe de cet auteur. Il est fort étendu, mais s'il étoit universel, verrions-nous des îles très éloignées du continent peuplés d'habitans les plus sauvages? L'ignorance totale de la navigation est aussi rare que son extrême perfection. N'étoit-il pas bien plus facile aux Pélasges de l'Epire de traverser un bras de mer de cinquante milles que d'entreprendre une course immense à travers cent nations féroces de l'Illyrie? Quelques canots auront suffi pour apporter le germe d'une colonie peu nombreuse dans son origine. Aussi les Pélasges ne formèrent jamais en Italie un grand corps de nation; ils se répandirent dans les cités

Sicules, Umbriennes, et Toscanes, dont la langue, les mœurs, et la religion se ressentirent, jusqu'aux derniers tems, du nombre plus ou moins grand de ces étrangers qu'elles avoient reçus.

V. *Les colonies Etrusques.* Selon le père de l'histoire, les Etrusques étoient d'origine Lydienne. Ce peuple avoit une famine dans le pays; il inventa les jeux de dés pour occuper la moitié des citoyens les jours qu'elle ne mangeoit pas. Cet expédient réussit pendant dix-huit ans. Enfin cette moitié s'ennuya du jeu, équipa une flotte nombreuse, et alla s'établir dans l'Etrurie. Faut-il réfuter une pareille fable? Denys d'Halicarnasse s'est donné la peine de faire voir que la langue, les mœurs, et la religion de ces deux peuples éloignés n'avoient aucun rapport. Les Etrusques, dont le nom véritable étoit *Rasena*, n'étoient point Lydiens. On peut soupçonner qu'ils sortoient des montagnes de la Rhétie. Les historiens conviennent qu'ils avoient une ligue commune; et selon l'analogie de ces migrations, les Etrusques paroissent plutôt les descendans que les ancêtres des Rhétiens. On détermine l'époque de leur migration d'une façon assez ingénieuse. La grande année des Etrusques se mesuroit sur la durée de la vie humaine. La première s'étendoit jusqu'à la mort du dernier survivant de tous les enfans nés le jour de la fondation de la colonie. Le jour de cette mort devenoit une nouvelle époque semblable à la première. On sait que leur huitième année finissoit au premier consulat de Sylla avant J. C. 88, et que les sept premières avoient duré 781 ans.

ans. A supposer la huitième égale à la plus longue des autres elle étoit de 123 ans; elle commençoit en 211, et la première époque de la fondation de la colonie a commencé en 992. Les *Rasena* avoient étendu leurs établissemens dans l'Etrurie et la Campanie; mais après les conquêtes des Gaulois et des Samnites, il ne leur restoit que Mantoue, avec Atria sur le Po, et Cupra Maritima dans le Picenum. Les Tyrrhéniens étoient les Pélasges de l'Italie, mais surtout de l'Etrurie, où ils étoient très puissans. Enclavés dans ce pays, unis avec le corps Etrusque, les anciens les ont souvent confondus avec les *Rasena*, dont l'origine étoit si différente. Ils possédoient les quatre cités de Veii, de Falerii, de Tarquinii, et d'Agylla, où leur langue et leur religion se conservèrent jusqu'au siècle d'Auguste. On voit par les anciens monumens qu'on a déterrés dans l'Etrurie, que leurs caractères étoient les mêmes que les Ibériens. Les uns et les autres ressemblent beaucoup aux lettres Samaritaines dont les Phéniciens auront pu répandre l'usage dans les pays occidentaux de l'Europe. Le voyage de Saturne dans le Latium, qui civilisa les sauvages de ces côtes, m'a l'air très Phénicien. Ce peuple commerçant auroit naturellement apporté les arts, l'argent monnoyé, le culte de Moloch, ou Saturne, et les sacrifices humains. Je pense aussi que c'est à cette communication et peut-être à quelques colonies Tyriennes, que les Etrusques ont dû leur politesse, leur goût pour les arts, et la navigation, et ce goût oriental qui se fait sentir dans tous leurs ouvrages; leur divination et leur théologie paroissent seules originales.

Sect. II.

REGIONES, AËR, ET SOLUM ITALIÆ, ET MONS APENNINUS.

Dr. Templeman's Survey.

1. Magnitudo. L'Italie contient 75,576 milles quarrés. Si l'on veut la comparer aux autres pays, elle contient dix fois autant de terrein que le Péloponnèse, la Palestine, ou les Provinces Unies, et elle est d'un tiers plus grande que l'Angleterre, ou la Grèce (y comprise la Macédoine.)

Strab. Geog. l. v. p. 146.

L'Italie a 6000 stades de longueur depuis l'Apennin jusqu'à Tarentum, et environ 1300 de largeur.

Dionys. Hal. Rom. Antiq. l. i. p. 16.

2. Laudes. Denys d'Halicarnasse parle de l'Italie avec une espèce d'enthousiasme. En convenant que quelques pays peuvent l'emporter sur elle à certains égards, il trouve qu'il n'y en a aucun qui réunisse autant tous les avantages. 1. Les champs fertiles de la Campanie portent des moissons trois fois tous les ans. 2. Les pays des Sabins, des Messapiens et des Dauniens produisent les meilleurs olives du monde. 3. Les vignobles de la Toscane, d'Albe et de Falerne produisent des vins exquis avec très peu de culture. 4. Elle abonde en excellens pâturages que nourrissent un nombre infini de bœufs, de chevaux, de moutons, et de chèvres. 5. Les forêts qui croissent sur ses montagnes escarpées fournissent les plus beaux bois de construction; ces forêts sont remplies de gibier, et le sein des montagnes renferme des mines de toutes les espèces. 6. Les rivières navigables réunissent toutes

toutes les parties de l'Italie, et ses eaux minérales offrent partout des soulagemens pour les maux. 7. L'air et le climat sont très tempérés dans toutes les saisons de l'année.

L'Italie paroît faite pour conquérir l'univers. 1. La mer et les montagnes la rendent presqu' inaccessible de toutes parts. 2. Le petit nombre de ports de mer qui s'y trouvent, sont grands et excellens. 3. La variété qui règne dans son climat et dans son terrein en met aussi dans les esprits et dans toutes les productions de la nature. Strab.Geog. l. vi. p. 197.

In toto orbe et quàcunque cœli convexitas vergit, pulcherrima est omnium, rebusque merito principatum naturæ obtinens, Italia, rectrix parensque mundi altera; viris, fœminis, ducibus, militibus, servitiis, artium præstantiâ, ingeniorum claritatibus; jam situ ac salubritate cœli atque temperie, accessû cunctarum gentium facili, litoribus portuosis, benigno ventorum afflatu, (etenim contingit recurrenter positio in partem utilissimam et inter ortus occasusque mediam,) aquarum copiâ, nemorum salubritate, montium articulis, ferorum animalium innocentiâ, soli fertilitate, pabuli ubertate. Quicquid est quo carere vita non debet, nusquam est præstantius. Fruges, vinum, olea, vellera, lina, vestes; ne equos quidem in trigariis præferri ullos vernaculis, animadverto; metallis auri, argenti, æris, ferri, quæ diu exercere libuit, nullis cessit, et nunc iis in se gravida, pro omni dote, varios succos, et frugum pomorumque sapores, fundit. Ab eâ, exceptis Indiæ fabulosis, prox- Plin. Hist. Natur. l. xxxvi. c. 13.

ime quidem duxerim Hispaniam, quàcunque ambi tur mari.

Virg.Georg. l. ii. v. 136.
Sed neque Medorum sylvæ, ditissima terra,
Nec pulcher Ganges, neque auro turbidus Hebrus
Laudibus Italiæ certent, non Bactra neque Indi,
Totaque thuriferis Panchaïa pinguis arenis.

Idem. Georg. l. ii. v. 143.
—— gravidæ fruges, et Bacchi Massicus humor
Implevere: tenent oleæque armentaque læta.
Hinc bellator equus campo sese arduus infert.

Virg Georg. l. ii. 149.
Hic ver assiduum atque alienis mensibus æstas:
Bis gravidæ pecudes, bis pomis utilis arbos.
At rabidæ tigres absunt, et sæva leonum
Semina: nec miseros fallunt aconita legentes:
Nec rapit immensos orbes per humum, neque tanto
Squameus in spiram tractû se colligit anguis.
Adde tot egregias urbes operumque laborem,
Tot congesta manû præruptis oppida saxis,
Fluminaque antiquos subterlabentia muros.
An mare, quod supra, memorem, quodque alluit infra?
Anne lacus tantos?

Idem. l. ii. 165.
Hæc eadem argenti rivos, ærisque metalla
Ostendit venis, atque auro plurimo fluxit.

Plin. Hist. Nat. l. iii. 20. xxxiii. 4.
3. METALLA. Il y a beaucoup de mines en Italie, mais le sénat avoit défendu qu'on les exploitât.

Idem. xiv. 11.
4. VINA. De quatre-vingt sortes que les anciens comptoient de vins célèbres, l'Italie seule en produisoit les deux tiers.

Idem. xviii. 7.
5. FRUMENTUM. Le froment d'Italie l'emportoit sur tous les autres, pour le poids et la blancheur.

Ælian. Var. Hist. l. ix. c. 16. apud Cluvier. Ital. Antiq. l. i. p. 37.
6. URBES. Il y avoit autrefois en Italie (dit Elien) 1197 villes.

7. FORMA.

7. FORMA. Ab Alpibus incipit in altum excedere, atque ut procedit se media perpetuo jugo Apennini attollens montis, inter Adriacum et Tuscum, sive (ut aliter appellantur) inter superum mare et inferum, excurrit diu solida. Verum ubi longe abit in duo cornua, funditur respicitque altero Siculum pelagus, altero Ionium; tota angusta et alicubi multo quam unda cœpit angustior. Pompon. Mela de Situ Orbis, l. ii. c. 4. p. 35. Edit. Vossian.

8. APENINNUS. L'Apennin, après avoir cotoyé la Ligurie, perce dans l'intérieur du pays, et partage l'Italie par sa largeur depuis Pise jusqu'à Ancone et Ariminum. De-là il s'étend au midi et divise ce même pays par sa longueur. Il approche toujours assez de la mer Adriatique jusqu'au territoire des Lucaniens; de-là il s'incline insensiblement du côté de la mer Toscane, et va finir enfin à Leucopetra près de Rhegium. Strab. Geog. l. v. p. 146.

9. REGIONES. Auguste, après avoir étendu l'Italie jusques dans l'Istrie et la Gaule Cisalpine, partagea ce pays en onze régions, savoir, 1. Campania; 2. Lucania et Brutium; 3. Apulia; 4. Samnium; 5. Picenum; 6. Umbria; 7. Etruria; 8. Flaminia; 9. Liguria; 10. Venetia; 11. Transpadana. V. Plin. Hist. Nat. l. iii. 5-19.

Constantin, qui réforma dirai-je, ou qui confondit toutes les anciennes constitutions, fit plusieurs changemens en Italie. 1ment. Il ajouta aux anciennes limites d'Auguste, les trois îles de Sicile, de Sardaigne, et de Corse, et la Rhétie, partagée en deux provinces. 2ment. Il établit trois provinces nouvelles: les Alpes Cottiennes, qui comprenoient ces montagnes proprement dites, et une partie de la Transpadana; le Picenum Suburbicarium, qui

comprenoit la partie méridionale de l'Umbrie; et la Valeria, qui cotoyoit le chemin du même nom et qui détachoit du Samnium la partie septentrionale de cette province. 3ment. Il en supprima deux, la Transpadana qui fut partagée entre les Alpes Cottiennes et l'Emilia, et l'Umbria, dont la partie septentrionale, qui seule conservoit son ancien nom, fut réunie avec la Toscane. Ainsi l'Italie, selon la distribution de Constantin, contenoit dix-sept provinces, savoir, 1. Venetia; 2. Emilia; 3. Liguria; 4. Picenum Anonarium vel Flaminia; 5. Alpes Cottiæ; 6. Rhætia prima; 7. Rhætia secunda; 8. Tuscia et Umbria; 9. Picenum Suburbicarium; 10. Campania; 11. Sicilia; 12. Apulia et Calabria; 13. Lucania et Brutium; 14. Samnium; 15. Valeria; 16. Sardinia; 17. Corsica. 4ment. La division d'Auguste étoit utile seulement aux géographes, ou peut-être aux censeurs. Celle de Constantin étoit une véritable division politique, qui établissoit dans chaque province un gouvernement et des magistrats particuliers. Sept de ces provinces, la Venetia, Emilia, Liguria, Flaminia, Tuscia, Picenum Suburbicarium et Campania, avoient des consulaires pour gouverneurs; trois d'entr'elles n'avoient que des correcteurs, la Sicile, l'Apulia, et la Lucania; les sept autres, les deux Rhéties, les Alpes Cottiennes, le Samnium, la Valérie, et les îles de Sardaigne et de Corse étoient seulement aux ordres d'autant de présidens. 5ment. Le diocèse d'Italie étoit partagée en deux vicariats; celui d'Italie proprement dite, et celui de Rome. Le vicaire d'Italie residoit à Milan et gouvernoit les sept premières provinces,

provinces, qui, après avoir été anciennement hors de l'Italie, s'étoient appropriées ce nom exclusivement. Le vicaire de Rome tenoit sa cour dans cette capitale. Sa juridiction s'étendoit sur les dix autres provinces, qu'on appelloit communément les provinces suburbicaires. 6ment. Comme la police ecclésiastique s'est formée sur celle de l'Empire, l'évêque de Rome n'étoit que métropolitain des provinces suburbicaires depuis Constantin jusqu' à Valentinien III; il n'étoit pas même exarque; pour mériter ce titre il falloit gouverner un diocèse entier; mais il avoit plus d'autorité que les évêques d'Alexandrie et d'Antioche qui l'étoient: comme il n'avoit dans sa juridiction que de simples évêques, c'étoit à lui seul à leur donner l'ordination et à décider des élections litigées.

Pour cet article, V. Notit. Utriusq; Imper. cum Comm. Pancirol. L'Hist. Civ. de Naples par Giannone, tom. i. p. 96—101, et 162—167, et Berg. Grand Chemins, tom. i. p. 464.

Fines. Du côté du midi, les bornes ont toujours été déterminés par la nature. Sur la mer Adriatique, elle eut pour bornes successivement, les rivières *Arsis*, *Rubico*, Formio et Arsia, et sur la méditerranée *l'Arnus* et ensuite le *Varus*. Depuis que la Gaule Cisalpine y a été comprise, elle s'est toujours étendue jusqu'au sommet des Alpes.

Cluvier. Ital. Antiq. l. i. c. 2. p. 16—21.

Longitudo et Latitudo. Depuis la ville d'Augusta Prætoria jusqu' à celle de Rhegium, l'on comptoit 1020 milles en suivant la route de Rome et de Capoue. C'est le calcul de Pline, mais il paroît trop fort. Entre ces deux endroits à peine peut on trouver 800 milles. Cluvier, qui a senti la difficulté, y répond fort bien. 1. Il ne faut tirer une ligne droite, mais l'on doit suivre le grand chemin

chemin dont la direction naturelle n'auroit point suivi celle de Pline. 2. Les milles Romains étoient plus grands que ceux dont on se sert aujourd'hui; surtout dans l'état ecclésiastique et le Royaume de Naples. Ce même Pline fixe sa plus grande largeur entre le Varus et l'Arsia à 410 milles.

AËR. L'Abbé du Bos croit que les environs de Rome sont moins froids qu'ils ne l'étoient autrefois. A. U. C. 480 l'hiver y fut se violent que les arbres moururent. Le Tibre prit dans Rome, et la neige demeura sur la terre pendant quarante jours. Le Tibre pris n'étoit pas même un événement singulier.

Juvenal. Satir. vi. 521.

Hibernum fractâ glacie descendet in amnem,
Ter matutino Tyberi mergetur, et ipsis
Vorticibus timidum caput abluet.

Du Bos. Reflex. Sur la Poësie et la Peint. tom. ii. p. 298.

Plusieurs passages d'Horace supposent les rues de Rome pleines de neiges et de glaces. Aujourd'hui le Tibre n'y gèle guères plus que le Nil, et c'est beaucoup si la neige s'y conserve pendant deux jours.

Longuerue, p. 41, 42.

Quand on dit que le climat de Rome est changé, on se trompe. Le passage d'Horace sur le Tibre gelé ne prouve rien. Il a gelé en 1709, il geloit pendant les grands hivers, et gèle encore. Dans l'Ombrie, où étoit Horace, il souffle un vent très froid qui vient des montagnes. Celui de l'Apennin y fait ressentir un grand froid à Florence.

Quel parti faut-il prendre?—celui de l'Abbé du Bos. L'Abbé de Longuerue ne produit que des exemples extraordinaires, ou qui ne regardent point Rome et ses environs.

Si

Si me vivere vis sanum recteque valentem,
Quam mihi das ægro, dabis ægrotare timenti,
Mæcenas, veniam; dum ficus prima calorque
Designatorem decorat lictoribus atris,
Dum pueris omnis pater et matercula pallet,
Officiosaque sedulitas, et opella forensis
Adducit febres, et testamenta resignat.

Horat. Epist. i. 7.

Sect. III.

ALPES ET GENTES INALPINÆ, ET FLUMEN PADUS.

Alpes. Le mot générique d'Alpe, qui signifie une hauteur en langue Celtique, leur fut appliqué par une distinction qu'elles méritoient bien. Les Grecs eux-mêmes ont été obligés de convenir que leurs montagnes tant vantées d'Olympe, d'Ossa, et de Pelion, n'étoient rien auprès de ces masses énormes. Les Pyrénées s'élèvent plus perpendiculairement, mais la grande étendue des Alpes leur donne une supériorité décidée pour la hauteur. Il y a telles montagnes dont on n'atteint le sommet qu'après une marche de cinq jours. Ces montagnes embrassent l'Italie dans la forme d'un vaste semicercle, qui ne s'ouvre que dans quelques endroits. Voici les différentes parties des Alpes et les principaux passages qu'on y trouvoit. I^ment. *Les Alpes Maritimes* qui commençoient dans les environs du Varus et de Nice. C'étoit à Savone (Vada Sabatia), que l'Apennin, après avoir partagé tout l'intérieur de l'Italie, venoit s'unir aux Alpes.

Clav. Ital. Ant. l. i. c. 30, 31, 32. Berg. Grands Chemins, l. ii. c. 31, 32, 33.

La

La Voie Aurélienne, qui cotoyoit toujours la mer depuis Rome jusques dans les Gaules, traversoit ces montagnes. II^ment. *Les Alpes Cottiennes*, qui étoient séparées de la mer par les Alpes maritimes. C'étoit le royaume de Cottius dont Segusio (Suze) étoit la capitale. Ces montagnes s'étendoient en largeur depuis cette ville jusqu' à Briançon (Brigantium). C'est auprès de la première de ces villes qu'on trouve le mont Cenis (Mons Matrona). Pompée osa le premier le passer. Cottius travailla beaucoup à rendre ce chemin plus facile et plus assuré. La nature et l'art le rendirent bientôt, ce qu'il est encore, la grande route de l'Italie dans les Gaules, le passage le plus fréquenté des empereurs, des armées et des voyageurs. Il reçut même dans la basse Latinité, le nom distingué de *Strata Romana*. III^ment. *Les Alpes Grecques*. La fable du passage d'Hercule lui valut ce nom. C'étoit le petit St. Bernard, et la Tarantaise. Il paroît qu'un Ideonnus, roi barbare assez peu connu, régnoit dans ces montagnes du tems d'Auguste. IV^ment. *Les Alpes Pennines*, qui s'étendoient depuis les Alpes Grecques jusqu'aux sources du Rhône et du Rhin. Il y a beaucoup d'apparence qu' Hannibal les traversa pour entrer en Italie, mais il n'y en a aucune qu'il leur ait donné le nom de sa nation (Pœninæ de Pœni). Pour y trouver ce nom, il faut corrompre celui des montagnes elles-mêmes. C'est aussi ce qu'ont fait plusieurs des anciens. La vallée un peu au-delà des Alpes Pennines, et qui est traversée par le Rhône, s'appelloit la Vallée Pennine (Vallis Pennina). Il se nomme

nomme encore le Valais. Au milieu de ces montagnes, l'on trouvoit le passage célèbre, qu'on appelloit le *Summus Penninus* ou le *Mons Sovis;* c'est le grand St. Bernard. Les deux grands chemins qui traversoient les Alpes Grecques et les Alpes Pennines se réunissoient à Augusta *Prætoria*, (Aost) à l'entrée du pays des Salassi ou du Val d'Aost. V^ment^. Les Alpes Rhétiques ou Tridentines. Il y avoit deux grands passages, l'un qui partoit de Milan et qui passoit par Comum et Curia (Coire) jusqu'à Brigantium, (Bergent,) et l'autre qui alloit de Vérone à Tridentinum (Trente) et Augusta Vindelicorum (Augsbourg). Le fameux Mont Adula étoit parmi ces Alpes. Mais des anciens qui en ont parlé, les uns ont décrit une haute montagne auprès des sources du Rhin, et les autres une suite de montagnes dont la situation est assez incertaine. VI^ment^. Les *Alpes Noriques, Carniques, Pannoniques, ou Juliennes.* C'étoit ce contour qui embrassoit la *Venetia.* Un grand chemin partoit d'Aquileia, traversoit le mont Ocra, et s'étendoit jusqu'à Nauportum et Sirmio dans la Pannonie.

Padus. On connoît toutes les fables brillantes et absurdes dont les anciens ont orné l'histoire de ce fleuve: le téméraire Phaëthon qui y fut précipité, ses sœurs qui furent changées en peupliers et qui distilloient de l'ambre. Cette fable étoit connue depuis long tems, mais sa source ne l'étoit pas autant. Les Grecs tiroient l'ambre des bords de la mer Baltique vers l'embouchure de la Vistule, qui vient d'être augmentée par les eaux d'une rivière considérable que les gens du pays appellent Rodaune,

Rodaune, Raddaune, Raddune et Reddune, selon leurs dialectes différentes. Le Po s'appelloit aussi l'Eridan. Voilà le fondement géographique de tant de fictions et de la confusion de deux fleuves aussi éloignés l'un de l'autre. Quelle ignorance! Mais ce n'est pas tout. Le nom du Rhône (Rhodanus) n'est pas fort différent de ceux-ci: c'étoit assez pour établir leur identité dans l'esprit paresseux des Grecs, pour qui tous les pays occidentaux étoient un monde inconnu ou fabuleux. On peut remarquer cependant une progression de lumière. Pour les premiers Grecs, le Po, le Rhône, et la Vistula n'étoient qu'un même fleuve. Ils connurent à la fin leurs erreurs. Ils apprirent que le premier se déchargeoit dans la Mer Adriatique, le second dans la Méditerranée, et la troisième dans la Mer Baltique. Ne pouvant nier que les embouchures ne fussent différentes, ils voulurent soutenir qu'ils partoient de la même source et qu'ils avoient les mêmes propriétés. Les Grecs se seroient cependant détrompés plutôt s'ils n'avoient pas préféré leurs poëtes à leurs historiens. Hérodote avoit des idées fort justes sur l'Eridan. Il reconnoît qu'il ne parle de ces pays éloignés que sur des ouis-dire, mais il sait fort bien que l'Eridan, le fleuve de l'ambre, ne se décharge que dans la mer du Nord.

V. Cluvier. Ital. Antiqua, l. i. c. 34.

Le Po sort de trois sources au pied du Mont Vesulus, et tombant avec fracas au bas d'un précipice, il coule pendant trois milles sans avoir de lit bien marqué, mais ayant déjà assez d'eau pour faire aller des moulins. C'est alors qu'il se perd sous terre; il paroît encore au bout de deux milles, et devient bientôt un fleuve considérable par le grand

grand nombre de rivières qui s'y jettent. Pline en compte trente, mais Cluvier a poussé ce nombre jusqu'à quarante.

Padi Ostia. Voici les principales circonstances qui les regardent. 1. Il y en avoit deux bras plus considérables que les autres. Le premier s'appelloit Padusa, Eridanus et ostium Spineticum d'une ville ancienne qui y étoit située. Il paroît que les anciens le regardoient comme le véritable Po, et ils lui donnent quelquefois ce nom tout simplement. L'autre se nommoit Volana ou Bolana. 2. Il y avoit encore deux bras du Po entre ceux-là, le Sagis et le Caprasium. 3. Toutes ces embouchures étoient l'ouvrage de la nature. Mais les habitans du pays, qui étoient intéressés à retenir dans son lit cette rivière fougueuse, lui en creusèrent de nouveaux. Parmi ces canaux artificiels, qu'on attribut aux Toscans, on peut en distinguer trois : Fossa Asconis, ensuite Augusti, qui communiquoit de la Padusa à Ravenne ; Fossa Carbonuria au-delà de la Volana, et Fossæ Philistinæ qui étoient encore plus au nord. Ce dernier canal, grossi par les eaux du Tartarus, est devenu aujourd'hui le Po, et tous le pays entre ces embouchures qui étoit anciennement au nord du Po est réputé aujourd'hui au midi de ce fleuve. 4. Voilà les sept embouchures du Po. Leurs débordemens fréquens ne faisoient qu'un vaste marais de tout ce canton, marais coupé dans sa largeur par les fossés de Néron, et auquel on avoit donné le nom des *Septem Maria.* Ce titre s'étoit cependant étendu sur tous les environs au-delà du Po et jusqu'à Altinum ;

tinum; l'Athésis, et les deux Méduacus l'inondoient de la même manière, et pendant cent vingt milles, de Ravenne jusqu'à Altinum, l'on ne voyoit que le même marais, sur lequel l'on voyageoit avec plus de sûreté que de vîtesse.

Plin. Hist. Nat. l. ii. c. 103.

MINCIUS. Le Mincius traverse le Benacus, l'Addua le lac Larius, et le Rhône le lac Leman, sans y mêler leurs eaux parcequ' elles sont plus légères.

BENACUS.

Virgil. Georgic. l. ii. 160.

An mare, quod supra, memorem, quodque alluit infra?
Anne lacus tantos? te, Lari maxime, teque
Fluctibus et fremitû assurgens, Benace, marino?

LARIUS. Pline avoit deux maisons de campagnes auprès de ce lac. L'une, située sur une hauteur, dominoit sur tout le lac. L'autre étoit au milieu des eaux, bâtie sur une levée de terre comme les maisons de Baies. L'une et l'autre avoient des agrémens différens.

Strabon. Geog. l. iv. p. 141, 143.

SALASSI. Ce peuple remplissoit le Val d'Aost, pays étroit dans les gorges des Alpes. Ils étoient maîtres du passage du mont St. Bernard; ils n'usoient de cet avantage que pour dépouiller les voyageurs et pour harceler des armées entières en se plaçant en ambuscade dans les défilés. Ils obligèrent Decimus Brutus, qui se retiroit de Modène, de payer son passage à un denier par soldat; ils osèrent même piller quelques bagages d'Auguste. Cette témérité leur coûta cher. Ce prince fit prendre la nation entière, et la fit vendre à Eporedia, au nombre de 36,000 ames, parmi lesquelles il y avoit 8000 hommes en état de porter les armes. Il y avoit

y avoit dans leur pays quelques mines d'or, dans lesquelles ils faisoient passer les eaux de la Duria, qu'ils saignoient pour cet effet, ce qui leur attiroit (aussi bien qu'aux fermiers qui les prirent ensuite) beaucoup de disputes avec les habitans du plat pays. Agrippa fit faire deux grands chemins qui partoient d'Augusta Prætoria, et qui se réunissoient à Lyon; l'une, qui passoit par les Alpes Pennines, (le grand St. Bernard,) étoit plus courte, (quant à la montagne,) mais il étoit difficile au point de n'être praticable que pour les chevaux. L'autre traversoit le pays des Centrones (la Tarantaise.) Il étoit plus long mais beaucoup plus facile.

Taurisci. Ce peuple, subjugué sans peine par Tibère, habitoit des montagnes stériles. La nécessité les força de faire des courses dans les campagnes, mais la politique leur enseignoit d'épargner les laboureurs pour ne point tarir la source de leurs brigandages. Strab. Geog. l. iv. p. 143.

Salassi. Il y a encore dans le Val d'Aost des mines d'or et des paillettes dans les rivières. A l'arsenal de Turin l'on nous a montré un morceau de marbre tiré de ces carrières, et qui contenoit beaucoup d'or. Il n'y a qu'une soixantaine d'années qu'on a recommencé à exploiter ces mines, dont on tire tous les ans environ deux cens marcs d'or.

Sect. IV.

TRANSPADANA.

V. Plin. Histor. Nat. ii. 17.

Le nom et la formation de cette province sont purement Romains. Il est difficile d'en marquer précisément les limites qui se perdoient dans les Alpes. Voici celles qu'on peut trouver dans Pline. Elle étoit composée de plusieurs nations Celtiques et Liguriennes. 1. *Les Insubres,* qui possédoient Milan et Laus Pompeii *(Lodi)*. 2. Les Orobii, les habitans de Bergomum et de Comum ou Novocomum. 3. Les Lævi, ceux de Picenum *(Pavie)* et Novaria *(Novarre)*. 4. Les Libici, ceux de Vercellæ et Laumillum. Ces quatre peuples étoient Celtiques; ils passèrent les Alpes vers l'an 600 avant Jésus Christ. 5. Les Taurini, nation Ligurienne, qui habitoient Augusta Taurinorum, *(Turin)* et Forum Vibii. 6. Les Salassi, qui occupoient le Val d'Aost. Les Romains y avoient bâti Augusta Prætoria (Aost), et Eporedia *(Yvrée)*. Les Romains avoient encore détaché du royaume de Cottius Segusio, (Suze,) pour y envoyer une colonie. Nous avons déjà vu les Salassi parmi les habitans des Alpes. Il paroît que Pline n'a pas dû étendre la Transpadana jusqu'à Spina et l'embouchure du Po; et que M. Deslisle auroit pu laisser Bergomum à cette province.

Raudius Campus. Ces plaines sont fameuses par la défaite des Cimbres: mais on est réduit à conjecturer leur situation. Claudien compare la victoire de Stilicon sur les Goths à celle de Marius,

et

et dit que les mêmes lieux ont été deux fois fatals aux barbares, et que la postérité confondra les ossemens des deux peuples et la gloire des deux généraux. Claudien étoit contemporain de Stilicon; on peut hardiment en conclurre que les deux champs de bataille n'étoient pas fort éloignés l'un de l'autre, mais je doute qu'il faille prendre ses expressions à la rigueur. Nous savons que les Cimbres ayant débouché dans la Lombardie par les gorges du Trentin, ont passé l'Adige, mais il ne paroît point qu'ils ayent traversé le Po. Un bourg nommé *Rubio*, situé entre Lomello, Novarra, et Vercelles, conviendroit assez par son nom et son emplacement aux *Campi Raudii*. Les Cimbres à la vérité n'auront point suivi le chemin de la capitale; mais Hannibal l'a-t-il fait? Ces barbares auront voulu subjuguer les Gaulois; ils cherchoient à les faire soulever. Les bords du Po étoient gardés avec assez de soin pour les obliger à remonter le fleuve pour y chercher un gué. Les délices de ce pays les amollissoient et les captivoient. Ce Rubio n'est pas trop éloigné de Pollentia pour contenir l'imagination d'un poëte qui débute par une proximité réelle, et qui passe, sans s'en appercevoir, à des circonstances qui supposent faussement une identité de lieux. Je pense que c'est là, la clef du passage de Claudien; ne le seroit-elle pas aussi des *Philippi* de Virgile?

Cluvier. Ital. Antiq. l. i. c. 18. p. 139. c. 23. p. 234.

Laus Pompeii. Cette ville, qui peut avoir reçu son nom de Cn. Pompeius Strabon, s'appelloit souvent *Laus* tout court; c'est de son datif *Laudi* qu'on a formé le *Lodi* d'aujourd'hui. Dans le moyen

Idem, l. i. c. 24. p. 242.

age, on confondit tous les cas de la langue Latine, et rien n'étoit si commun surtout que de servir du datif au lieu du nominatif.

Velleius Pat. l. i. c. 15. Cluvier. Ital. Ant. l. i. c. 13. p. 96.

EPOREDIA. Elle étoit colonie Romaine, fondée sous le sixième consulat de Marius A. U. C. 653. Velleius se montre ici aussi mauvais chronologiste que géographe peu exact. 1. Eporedia étoit dans le pays des Salassi et non point dans celui des Vagienni. 2. Il n'y avoit que dix-huit ans entre les consulats de Marcius et de Marius. Cluvier a rélevé ces bévues. J'y ajoute une troisième, qui renverse la correction de ce savant. Velleius compte 153 ans depuis le consulat de Marcius à celui de Vinicius. Il n'y en avoit que 147.

Ausonius de claris Urbibus. Il comptoit Milan pour la sixième après Rome, Constantinople, Antioche, Carthage, et Treves: pourquoi oublier Alexandrie?

MEDIOLANUM.

Et Mediolani mira omnia; copia rerum;
Innumeræ cultæque domus; fæcunda virorum
Ingenia; antiqui mores. Tum duplice muro
Amplificata loci species, populique voluptas
Circus, et inclusi moles cuneata theatri.
Templa Palatinæque arces, opulensque Moneta;
Et regio Herculei celebris sub honore lavacri,
Cunctaque marmoreis ornata peristyla signis,
Mœniaque in valli formam circumdata labro.
Omnia quæ magnis operum velut æmula formis
Excellunt, nec juncta premit vicinia Romæ.

SECT. V.

LIGURIA.

IL paroît, par un trait conservé par Plutarque et expliqué par Freret, que les *Ligures* étoient d'origine

d'origine Ambrone ou Ombrienne. Les anciens ont nié ou reconnu leur affinité aux Celtes, selon qu'ils ont envisagé la chose sous un point de vue prochain ou éloigné. Les anciens Grecs les nommoient Λιγυες et Λιγοστικη, mais les écrivains plus récens se sont conformés au langage de leurs maîtres. La perfidie, l'adresse, et une dureté de tempérament qui tenoit du prodige, distinguoient ce peuple barbare. On y a vu des femmes, qui travailloient dans les champs, accoucher et l'instant après retourner à leur ouvrage. On peut considérer les bornes de ce peuple sous trois états différens. 1. Les premiers Grecs, qui avoient des notions très imparfaites sur la géographie de l'occident, donnoient le nom générique de Ligures à tous les peuples maritimes entre l'Etrurie et l'embouchure du Rhône; peut-être même qu'avant l'arrivée des Marseillois les Ligures s'étoient répandus dans la Gaule Narbonnoise, et qu'ils y avoient laissé des colonies. Si Florus étoit plus exact, on appuyeroit cette conjecture de son autorité, puisque cet historien nomme les Salyes, les Deceates, et les Oxybii, parmi les nations Liguriennes. 2. Quand les Romains attaquèrent les Ligures, ils étoient plus redoutables par leur bravoure que par l'étendue de leur pays. Ils occupoient seulement ces territoires qui sont entre l'Apennin, la mer, le Varus et l'Arnus, c'est à dire ceux qui composent aujourd'hui les républiques de Gènes et de Lucques et la principauté de Massa Carrara. 3. Les Romains subjuguèrent les Ligures; ils transportèrent les Apuani, habitans du pays, entre la *Macra* et l'Arnus,

Cluvier. Ital. Antiqua, l. 1. c. 7, 8. p. 46. 61.

nus, dans le royaume de Naples, et ils ajoutèrent leur territoire à l'Etrurie. Du coté de la Gaule ils conservèrent à peu près les anciennes limites; mais ils l'agrandirent beaucoup du côté du nord en la poussant jusqu'aux bords du Po. Telle étoit la nouvelle Ligurie, l'une des onze régions du partage d'Auguste. Strabon l'a confondu un peu avec l'ancienne. On peut remarquer que la Ligurie étoit comprise dans la province de la Gaule Cisalpine.

Cluvier. l. i. c. 9. p. 63, 64.

MONŒCI PORTUS. Quelques savans ont imaginé que c'étoit Ville Franca; mais l'ancien nom, qui s'est presque conservé, la nature du port, qui n'étoit fait que pour les petits vaisseaux, et les distances marquées dans les Itinéraires, ont convaincu Cluvier que Monaco étoit le veritable *Portus Herculis Monœci.*

LIGURES.

Virgil. Æneid. l. x. 185.

Non ego te, Ligurum ductor, fortissime bello,
Transierim Cyene, et paucis comitate, Cupavo,
Cujus olorinæ surgunt de vertice pennæ,
Crimen amor vestrum, formæque insigne paternæ.

Idem, xi. 715.

Vane Ligur, frustraque animis elate superbis,
Nequicquam patrias tentâsti lubricus artes.

Juvenal. Satir. iii. 257.

Nam si procubuit qui saxa Ligustica portat
Axis, et eversum fudit super agmina montem,
Quid superest de corporibus?————

Cicero in Rull. Orat. ii. 35.

Ligures montani, duri, atque agrestes. Docuit ager ipse nihil ferendo, nisi multâ culturâ et magno labore quæsitum.

Plin. Natur. Hist. xiv. 6.

GENUA. Le meilleur vin de toute la Ligurie croissoit dans les environs de Gènes.

DERTONA.

DERTONA. Dertona, (Tortone,) étoit une colonie Romaine. L'époque de sa fondation est incertaine. Vell. Pater. l. i. c. 14.

POLLENTIA.

——————— fuscique ferax Pollentia villi. Sil. Italic. Punic. viii. 599.

LIGURES, VAGENNI.

Tum pernix Ligus, et sparsi per saxa Vagenni, Idem. viii. 607.
In decus Hannibalis duros misere nepotes.

LIGURES. Les Ligures étoient un peuple pasteur qui ne vivoit que de lait, et d'une boisson tirée de l'orge. Leurs montagnes fournissoient beaucoup de bois de construction, et d'autres bois tachetés dont on faisoit des tables très à la mode à Rome. On voyoit des arbres que avoient huit pieds de diamètre. Ils portoient ces bois à Gènes avec leur bétail, des peaux et du miel, pour les échanger contre l'huile et les vins d'Italie. Strabo. Geo. l. iv. p. 140.

SECT. VI.

ETRURIA.

DE toutes les régions de l'Italie, celle-ci avoit le plus de rapport aux anciennes limites des peuples. L'Etrurie, avant la conquête des Romains, étoit bornée par l'Arnus et la mer; le Tibre formoit sa frontière jusqu'à Tifernum Tiberinum; depuis cette ville jusqu'aux sources de l'Arnus c'étoit l'Apennin. Auguste ajouta seulement à l'Etrurie le pays entre l'Arnus et la Macra, c'est à dire le canton qu'avoient occupé les Apuani Liguriens, et la ville de Pise avec son territoire; Cluv. Italia Antiq. l. ii. c. 1. p. 419. 455.

encore Pise étoit-elle une ancienne possession des Etrusques que les Liguriens leur avoient enlevée. La ville de Luna, à la vérité, située sur la rive Ligustique de la Macra, étoit censée dans la région d'Etrurie.

Etrusci. Voici le précis de ce qu'on peut dire des Etrusques. 1. Les Grecs les appelloient Tyrrheni, et Tyrseni; les Romains les nommoient Hetrusci, Etrusci, Thusci, et Tusci; quoique leurs poëtes se servent souvent des noms Grecs. Leur pays portoit constamment parmi les Romains le nom d'Etruria; celui de Tuscia n'est point aussi ancien. L'abbréviateur Florus est le premier qui l'employe, mais dans le moyen age il devint fort usité. 2. L'origine de cette nation célèbre est très obscure. L'opinion d'Hérodote, qui les fait venir de la Lydie, ne peut convenir qu'aux poëtes. Denys d'Halicarnasse la combat très solidement. Selon ce critique judicieux, le corps Etrusque a été formé par le mélange de deux nations, les Tyrrhéniens et les Pélasges. Nous connoissons les Pélasges: c'étoient les Grecs encore barbares et qui n'ont point fait partie du corps Hellénique, mais qui étoient les Tyrrhéniens, une nation indigène. C'est la réponse qu'on nous fait, mais elle n'est guères satisfaisante. 3. L'histoire de ce peuple seroit curieuse; on croit qu'il a inventé l'art augurale, la trompette, et les ornemens des magistrats. Leurs artisans et leurs musiciens étoient renommés, ils ont eu l'empire de la mer, et l'on a soupçonné que l'Amérique ne leur étoit pas inconnue. Sous la fin de leur grandeur leurs mœurs se sont corrompues.

rompues. Ils ont donné l'exemple d'un luxe et d'une mollesse dont on peut voir les détails dans Athénée et Diodore de Sicile. 4. Les Etrusques se sont répandus fort au-delà des bornes de leurs pays, dans la Campanie et jusqu'à l'embouchure du Po, et dans la Rhétie. Il paroît même que les Grecs ont donné le nom de Tyrrhéniens à tous les peuples de la mer inférieure depuis Pise jusqu'au détroit de Messine. Je conviens qu'il en faut rabattre quelque chose pour l'ignorance des étrangers qui ne connoissoient sur toute cette côte que la nation principale. 5. Les Etrusques étoient divisés en douze cités, qui se réunissoient toujours dans une assemblée générale et quelquefois sous un dictateur commun. Voici les cités: 1. Cære ou Agylla; 2. Veii; 3. Falerii; 4. Tarquinii; 5. Volsinii; 6. Rusellæ; 7. Vetulonii; 8. Volaterra; 9. Clusium; 10. Perusia; 11. Cortona; 12. Aretium. Aucun ancien n'a fait ce dénombrement. C'est Cluvier qui l'a formé sur les passages souvent équivoques de plusieurs écrivains.

LUNA.

Tum quos a niveis exegit Luna metallis,
Insignis portû; quo non spatiosior alter
Innumeras cepisse rates, et claudere pontum.

Sil. Italic. Punic. viii. 482.

Advehimur celeri candentia mœnia lapsû,
Nominis et auctor sole corusca soror.
Indigenis superat candentia lilia saxis,
Et levi radiat picta nitore silex.
Dives marmoribus tellus; quæ luce coloris
Provocat intactas luxuriosa nives.

Cl. Rutilii Numatiani Iter, l. ii. 63.

Le vin des environs de Luna étoit le meilleur de toute l'Etrurie. Plin. Hist. Nat. xiv. 6.

LUCUS

Cluv. Ital. Ant. l. ii. c. 2. p. 460.

LUCUS FERONIÆ. Cet endroit se trouve entre Luna et Pisa. Il y en avoit un autre du même nom auprès du mont Soracte, et un troisième dans Latium à trois milles de Terracine. Cette déesse étoit certainement Etrusque, mais son culte s'étoit bien répandu dans les pays voisins.

PISÆ, &c.

Virg. Æn. x. 175.

Tertius ille hominum divûmque interpres Asylas,
Cui pecudum fibræ, cœli cui sidera parent,
Et linguæ volucrum, et præsagi fulminis ignes,
Mille densos rapit acie, atque horrentibus hastis.
Hos parere jubent Alpheæ ab origine Pisæ
Urbs Etrusca solo ———

Cl. Rutilii Numatiani Iter, lib. i. 527.

Inde Triturritam petimus ; sic villa vocatur
Quæ latet expulsis insula pæne fretis,
Namque manû junctis procedit in æquora saxis,
Quique domum posuit, condidit ante solum.
Contiguum stupui portum, quem fama frequentat
Pisarum emporio divitiisque maris.
Mira loci facies; pelago pulsatur aperto,
Inque omnes ventos litora nuda patent;
Non ullus legitur per brachia tuta recessus
Æolias possit qui prohibere minas.
Sed procera suo prætexitur alga profundo
Molliter offensæ non nocitura rati.
Et tamen insanas cedendo interligat undas,
Nec sinit ex alto grande volumen agi.

— — —

Id. i. 559.

Puppibus ergo meis fidâ in statione relictis,
Ipse vehor Pisas, quà solet ire pedes.

— — —

Id. i. 565.

Alpheæ veterem contemplor originis urbem
Quam cingunt geminis Arnus et Auser aquis,
Conum pyramidis coeuntia flumina ducunt,
Intratur modico frons patefacta solo.

Sed

Sed proprium retinet communi in gurgite nomen,
Et pontum solus scilicet Arnus adit,
Ante diu quam Trojugena fortuna penates
Laurentinorum regibus insereret.
Elide deductas suscepit Etruria Pisas,
Nominis indicio testificata genus.

Les Pisans offrirent des terres au sénat, pour y envoyer une colonie Latine. Ils souhaitoient d'avoir une garnison contre leurs voisins, les Liguriens. Le sénat les en remercia, et nomma des triumvirs pour cette commission, A. U. C. 572. Elle fut exécutée, puisque nous voyons dans la suite que Pise est traitée de colonie. Tit. Liv. xl. 43.

L'Auser tomboit autrefois dans l'Arnus à Pise. On ne sait pas le tems auquel cette rivière (*Le Serchio*) s'est frayé un nouveau lit qui le conduit en droiture à la mer. Le ruisseau *Osari*, qui coule dans le marais entre l'Arno et le Serchio, conserve un peu l'ancien nom. M. Delisle a tort de donner à l'Auser le cours moderne du Serchio. Pise est placée à la jonction de l'Arnus et de l'Auser; le choc est si violent qu'on ne peut point voir de l'un à l'autre bord. Cependant ces rivières ne se débordent point. Cluv. Ital. Ant. l. ii. c. 2. p. 462. Dans sa carte de l'ancienne Italie. Strabon. Geog. l. v. p. 154.

Les Pyliens de Pise, sujets de Nestor, furent jettés par une tempête sur les côtes de l'Etrurie à leur retour de Troye. Ils bâtirent Pise, qui devint une ville très florissante, et un grand port de mer. Du tems de Strabon elle se soutenoit encore, mais avec peine. Les Romains l'avoient fort embelli; ils avoient rempli tous ses environs d'un grand nombre de maisons de campagne qui ressembloient aux palais des rois de Perse.

LUNA.

Strabon. Geog. l. v. p. 153.

LUNA. Le port de Luna étoit magnifique; une vaste baye, qui renfermoit un grand nombre de petits golfes particuliers. Dans tous l'eau étoit profonde jusqu'au rivage. On employoit beaucoup de marbre de Luna dans les bâtimens de Rome à cause de sa beauté et de la facilité du transport. Il y en avoit de blanc et d'une couleur qui tiroit sur un verd foncé.

Strabon. Geog. l. v. p. 156.

ETRURIA. Les côtes d'Etrurie s'étendoient de Luna à Ostie, 2500 stades selon Strabon, et 1430 seulement selon Polybe. Sa largeur étoit d'environ la moitié. Elle étoit fertile selon cet auteur. Ses lacs ne contribuoient pas peu à sa richesse, par le poisson, le gibier, et le papyrus qu'on en tiroit.

Cluv. Italia Antiq. l. ii. c. ii. p. 468.

HERCULIS LIBURNI PORTUS. C'est la Livourne d'aujourd'hui: mais est-ce l'endroit dont les Liburnes, petit bâtiment armé en guerre, a pris son nom? Il paroît que Cluvier se trompe, et qu'il est plutôt question des Liburnes, nation Illyrienne qui couroit la mer Adriatique.

Strabon. Geog. l. v. p. 154.

VOLATERRA. Elle est située dans un vallon profond, mais elle est dominée par une montagne qui a quinze stades de haut, et qui est occupée par une citadelle très forte. Elle servit d'asyle à quatre cohortes des partisans de Marius, qui s'y défendirent pendant deux ans, et ne se rendirent que sous la foi publique.

Cl. Rutilii Numatian. Iter, l. i. p. 453.

VADA VOLATERRANA.

In Volaterranum, vero vada nomine, tractum
Ingressus, dubii tramitis alta lego;
Despectat proræ custos, clavumque sequentem
Dirigit, et puppim voce monente regit.

Incertas

Incertas geminâ discriminat arbore fauces
Defixasque offert limes uterque sudes.

— — —

Vix tuti domibus sævos toleravimus imbres. Cl. Rutilii Numa. Iter, l. i. 465.
Albini patuit proxima villa mei.

— — —

Subjectas villæ vacat adspectare salinas, Id. i. 475.
Namque hoc censetur nomine salsa palus
Quà mare terrenis declive canalibus intrat,
Multifidosque lacus parvula fossa rigat.
Ast ubi flagrantes admovit Sirius ignes,
Cum pallent herbæ, cum sitit omnis ager,
Tum cataractarum claustris excluditur æquor.
Ut fixos latices horrida duret humus,
Concipiunt acrem nativa coagula Phœbum,
Et gravis æstivo crusta calore coit.

Populonium. Populonium fut détruit par les troupes de Sylla, après avoir soutenu un siège. Du tems de Strabon il n'en restoit que des temples et quelques maisons. Cette ville étoit située sur un promontoire très élevé, d'où ce géographe découvrit les îles de Sardaigne, de Corse, et d'Ilva. Le port des Populoniens, qui étoit au bas de la montagne, subsista toujours, et étoit fort frequenté. Strabon. Geog. l. v. p. 154.

Proxima securum reserat Populonia litus, Rutilii Iter, l. i. v. 401.
Quà naturalem ducit in arva sinum.
Non illic positas extollit in æthera moles,
Lumine nocturno conspicienda Pharos,
Sed speculam validæ rupis sortita vetustas.
Quà fluctus domitos arduus urguet apex,
Castellum geminos hominum fundavit in usus
Præsidium terris, indiciumque fretis.
Adgnosci nequeunt ævi monumenta prioris
Grandia consumpsit mœnia tempus edax;

Sola

Sola manent interceptis vestigia muris,
Ruderibus latis tecta sepulta jacent.

Virgil. Æn. x. 166.

Massicus æratâ princeps secat æquora Tigri,
Sub quo mille manus juvenum, qui mœnia Clusî
Quique urbem liquere Cosas; queis tela, sagittæ
Corytique leves humeris, et letifer arcus;
Unà torvus Abas; huic totum insignibus armis
Agmen, et aurato fulgebat Apolline puppis.
Sexcentos illi dederat Populonia mater
Expertos belli juvenes ———

Cluv. Ital. Ant. l. ii. c. 2. p. 472.

VETULONII. On voit encore de beaux restes de cette ville ancienne entre les ruines de Populonium et la tour de St. Vincent à trois milles de la mer.

Sil. Italic. Pun. l. viii. p. 485.

Mæoniæque decus quondam Vetulonia gentis,
Bis senos hæc prima dedit præcedere fasces,
Et junxit totidem tacito terrore secures.
Hæc altas eboris decoravit honore curules,
Et princeps Tyrio vestem prætexuit ostro;
Hæc eadem pugnas accendere protulit ære.

UMBRO FL.

Cl. Numatiani Rutilii Iter, l. i. 337.

Tangimus Umbronem; non est ignobile flumen,
Quod toto trepidas excipit ore rates,
Tam facilis pronis semper patet alveus undis
In pontum quoties sæva procella ruit.

FALESIA.

Id. l. i. 371.

Laxatum cohibet vicina Falesia cursum
Quanquam vix medium Phœbus haberet iter,
Et tum forte hilares per compita rustica pagi
Mulcebant sacris pectora fessa jocis,
Illo quidpe die tandem renovatus Osyris
Excitat in fruges germina læta novas.
Egressi villam petimus, lucoque vagamur,
Stagna placent septo deliciosa vado.
Ludere lascivos inter vivaria pisces
Gurgitis inclusi laxior unda sinit.

COSA, PORTUS HERCULIS ET MONS ARGENTARIUS. Cosa étoit situé sur une montagne; plus bas l'on voyoit le port d'Hercule, à côté d'un étang d'eau salée et peu éloigné d'un promontoire. Strab. Geo. l. v. p. 156. Cluv. Ital. Antiq. l. ii. c. 2. p. 479.

Les Romains y envoyèrent une colonie sous le consulat de Fabius Vorso et de Claudius Canina, A. U. C. 480. Vell. Pater. i. 14.

Cernimus antiquas, nullo custode, ruinas,
Et desolatæ mœnia fœda Cosæ.
Ridiculam cladis pudet inter seria causam
Promere, sed risum dissimulare piget;
Dicuntur cives quondam migrare coacti
Muribus infestos deseruisse lares. Cl. Rutilii Sic. Iter, l. i. 285.

— — —

Haud procul hinc petitur signatus ab Hercule portus. Id. l. i. 293.

— — —

Tenditur in medias mox Argentarius undas, Id. l. i. 315.
Ancipitique jugo cærula curva premit:
Transversos colles bis ternis millibus artat
Circuitû ponti ter duodena patet.
Vix circumvehimur sparsæ dispendia rupis,
Nec sinuosa gravi cura labore caret,
Mutantur toties vario spiramina flexû,
Quæ modo profuerant, vela repente nocent.

CENTUMCELLÆ. Pline le jeune vit le port que Trajan y faisoit faire. Des deux grandes jettées qui devoient le composer l'une étoit achevée. L'on travailloit à l'autre. On construisoit à l'entrée du port une île artificielle, qui commençoit déjà à paroître. Cet ouvrage de Trajan étoit très utile pour toute la côte qui étoit dépourvue de ports. Il devoit porter le nom de son fondateur: mais il conserva toujours celui de Centumcellæ. Du tems de Procope, Plin. jun. Epist. vi. 31.

Procope, dans le sixième siècle, cette ville étoit grande, florissante, et très peuplée.

Claud. Rut. Iter, l. i. 237.
Ad Centumcellas forti deflexímus austro,
Tranquilla puppes in statione sedent.
Id. i. 239.
Molibus æquoreum concluditur amphitheatrum,
Angustosque aditus insula facta tegit.
Attollit geminas turres bifidoque meatû,
Faucibus artatis pandit utrumque latus.
Nec posuisse satis laxo navalia portû,
Ne vaga vel tutas ventilet aura rates.
Interior medias sinus invitatus in ædes
Instabilem fixis aëra nescit aquis.

CASTRUM NOVUM.

Id. i. 227.
Stringimus absumtum fluctûque et tempore castrum;
Index semiruti porta vetusta loci.
Præsidet exigui formatus imagine saxi,
Qui pastorali nomina fronte gerit,
Multa licet priscum nomen deleverit ætas;
Hoc Inui Castrum fama fuisse putat.

Serv. ad Æneid. l. v. 775.
Servius est du même sentiment que Rutilius. Mais il y a un autre Castrum auprès d'Ardea, qui paroît aux yeux de Cluvier le véritable *Castrum Inui*. La question est obscure; mais comme elle l'étoit un peu moins au quinzième siècle, j'aime mieux m'en rapporter à ces deux auteurs. Les vers de Virgile sur lesquels Cluvier se fonde sont très obscurs. On ne voit point pourquoi le poëte a donné la préférence à des lieux peu considérables et presqu'ignorés. D'ailleurs, Fidènes et Nomentum sont dans le pays des Sabins, au-delà des limites de l'ancien Latium. Si le poëte a voulu insinuer que les rois d'Albes pousseroient plus loin leurs conquêtes;

Cluv. Ital. Ant. l. ii. c. 2. p. 488.

quêtes; leurs armes n'auroient-elles pas pu pénétrer dans l'Etrurie?

GRAVISCÆ. Graviscæ est situé au bord de la mer. Il ne peut donc pas être Corneto. Les Romains y envoyèrent une colonie la même année qu'à Aquileia A. U. C. 571. Cluv. Ital. Ant. p. 484. Vell. Pater. i. 15.

——— Intempestæque Graviscæ. Virg. Æn. x. 184.

——— Veteres misere Graviscæ. C. Sil. Ital. Punic. viii. 475.

Paulisper litus fugimus Minione vadosum,
Suspecto trepidant ostia parva solo.
Inde Graviscarum fastigia rara videmus,
Quas premit æstivæ sæpe paludis odor;
Sed nemorosa viret densis vicinia lucis,
Pineaque extremis fluctuat unda fretis. Cl. Rutilii Iter, i. 279.

CÆRE, SEU AGYLLA. Cette ville (une des douze cités) étoit anciennement très puissante. Elle jouissoit d'un éloge peu commun parmi les Grecs, de n'avoir point fait le métier de corsaire, quoiqu'elle eut une marine formidable. Elle accueillit les prêtres et les Vestales pendant le siège de Rome. Les Romains récompensèrent assez mal ce trait d'amitié. Ils accordèrent aux citoyens de Cære une espèce de bourgeoisie qui ne leur étoit qu'à charge. Du tems de Strabon il ne restoit que les ruines de Cære, et les bains chauds du voisinage qui attiroient beaucoup de monde. Strab. Geo. l. v. p. 152.

Jam Cæretanos demonstrat navita fines;
Ævo deposuit nomen Agylla vetus. Cl. Rutilii Iter, i. 225.

Haud procul hinc saxo incolitur fundata vetusto
Urbis Agyllinæ sedes; ubi Lydia quondam
Gens bello præclara, jugis insedit Etruscis. Virgil. Æn. viii. 478.

Diodor. Sicul. l. xv.

PYRGI, ALSIUM, ET FREGENÆ. Pyrgi étoit le port de Cære. Denys l'ancien y fit une descente et le prit sans difficulté.

Virginius Rufus avoit une maison de campagne à Alsium où ce grand homme passa les dernières années de sa vie.

Cl. Rutilii Iter, i. 223.

Alsia prælegitur tellus, Pyrgique recessunt,
Nunc villæ grandes, oppida parva prius.

Sil. Ital. Punic. viii. 476.

Nec non Argolico dilectum litus Aleso
Alsium, et obsessæ campo squalente Fregenæ.

Virgil. Æneid. vii. 723.

La mythologie de Silius est plus exacte ici que sa géographie. Halesus, fils d'Agamemnon, vint en Italie; mais ce fut dans la Campanie qu'il régna et non dans l'Etrurie. Silius avoit mal lu son favori Virgile. Rien de plus clair que les paroles de ce poëte.

IGILIUM.

Cl. Rutil. Iter, l. i. 325.

Eminus Igilii silvosa cacumina miror.

CAPRARIA.

Idem. l. i. 439.

Processû pelagi jam se Capraria tollit:
Squalet lucifugis insula plena viris;
Ipsi se monachos Graio cognomine dicunt,
Quod soli nullo vivere teste volunt.

Strabon. Geog. l. v. p. 155.

ILVA, SEU ÆTHALIA. Cette île est fameuse dans les fables des Grecs par l'abord des Argonautes, de qui le *Portus Argous* avoit reçu son nom. Elle est éloignée de 300 stades du promontoire de Populonium et de la Corse. Elle étoit riche par ses mines de fer qui se reproduisoient à mesure qu'on les épuisoit. Mais on travailloit toujours ce métail à Populonium. On ne pouvoit pas le fondre dans l'île même. *Fides penes auctorem.*

Occurrit

Occurrit chalybum memorabilis Ilva metallis; Cl. Rutilii Iter, i. 351.
Qua nihil uberius Norica gleba tulit.
Non Biturix largo potior strictura camino,
Nec quæ Sardoo cespite massa fluit.
Plus confert populis ferri fœcunda creatrix
Quam Tartessiaci glarea fulva Tagi.

——————— Ast Ilva trecentos Virgil. Æneid. x. 173.
Insula, inexhaustis chalybum generosa metallis.

Non totidem Ilva viros, sed lectos cingere ferro C. Silius Ital. Punic. viii. 616.
Armarat patrio, quo nutrit bella, metallo.

Florentia et Fæsulæ. La conséquence la plus naturelle qu'on puisse tirer des passages rassemblés par Cluvier, c'est que Florence étoit déjà considérable du tems de Sylla; que pour s'être opposée au parti du dictateur elle perdit sa liberté et ses terres; que sur ses débris le vainqueur fonda sa colonie favorite de Fæsulæ, qui n'en étoit qu'à trois milles; mais que dans la suite, Jules César, vrai partisan de Marius, établit une colonie à Florence, qui engloutit à la fin sa rivale. Cluv. Ital. Ant. l. ii. c. 3. p. 508.

Affuit et sacris interpres fulminis alis Sil. Ital. viii. 478.
Fæsulæ ———————

Tarquinii. Ce fut dans le territoire de Tarquinii, un peu avant la guerre civile de Pompée, que Fulvius Lippinus établit des pépinières de toutes sortes de plantes, et même d'animaux. Plin. Hist. Nat. viii. 52. 56.

Lacus Sabatinus. Les Romains en tiroient des revenus considérables par le poisson qu'on y prenoit, et par le papyrus qui croissoit sur ses bords. Plusieurs autres lacs de l'Etrurie avoient les mêmes avantages. Strab. Geograph. v. p. 157.

Falerii. Les peuples de Falerii s'appelloient Cluvier. Ital. Ant. l. ii. c. p. 542

Falisci et *Æqui Falisci*. Ils n'étoient point Tyrrhéniens, mais Pélasges. La ressemblance du nom y a fait conduire l'aventurier Halesus fils d'Agamemnon. On reconnoît que la dialecte Eolienne substituoit volontiers le *F*, qui leur étoit particulier, à l'aspiration des autres Grecs, et qu'elle changeoit facilement le *s* en *r*.

Spanheim, de Præstant. Numismatum Dissert. ii. p. 59.

Les Falisci conservèrent long-tems les usages des Pélasges, leurs boucliers, leurs javelots, et leur façon de déclarer la guerre. Junon étoit adorée à Falerii comme à Argos. On y voyoit pareillement des prêtresses gardiennes du temple, et des chœurs de vierges qui chantoient les louanges de la déesse dans la langue de la patrie.

Dionys. Hal. l. 1. p. 9. Strab. Geog. l. v. p. 156.

Venerat Atridae fatis agitatus Halesus
A quo se dictam terra Falisca putat.
Colla, rudes operum, præbent ferienda juvenci,
Quos aluit campis herba Falisca suis.

Ovid. Fast. l. iv. p. 567. Edit. ad usum Delphin.

Hi Fescenninas acies, æquosque Faliscos,
Hi Soractis habent arces, Flavinaque arva,
Et Cimini cum monte lacum, lucosque Capenos.

Ovid. Fast. l. i. p. 427.

Hos juxta Nepesina cohors, æquique Falisci,
Quique tuos, Flavina, focos, Sabatia quique
Stagna tenent, Ciminique lacum, qui Sutria tecta
Haud procul, et Phœbo sacrum Soracte frequentant.

Virgil. Æneid. vii. 695.

Sil. Italic. viii. 491.

SORACTE.

Vides ut alta stet nive candidum
Soracte.

Il se faisoit tous les ans un sacrifice à Apollon sur cette montagne. On y voyoit des hommes qui marchoient sans se brûler sur un bucher embrasé. Ce privilège étoit borné à un petit nombre de familles qu'on appelloit Hirpi. Le sénat les avoit

Strab. Geog. v. p. 156. Plin. Hist. Natur. vii. 2.

avoit exemptés de la milice et des autres charges publiques.

FERONIA. Le temple et le bois de Feronia peu éloignés du mont Soracte étoient remplis des riches offrandes de tout le pays. Il y avoit beaucoup d'or et d'argent. Hannibal les pilla après avoir échoué dans sa tentative sur Rome. T. Liv. xxvi. ii.

VADIMONIUM. C'est un lac peu éloigné du Castellum Amerinum qui est vis-à-vis d'Ameria. Il est parfaitement rond, et ses bords sont très unis. Ses eaux sont très blanches. Elles ont une odeur de souffre et des usages dans la médecine. Nul vaisseau ne souille ses eaux sacrées, mais on y voit surnager plusieurs petites îles de différente grandeur couvertes de verdure et qui flottent çà et là au gré des vents. Pline le jeune n'avoit jamais entendu parler de ce prodige. Il admiroit donc les ouvrages de son oncle plus qu'il ne les lisoit. Plin. Secund. Epistol. vii. 20. Plin. Hist. Nat. ii. 95, 103.

FERENTINUM.

Si te grata quies et primam somnus in horam,
Delectat; si te pulvis strepitusque rotarum,
Si lædit caupona, Ferentinum ire jubebo. Horat. Flacci, Epist. i. 17.

CLUSIUM.

——————— Antiquum Romanis mœnibus horror
Clusinum vulgus; cum, Porsena magne, jubebas
Nequicquam pulsos Romæ imperitare superbos. Sil. Italicus, viii. 479.

Le mausolée de Porsenna avoit épuisé l'art et les trésors de Clusium. C'étoit un labyrinthe immense fait en quarré. Au milieu et aux quatre angles de ce bâtiment s'élevoient cinq pyramides de 150 pieds de haut, dont la base avoit 75 pieds de chaque côté. Elles étoient surmontées par un Plin. Hist. Nat. xxxvi. 13.

vaste couvercle de bronze, qui étoit environné d'une infinité de petites clochettes, et qui soutenoit quatre autres pyramides de 100 pieds de haut. Un troisième étage placé sur celles-ci portoit encore cinq pyramides dont Varron n'a pas osé rapporter la hauteur. Ces labyrinthes, ces pyramides, sentent bien un goût Egyptien, ou plutôt tout ce mausolée sent la fable, puisque du tems de Pline il n'en restoit plus de vestiges.

CORTONA. Il paroît que cette ville, une des plus anciennes de l'Etrurie, étoit aussi le *Corythus* des poëtes, nom qui désignoit quelquefois tout le pays.

Sil. Italic. viii. 474.

——— Lectos Cortona superbi
Tarchontis domus ———

VOLSINII.

Juvenal. Satir. iii. 191.

Positis nemorosa inter juga Volsiniis.

Plin. Secund. Epistol. v. 6.

TUSCI. Cette maison de Pline étoit auprès de Tifernum, (Citta de Castello) au-delà du Tibre, au pied de l'Apennin et sur la frontière de l'Umbrie. La situation n'avoit rien du commun avec les marais de l'Etrurie. On y trouvoit un bel amphithéâtre environné de beaux bois et de hautes montagnes, et partagé par le Tibre déjà navigable. Il y avoit beaucoup d'eau, le sol étoit fort et riche, et le climat des plus sains.

V. Cluv. Ital. Antiq. l. ii. c. 3. p. 378, &c.

THRASYMENUS LACUS. Hannibal attira les Romains dans une plaine, située entre les montagnes à l'orient et le lac à l'occident. Elle n'avoit que deux débouchés, par deux defilés, fort étroits, entre le lac et la montagne. Il paroît par l'inspection du local que le premier (en venant d'Arezzo) s'appelle Ossariæ,

Ossariæ, Osaia, ou Orsaia. Ce nom conserve la mémoire du carnage. L'autre défilé est au bourg de Passiniano.

TIBERIS. C'est dans l'Etrurie qu'il faut parler de ce fleuve célèbre. C'est dans cette province qu'il prend sa source; il la cotoye jusqu'à son embouchure, et les poëtes lui donnent à chaque instant l'épithète de *Tuscus amnis* ou de *Lydius amnis*. V. Cluv. Ital. Antiq. l. ii. c. 10.

Tum reges, asperque immani corpore Tybris,
A quo post Itali fluvium cognomine Tybrim
Diximus. Amisit verum vetus Albula nomen. Virgil. Æneid. l. viii. 330.

Et quem nunc gentes Tiberim noruntque timentque,
Tunc etiam pecori despiciendus eram.
Arcadis Evandri nomen tibi sæpe refertur;
Ille meas remis advena torsit aquas;
Venit et Alcides turbâ comitatus Achivâ;
Albula, si memini, tunc mihi nomen erat. Ovid. Fast. l. v. p. 642.

Sed pater ingenti medios illabitur amne
Albula, et immotâ perstringit mœnia ripâ. Sil. Ital. viii. 456.

—— Ego sum, pleno quem flumine cernis
Stringentem ripas et pinguia culta secantem,
Cæruleus Tiberis, cælo gratissimus amnis. Virgil. Æneid. viii. 62.

Ipse triumphali redimitus arundine Tybris
Romuleis famulas classibus aptet aquas,
Atque opulenta tibi placidis commercia ripis
Devehat hinc ruris, subvehat inde maris. Cl. Rutil. Numatian. Iter, i. 151.

Le Tibre commence à être navigable à Trusiamnum dans le territoire de Perusia, et ce n'est qu'après une course de 150 milles qu'il se décharge dans la mer grossi de quarante-deux autres rivières. Il servoit à la navigation intérieure de l'Italie; on y amenoit même par terre des marchandises de Berg. Grands Chemins, l. iii. c. 44, 45, p. 786—792, et l. v. c. 4, p. 828.

l'Adriatique auxquelles on avoit fait remonter le Pisaurus. Auguste avoit fait élargir et nettoyer le lit du Tibre pour arrêter les débordemens auxquels il étoit fort sujet.

Plin. Secund. Epist. viii. 17.

Malgré le fossé par lequel Trajan avoit voulu saigner le Tibre, ce fleuve se déborda aussi bien que l'Anio. Ils inondèrent tout le plat pays et causèrent des maux affreux.

Horat. Carmin. i. 2.

Vidimus flavum Tiberim, retortis
Litore Etrusco violenter undis,
Ire dejectum monumenta regis
Templaque Vestæ.

V. Cluvier. Ital. Ant. l. ii. c. 10.

Quand Pline a compté quarante-deux rivières qui se jettoient dans le Tibre, il a un peu exagéré pour justifier la supériorité de ce fleuve sur tous les autres de l'Italie; c'est par un pareil principe qu'il a diminué le nombre de celles qui se jettent dans le Po. Au lieu de quarante-deux on auroit peine à en compter treize. Les voici: la Tinia, le Clanis, le Nar, la Himella, le Farfarus, l'Allia, la Cremera, la Turia, l'Anio, Aqua Crabra, l'Almo, Aqua Ferentina. Le Clitumnus se jette dans la Tinia, comme le Velinus et le Telonius dans le Nar. L'Aqua Crabra, l'Aqua Ferentina, et la Juturna sont moins des rivières que des aqueducs et des canaux souterrains. En remontant l'Anio on trouve auprès de Tibur les sources chaudes d'Albunea, et vingt milles plus haut les trois lacs *Simbrivii*. Après les avoir traversé la rivière se précipite en bas une chute pour arriver à Sublaqueum, où les empereurs avoient un beau palais. De toutes ces rivières il n'y a que le Clanis, la Cremera, et la Turia qui

qui appartiennent à l'Etrurie. Toutes les autres parcourent l'Umbrie, le pays des Sabins ou le Latium pour se rendre au Tibre; mais il ne faut pas les séparer.

Une inondation qui arriva l'an de Rome 768, fit penser sérieusement au sénat des moyens de les empêcher, en détournant une partie de la masse des eaux qui grossissoit le Tibre au-delà de l'étendue de son lit. Mais les représentations de plusieurs villes d'Italie, animées par leurs intérêts, et armées des superstitions populaires, firent résoudre le sénat de ne point attenter aux loix de la nature, ni aux honneurs du Tibre. On avoit proposé trois partis: 1. De détourner le cours du Clanis du Tibre dans l'Arnus. Les Florentins représentèrent que ce changement leur seroit très pernicieux. 2. De saigner le Nar par un nombre de canaux, et de laisser perdre ses eaux dans les campagnes. Les habitans d'Interamna firent sentir que ce seroit changer en marais, le canton le plus fertile de l'Italie. 3. De boucher la sortie du lac Velinus et de l'empêcher de se décharger dans le Nar. Ce lac ainsi gêné auroit inondé tout le voisinage, le peuple de Réate étoit intéressé à faire valoir cette raison. Tacit. Annal. i. 79.

—— lavat ingentem perfundens flumine sacro
Clitumnus taurum, Narque albescentibus undis
In Tybrim properans, Tiniæque inglorius humor,
Et Clanis. Sil. Italic. viii. 452.

Clitumnus. Le Clitumnus sort d'une petite colline couverte d'un bois de cyprès. Sa course devient bientôt assez rapide pour se creuser un lit sur Plin. Secund. Epist. viii. 8.

sur un terrein sans pente, et pour porter des barques qui le descendent sans le secours des rames mais qui le remontent avec beaucoup de difficulté. Ses eaux claires renvoyent vivement l'image des bois qui couvrent ses bords. Un pont distingue la partie profanée d'avec les eaux sacrées. Au dessus de ce pont on peut naviguer mais on ne doit pas se baigner. On voit auprès le temple du dieu du fleuve, un bain public, et un grand nombre de beaux châteaux.

Virgil. Georg. ii. 146.

Hinc albi Clitumni greges, et maxima taurus
Victima; sæpe tuo perfusi flumine sacro
Romanos ad templa Deum duxere triumphos.

Juvenal. Satir. xii. 11.

Si res ampla domi similisque adfectibus esset;
Pinguior Hispellâ traheratur taurus, et ipsâ
Mole piger, nec finitimâ nutritus in herbâ,
Læta sed ostendens Clitumni pascua sanguis
Iret, et a grandi cervix ferienda ministro.

ANIO.

Sil. Ital. xii. 639.

Sulfureis gelidus quà serpit leniter undis
Ad genitorem Anio labens sine murmure Tybrim.

Virgil. Æneid. vii. 673.

——— Gelidumque Anienem et roscida rivis
Hernica saxa colunt.

Plin. Secund. Epist. viii. 17.

Anio, delicatissimus amnium, ideoque adjacentibus villis veluti invitatus retentusque, magnâ ex parte nemora, quibus inumbratur, et fregit et rapuit.

Horat. Carm. i. 7.

——— Domus Albuneæ resonantis,
Et præceps Anio, et Tiburni lucus, et uda
Mobilibus pomaria ripis.

Virgil. Æneid. vii. 82.

——————— lucosque sub altâ
Consulit Albunea; nemorum quæ maxima, sacro

Fonte

Fonte sonat, sævamque exhalat opaca Mephitim;
Hinc Italæ gentes omnisque Oenotria tellus
In dubiis responsa petunt.

ALMO.

Est locus, in Tiberim quà lubricus influit Almo,
Et nomen magno perdit in amne minor,
Illic purpureâ canus cum veste sacerdos
Almonis, Dominam sacraque lavat aquis.

Ovid. Fast. iv. p. 580.

JUTURNA. Les anciens ont souvent confondu cette source avec le Numicus. Mais il paroît que c'étoit proprement un ruisseau qui sort du Mont Alban, qui est d'abord assez fort pour tourner des moulins, qui forme un petit lac, et qui se jette dans le Tibre sept milles plus bas que Rome.

Cluvier. Ital. Antiq. l. ii. c. x. p. 722.

FERENTINUM. Voici une inscription que j'ai copiée sur une table de bronze conservée dans la Gallerie de Florence. J'y ajouterai quelques observations. J'ignore si ce monument a été publié.

L. ARRUNTIO

L. Arruntio Stella } Cos. (1)
L. Julio Marino }

XIIII K. Nov.

M. Acilius Placidus, L. Petronius Fronto IIII Vir id S. C. Ferentini (2) in Curia Ædis Mercuri scribundo adfuerunt (3), Q. Segiarnus Maecianus, T. Munnius Nomanlinus.

Quod universi V.F.T.Pomponium Bassum Clarissimum Virum (4) demandatam sibi curam ab indulgentissimo Imp. Caesare Nerva Trajano Augusto Germanico, quâ aeternati Italiae suae prospexit (5) secundum liberalitatem ejus, ita ordinare, ut omnis aetas curae ejus merito gratias agere debeat, futurumque ut tantae virtutis vir auxilio sit futurus municipio nostro. Q. O. E. R. F. P. D. E. R. I. C. Placere Conscriptis (6) legatos ex hoc ordine mitti ad T. Pomponium Bassum, clarissimum Virum, qui ab eo impetrent in clientelam amplissimae domus suae municipium nostrum recipere dignetur. (7) Patronumque se cooptari tabula hospitali incisa hoc decreto in domo suâ posita permittat, censuere.

Egerunt Legati
A. Caecilius, A. F. Quirinalis et
Quirinalis F (8).

(1) Ces deux noms ne se trouvent point parmi les consuls ordinaires, sous le règne de Trajan ; ils n'étoient donc que suffecti ; mais il paroît que les villes d'Italie ne se servoient pas de la magistrature des consuls ordinaires pour désigner l'année entière. On peut

peut croire que ce monument doit se placer entre l'an 97 et l'an 103 ou 104, époque où Trajan reçut le titre de Dacicus qui ne se trouve point ici.

(2) Je ne puis rien découvrir qui indique si c'est au Ferentinum de l'Etrurie ou à celui du pays des Herniques qu'il faut rapporter ce monument. Le nôtre est appellé à la vérité municipium, et je vois que M. Deslisle donne le nom de Colonie à celui qui est en Etrurie. Mais je sais en même tems qu'après que la loi Julia eut rendu inutiles toutes les distinctions de l'ancien droit Romain, ces termes sont devenus presque synonymes. Dans la Tabula de l'Italia Antiqua.

(3) Je n'ai pas besoin de remarquer combien cet usage d'assembler le sénat dans une curia consacrée auprès d'un temple, et celui de souscrire les noms des principaux qui étoient présens à un décret, étoient tous les deux empruntés de ceux du sénat Romain.

(4) Si ce Pomponius Bassus est celui de Pline, un témoignage bien plus respectable que celui du sénat de Ferentinum m'apprend qu'il étoit vraiment un homme illustre, et qu'après avoir consacré sa jeunesse à l'état dans l'exercice des premières magistratures, et dans le commandement des armées, il a su jouir de la vieillesse dans une retraite savante et tranquille. Plin. Secund. Epist. iv. 23.

(5) On peut demander quel étoit ce soin dont Bassus s'étoit si bien acquitté, mais qui est ici désigné si obscurement? Quelle étoit la prévoyance par laquelle Trajan avoit assuré l'éternité de l'Italie? Je ne vois pas à quoi ce terme pourroit se rapporter, si- non à l'encouragement du mariage ou à l'éducation des enfans. L'un ou l'autre peuvent seuls éterniser une nation. Nous savons que Trajan fut le fondateur d'un grand établissement de la dernière espèce par toute l'Italie. Bassus aura été chargé du département de Ferentinum ou peut-être de l'Etrurie, et ce détail étoit à la fois pénible et délicat. V. Muratori della Tavola Trajana di Velleia.

(6) Encore une mauvaise imitation du sénat Romain, d'autant plus mauvaise même que cette épithète n'étoit fondée que sur une circonstance arbitraire. Horace, qui s'est si bien amusé du sot orgueil du Prêteur de Fundi, auroit été assez surpris de ces airs de grandeur dans ce petit Ferentinum, le séjour du silence et de l'oubli; si toutefois c'est ce même Ferentinum. Horat. Epist. i. 17.

(7) Les relations du patron et du client sont assez connues. On sait

sait que d'un côté elles supposoient la protection et l'appui et qu'elles exigeoient de l'autre le respect et la reconnoissance. L'exemple de la famille Claudia, et de leurs cliens les Lacédémoniens, fait sentir entre autres que les peuples aussi bien que les particuliers recherchoient cet appui. Mais j'ignorois qu'ils le recherchassent encore sous les empereurs; et quand je songe à la jalousie de ces princes, je suis surpris qu'ils ayent laissé aux grands de Rome des honneurs qui paroissoient leur donner un lustre et un état indépendant de leurs bienfaits.

Sueton. in Tiberio. c. 6.

(8) Au style emporté et hyperbolique de cette inscription on la croiroit du quatrième siècle, dont la manière lui ressemble mieux que celle du premier; mais l'adulation d'une bourgade est toujours exprimée d'une façon plus excessive que celle de la capitale. Le goût survit à la liberté, et l'on sent qu'un pareil style est ridicule autant qu'il est bas.

FESCENNINUM.

Horat. Epist. ii. 1.

Fescennina post hunc invecta licentia morem,
Versibus alternis opprobria rustica fudit.

SECT. VII.

URBS ROMA.

Nardini Roma Vetus, l. i. passim.

AMBITUS, MŒNIA, ET PORTÆ. On peut distinguer trois villes de Rome, dont on connoît assez précisément les limites; celle de Romulus, celle de Servius Tullius, et celle d'Aurélien. I. La ville de Romulus ne comprenoit que le mont Palatin. Sa figure quadrangulaire lui fit donner le nom d'*Urbs quadrata*, dont les anciens se servent quelquefois pour la désigner. Elle n'avoit que trois portes: *Porta Romanula*, placée vis à vis du Forum, du Capitole et de l'Asylum; *Porta Mugonia*, très utile à ses pasteurs, pour mener leur bétail aux

aux pâturages de l'Esquilin, du Cælius, et des vallons qui les séparoient. *Porta Trigonia*, située à cet angle de la ville qui étoit tourné du côté de l'Aventin et du Latium. Romulus environna encore de murs le Capitole, sa forteresse, et son Asylum. On ne connoît que deux portes à cette enceinte: *Porta Carmentalis*, entre les rochers Tarpéïens et le Tibre. *Porta Janualis*, changée dans la suite en un temple de Janus. Elle étoit dans le Forum, et faisoit face à la rivière. II. La ville de Servius Tullius, qui est celle des beaux jours de la république et de l'empire. Elle comprenoit les sept collines fameuses, et s'étendoit au-delà du Tibre pour embrasser le Janiculum. On peut partager cet espace en quatre portions. 1. Une muraille qui, partant de la rivière, passoit sous les rochers escarpés du Capitole, et du mont Quirinal. Dans l'intervalle entre le fleuve et le Capitole on avoit substitué *Porta Flumentana* à *Porta Carmentalis* devenue infame et inutile depuis le malheur des *Fabii*. Dans celui entre le Capitole et le Quirinal, il y avoit *Porta Triumphalis* qui, s'ouvrant au Forum de Trajan, conduisoit les vainqueurs au Capitole. Sous le mont Quirinal, on croit pouvoir trouver *Porta Catularia* et *Porta Salutaris*. 2. Les monts Quirinal, Viminal, et Esquilin s'abaissent du côté de la campagne, avec une pente douce et presqu'insensible. Servius Tullius, voulant garantir la ville des insultes de ses voisins, fit tirer dans cette étendue, (elle étoit de sept stades,) un fossé large de cent pieds qu'il fortifia d'un bon rempart. On le traversoit par plusieurs portes, *Collina*,

lina, *Nomentana*, *Viminalis*, *Tiburtina*, *Esquilina*, *Prænestina*. 3. La muraille qui joignoit l'autre extrémité du rempart à la rivière, et qui embrassoit les monts Cælius et Aventin. J'y vois, *Portæ Cælimontana*, *Asinaria*, *Latina*, *Capena*, et *Tergemina*. 4. La partie de l'enceinte au-delà du Tibre, qui n'embrassoit point le Vatican. Il y avoit les portes *Portuensis*, *Janiculensis*, et *Septimiana*. Je viens de compter dix-neuf portes. Il y avoit plusieurs dont la situation est incertaine, et d'autres dont on ignore jusqu'au nom. Pline, qui vivoit sous cette époque, en connoissoit trente-sept, sans parler de sept qui n'étoient plus en usage. Des trente-sept, douze avoient deux *Jani* ou arcades. III. Aurélien fit une nouvelle enceinte, pour y comprendre le Champ de Mars et quelques autres endroits. On est assez en état de la suivre pour pouvoir s'étonner de l'hyperbole extravagante de Vopiscus qui lui donne cinquante milles d'étendue. A peine peut-on recevoir le témoignage d'Olympiodorus, qui en compte vingt-et-un. Il paroît clairement que Rome n'a jamais été plus étendue qu'elle ne l'est aujourd'hui. Dans cet agrandissement on vit paroître plusieurs portes nouvelles: *Aurelia*, au pont Aurélien, et *Porta Pinciana*, sous le *Collis hortulorum*. Les portes *Latina* et *Capena* furent reculées, mais elles gardèrent leurs anciens noms. *Tergemina* devint *Ostiensis*; *Flumentana* devint *Flaminia*, et *Collina*, *Salaria*. Cependant comme on se voyoit quelquefois obligé de songer à la défense de la capitale, on boucha plusieurs des portes. Du tems de Procope il n'en restoit plus de qua-

torze

torze ou quinze un peu considérables. Ceux qui examinent avec attention les murailles de Rome distinguent encore les pierres informes des premiers Romains, les marbres bien travaillés dont on les construisoit sous les empereurs, et les briques malcuites dont on les réparoit dans les siècles barbares.

Pline le naturaliste avoit dit que la ville avoit trente-sept portes, et qu'en comptant douze de ces portes, chacune une fois, on trouvoit 30,765 pas à mesurer depuis le milliaire d'or dans le *Forum*. L'enceinte des murs de Rome étoit de 13,200 pas selon le même auteur. Comme ce passage n'est point clair il a ouvert un vaste champ aux explications, aux conjectures, et aux corrections des critiques. Une condition essentielle de toute hypothèse doit être de concilier l'incertain, les 30,765 pas, avec les 13,200. Le système du savant Freret, très naturel d'ailleurs, remplit très bien cette condition. Il envisage la ville de Rome comme un cercle dont le milliaire étoit le centre. Douze grandes rues, qui vont aboutir à autant de portes, nous donnent pour leur mesure réunis 30,765 pas. Chaque rue ou le rayon du cercle avoit donc 2,562 pas de longueur, et le diamètre étoit de 5,124 pas. Les 13,200 pas qu'on nous a donnés pour circonférence du cercle produiroient un diamètre de 4,200 pas. La différence est de 924 pas, différence peu importante et occasionnée par le grand nombre de sinuosités qu'on trouvoit dans les rues de Rome. On peut encore justifier cette hypothèse par un autre calcul. Nous connoissons la superficie de

chaque région de la ville; il est aisé de tirer, de ces élémens, d'abord la superficie et ensuite la circonférence de Rome. Celle-ci se trouveroit de 13,549 pas Romains. Telle étoit l'enceinte des murs. Mais les fauxbourgs s'étendoient bien plus loin. Leur étendue étoit de 70,000 pas depuis le milliare. En continuant le même calcul nous trouverons que les grandes rues, les six diamètres, avoient chacun 11,500 pas d'étendue. Il faut croire cependant que tous ces fauxbourgs n'étoient point remplis de bâtimens, mais que les villages, les jardins, les maisons qui y étoient parsemées, faisoient douter aux étrangers s'ils étoient en ville ou à la campagne. Voilà le système de Freret; celui de M. Hume est fondé sur les mêmes principes.

Mémoires de l'Académie des Belles Lettres, tom. xxiv. p. 528—532.

Miranda. Strabon admiroit dans Rome trois choses que les Grecs avoient négligées, les grands chemins, les aqueducs, et les cloaques. Ces fleuves, qu'on avoit fait venir dans la ville, balayoient continuellement les cloaques et dégorgeoient dans le Tibre toutes les ordures de la capitale. Ces eaux, dispersées dans une infinité de canaux et de réservoirs, fournissoient aux besoins de chaque maison. Rome est redevable de ce bienfait au grand Agrippa. Le Champ de Mars, rempli de tant de beaux monumens de Pompée, de César, d'Auguste, de sa famille et de ses courtisans, offroit un contraste frappant avec d'autres endroits du même champ, toujours couverts de verdure et réservés aux exercices militaires de la jeunesse. Le Campus Minor, à côté, étoit orné de trois théâtres, d'un amphithéâtre,

Strabon. Geog. l. v. p. 163.

phithéâtre, de plusieurs portiques, d'un temple et du mausolée d'Auguste bâti d'une pierre blanche, et dont les étages différens soutenoient des terrasses plantées d'arbres. Cependant lorsqu'un voyageur sortoit de ce fauxbourg pour entrer dans la ville, les basiliques, les portiques, les temples, et surtout le Capitole, lui faisoient oublier tout ce qu'il avoit déjà vu.

Voici les observations les plus intéressantes que j'ai trouvées dans un mémoire de l'Abbé Barthelemy sur les anciens monumens de Rome. 1. *Le Colisée.* Il est bâti de grosses pierres Tiburtines, unies par des crampons de fer scellés, pour l'ordinaire, dans une des pierres. La seule enceinte extérieure, par un calcul établi sur la réduction du mur entier en pieds cubiques, et sur les détails de la main d'œuvre, nous coûteroit aujourd'hui plus de dix-sept millions. Ce monument a plus souffert des Romains que des barbares: on voit dans un traité original entre les factions de la ville dans le quatorzieme siècle, qu'il est stipulé qu'il sera libre aux deux partis d'arracher des pierres du Colisée. 2. *Les Obélisques.* Les hiéroglyphes sont travaillées d'une façon singulière sur ces monumens de granite. Le plan des figures est en creux; mais dans ce creux les figures ont un relief léger, et garni tout autour pas la vive arrête du granite: c'est comme l'empreinte d'un cachet dans la cire. 3. *La Colonne de Trajan.* Entre le Quirinal et le Capitole, étoit une vallée étroite où Trajan voulut construire un Forum. Il fallut aplanir le terrein, et pour marquer jusqu'à quelle profondeur la mon-

V. Mém. de l'Académie des Belles Lettres, tom. xxviii. p. 579-599.

tagne s'étoit abaissée, on éleva en forme de témon, une colonne dont la hauteur est d'environ 110 pieds, sans y comprendre la figure de Trajan, dont elle étoit surmontée. Le fût de la colonne, qui, dans sa partie inférieure, a dix à onze pieds de diamètre, est formé de vingt-trois blocs de marbre placés horizontalement l'un sur l'autre. Dans l'intérieur on a pratiqué un escalier de 183 marches, éclairé par quarante-un fenêtres. Les victoires de Trajan sur les Daces sont représentées autour de ce monument, dont celle de M. Aurèle n'est que la copie. 4. *Les Mausolées.* A Paltozolo, sur le lac d'Albani, on voit, sur la face d'un rocher, douze faisceaux, une chaire curule, un sceptre surmonté d'un aigle, et une inscription, qu'on ne peut pas lire, au pied du rocher. Au-dessus plusieurs marches s'élèvent en pyramide; à côté des marches un petit corridor conduit à une chambre qui a onze pieds deux pouces de long sur neuf pieds six pouces de largeur; le tout est taillé, sculpté, et creusé dans le roc. Les urnes sont quelquefois quarrées et faites en maisons. On y distingue le toit avec ses divisions, et la porte tantôt fermée et tantôt à demi ouverte, et quelquefois occupée par le Génie de la mort. 5. *Les Mosaïques.* Les Romains avoient des marbres d'une grande variété de couleurs. Quand une couleur manquoit aux artistes en marbres, ils y suppléoient par des émaux et des briques. Il y a peu de mosaïques à Rome qui répondent à l'idée qu'on s'en fait. Quant à celle de Préneste, l'Abbé Barthelemy croit qu'elle représente l'arrivée d'Hadrien dans la haute Egypte.

6. *Les*

6. *Les Statues.* Les antiquaires en comptent près de 70,000 dans la ville et les environs. Avant le tems d'Hadrien on n'y traçoit point les prunelles des yeux. Elles ont subi bien des révolutions. Les empereurs les déplaçoient souvent, et elles ont été *restaurées* par les ouvriers Romains aussi bien que par les nôtres.

Voici les objets que Pline admiroit le plus. 1. *Le Circus Maximus* construit par Jules César. Il avoit trois stades de long, et un de largeur; mais si l'on comprend les bâtimens, la largeur étoit de quatre *jugera.* 2. *La Basilique de Paulus,* dont les colonnes étoient du plus beau marbre de Phrygie. 3. *Le Forum d'Auguste.* 4. *Le Temple de Paix* par Vespasien. 5. *Le Panthéon,* dedié par Agrippa à Mars le Vengeur. 6. *Le Forum de César,* dont le terrein seul coûta au dictateur cent millions de sesterces (vingt millions de France.) 7. *Les maisons particulières.* L'an de Rome 676, la maison du Consul Lépidus étoit la plus belle de la ville pour la dépense, les tableaux, et la quantité de marbre. Trente-cinq ans après l'année de la mort de César, elle n'étoit pas la centième, et ces cent maisons furent bientôt surpassées à leur tour par une infinité d'autres encore plus belles. 8. *Les Cloaques.* Cet ouvrage de Tarquin l'ancien, avoit déjà bravé les efforts de sept cens ans. Rome, minée sous ses montagnes, étoit soutenue partout sur des arcades de la hauteur d'un char de foin, et d'une telle solidité qu'elles soutinrent le transport des 360 colonnes de marbre de Scaurus dont chacune avoit 38 pieds de long. 9. *Les Aqueducs.* Q.

Plin. Hist. Natur. xxxvi. 15.

Marcius Rex y travailla beaucoup pendant sa préture; mais l'Edile Agrippa, non content d'avoir purgé et embelli tous les anciens aqueducs, ajouta un nouveau ruisseau, *l'Aqua Virgo.* Faire 700 réservoirs, 105 fontaines, 130 *castella*, et les orner de 300 statues de marbre ou de bronze, aussi bien que 400 colonnes de marbre, ne fut que l'ouvrage d'une année. L'aqueduc commencé par Caligula et achevé par Claude surpassoit tous les autres. On prit les eaux à 40 milles sur un terrein très élevé, on les conduisit à Rome, et on les dispersa sur les sept montagnes. Rome étoit alors placée sur sept fleuves qui emportoient toutes ses ordures dans le Tibre. 10. *Le Capitole.* Il respira pendant long-tems la simplicité. Du tems de Pline les lambris des maisons étoient couverts de plaques d'or massif; on se contenta de dorer ceux du Capitole après la destruction de Carthage sous la censure de Mummius. On doroit jusqu'aux murs des maisons; mais son siècle avoit critiqué Catulus d'avoir couvert le Capitole de tuiles de bronze. Sylla y placa les colonnes destinées à soutenir le temple de Jupiter Olympien à Athènes. Elles étoient très simples et peut-être seulement de pierre. 11. *Les Obélisques.* Il y en avoit trois, taillés dans les carrières de la Thébaïde par les anciens rois, et amenés à Rome par les empereurs. Le premier, qui avoit plus de 125 pieds de hauteur sans compter la base, étoit dans le grand Cirque. Le second, placé dans le Champ de Mars, où il servit long tems de gnomon, avoit 116 pieds. Auguste les transporta d'Egypte à Rome; le troisième, placé

Plin. Hist. Natur. xxxiii. 3. et xxxvi. 6.

Idem. xxxvi. 9, 10 11.

placé dans le cirque du Vatican, s'étoit cassé quand on l'a élevé. 12. *Les Colosses, et les autres Statues.* Il n'étoit pas possible de les compter. On voyoit dans le Capitole un Apollon que Lucullus avoit apporté du Pont, haut de 30 coudées, il avoit coûté 150 talens; et le Jupiter que Sp. Carvilius avoit fait jetter en fonte des cuirasses des Samnites vaincus: on le distinguoit du sommet du mont Albain. Le colosse de Néron avoit 110 pieds. Un Alexandre par Lysippe que Néron fit dorer, &c. &c. C'étoient des ouvrages de fonte (*signa*). En fait de statues proprement dites, il y avoit, parmi une infinité d'autres, une Vénus dans le temple de la Paix qui ne le cédoit point aux anciens, et un Nil avec seize enfans, dans le même endroit, fait de basaltes, pierre Ethiopienne, qui ressembloit au fer par sa couleur et sa dureté. Metellus Macedonicus (vers le commencement du septième siècle de Rome) bâtit une portique et deux temples qui furent renfermés ensuite dans l'enceinte de la portique d'Octavia. Il avoit apporté de la Macédoine cette troupe de statues équestres qu'il plaça vis-à-vis des temples, et qui en faisoit le grand ornement. C'étoit Lysippe qui avoit ainsi immortalisé les amis d'Alexandre, qui périrent à la bataille du Granique. Les figures étoient ressemblantes, et le roi étoit à leur tête. " Hic idem primus omnium, Romæ ædem, ex marmore in iis ipsis monumentis molitus, vel magnificentiæ vel luxuriæ princeps fuit." Les critiques ne sont point d'accord sur le sens de ces paroles, si Métellus bâtit une maison particulière, un temple de Rome Déese, ou simplement un tem-

Plin. Hist. Natur. xxxiv. 7. 8.

Idem. xxxvi. 5. 7.

Vell. Paterc. l. i. c. xi.

ple dans la ville. Les deux premiers sens me paroissent peu conformes à l'esprit du tems. J'adopte le troisième qui est aussi le plus littéral. Si M. Burman pense qu'on n'auroit jamais blâmé la magnificence à l'égard des dieux, je le renvoye seulement à Juvenal et à Ovide.* Près d'un siècle plus tard Mamurra bâtit une maison sur le mont Cælius qu'il incrusta de marbre. Ce parvenu, qui avoit pillé les Gaules sous le gouvernement de César, n'avoit pas une seule colonne dans ce palais qui ne fut de marbre de Lune ou de Caryste. Enfin M. Lepidus osa faire les seuils de ses portes du marbre de Numidie. Selon Pline, ce Lepidus, qui renchérit sur le luxe de Mamurra, étoit le collègue de Catulus en 676. Cependant quand je vois que la fortune de Mamurra n'a pu commencer qu'en 695, j'aimerois mieux l'entendre de Lepidus le triumvir. L'an 628, les censeurs citèrent l'augure Æmilius Lepidus pour avoir loué une maison à six mille sesterces par an (1200 livres.) Un sénateur auroit osé à peine habiter une maison d'un aussi bas prix du tems de Tibère. Cette maison de Lepidus n'a-t-elle jamais donné que de mauvais exemples à la république? Encore une conjecture sur Lepidus et Mamurra. Quand je réfléchis sur le luxe de ces personnages, il me paroît que c'est Marmurra qui a renchéri sur Lepidus. Il faut tout autrement de marbre et de

Juvenal. Satir. xi. 111, &c. Ovid. Fast. i. p. 441. Plin Hist. Nat. xxxvi. 6.

Vell. Paterc. l. iii. c. 10.

Rutil. Iter, l. i. 295—312.

* En 662 L. Crassus mit en œuvre six colonnes de marbre d'Hymette de douze pieds de long, dans sa maison Palatine. V. Plin. Hist. Natur. xxxvi. 3.

dépense

dépense pour couvrir une maison entière de plaques de marbre, que pour en orner les portes de quelques apartemens. C'est sur ce calcul que Pline auroit dû apprécier le dégré de leur luxe, et non point sur une vaine idée du marbre prodigué aux vils usages puisqu'on le fouloit aux pieds. Cette pensée sent bien le rhéteur, et elle n'est pas seul de son espèce dans l'histoire naturelle de cet auteur. L'indignation que Cornelius Nepos exprimoit contre Mamurra aura encore pu lui faire prendre le change. Il n'auroit peut-être pas vu que cette indignation se portoit plutôt sur la hardiesse de la personne que sur la nouveauté de la chose, et que les Romains, observateurs scrupuleux des bienséances, étoient révoltés du luxe du parvenu, quoiqu'ils eussent pardonné à celui du consul.

Lorsqu' Auguste eut rétabli la paix dans l'état il songea à rétablir l'ordre dans la ville, qui changea bientôt de face. Il nettoya le lit du Tibre, il forma un guet nombreux destiné à veiller à la sureté publique et à prévenir les vols et les incendies. Il partagea la ville en quartiers, et ceux-ci en *Vici*: les uns et les autres avoient leurs chefs particuliers. Il construisit beaucoup d'ouvrages publics: 1. Un forum, devenu nécessaire par la multitude des personnes et des affaires, à laquelle les deux autres *fora* ne suffisoient plus. Dans les deux portiques de ce forum, il plaça les statues de tous les grands hommes qui avoient agrandi l'état, chacune dans son habit de triomphe. 2. Le Temple de Mars le Vengeur; c'est au vengeur de la mort de César. Ce temple devoit être celui des triomphes

Sueton. in August. c. 29, 30, 31.

omphes et des dépouilles. 3. Le temple d'Apollon Palatin, dans l'enceinte même du palais impérial. Auguste y ajouta une portique avec une bibliothèque Grecque et Latine. 4. Le temple de Jupiter Tonnant dans l'enceinte du Capitole. Il dédia plusieurs autres ouvrages sous le nom de sa femme, de sa sœur, de son neveu, et de ses petits-fils; les portiques de Livie et d'Octavie, la portique et la basilique de Caius et Lucius, et le théâtre de Marcellus. Il encouragea les sénateurs à suivre son exemple. Marcius Philippus bâtit le temple d'Hercule et des Muses; L. Cornificius celui de Diane; Asinius Pollio le palais de la liberté; Munatius Plancus le temple de Saturne; Cornelius Balbus, un théâtre; Statilius Taurus, un amphithéâtre; Agrippa beaucoup de grands ouvrages. Tant de beaux monumens, construits ou rétablis sous le règne d'Auguste, justifient bien son propos,—qu'il avoit trouvé une ville de brique, et qu'il en laissoit une de marbre. Auguste donna une fois au Capitole seize mille livres d'or, et cinquante millions de sesterces de pierreries.

Cl. Rutil. Iter. i. 47.

Exaudi, Regina tui pulcherrima mundi,
Inter sidereos Roma recepta polos.
Exaudi, genitrix hominum, genitrixque Deorum,
Non procul a cœlo per tua templa sumus.

— — —

i. 93.

Percensere labor densis decora alta tropæis,
Ut si quis stellas pernumerare velit,
Confunduntque vagos delubra micantia visus.
Ipsos crediderim sic habitare Deos.
Quid loquar aerio pendentes fornice rivos
Quà vix imbriferas tolleret Iris aquas?

Hos

Hos potius dicas crevisse in sidera montes:
Tale Giganteum Græcia laudat opus,
Intercepta tuis conduntur flumina muris,
Consumunt totos celsa lavacra lacus.
Nec minus et propriis celebrantur roscida venis
Totaque nativo mœnia fonte sonant;
Frigidus æstivas hinc temperat halitus auras,
Innocuamque levat purior unda sitim.

— — —

Quid loquar inclusas inter laquearia sylvas, Cl. Rutil. i. 111.
Vernula quà vario carmine ludit avis?
Vere tuo nunquam mulceri desinit annus,
Deliciasque tuas victa tuetur hyems.
Erige crinales lauros seniumque sacrati
Verticis, in virides Roma recinge comas,
Aurea turrigero radient diademata cono
Perpetuosque ignes aureus umbo vomat.

L'empereur Constance vint à Rome en 356. Tout l'étonnoit dans cette capitale. Il reconnut que la vérité surpassoit la renommée. Dans la visite qu'il fit des objets curieux de la ville et des environs, il admiroit surtout, 1. Le Capitole, digne du Dieu qu'on y servoit. 2. Des bains grands comme des provinces entières. 3. L'amphithéâtre construit de grandes pierres Tiburtines, et d'une hauteur où l'œil avoit peine à atteindre. 4. Le Panthéon, qui paroissoit un quartier entier, et dont les arcades étoient très élevées. 5. Les colonnes creusées en escalier et portant les statues des princes. 6. Le Temple de Rome. 7. Le Forum de la Paix. 8. Le Théâtre de Pompée. 9. L'Odeum et le Stade. 10. Mais surtout le Forum de Trajan, ouvrage dont la grandeur et le singulier frap- Ammian. Marcellin. xvi. 10. p. 102, 103. Edit. Gronov.

frappoient également et excluoient à la fois la description et l'imitation. Constantin et le prince Hormisdas admirèrent surtout la statue colossale de Trajan à cheval placée au milieu de la superbe basilique.

V. Berg. Grands Chemins de l'Empire. l. v. c. 2-7.

ÆTATES. On peut distinguer quatre ages de cette ville. 1. Du tems des premiers rois, elle ressembloit plutôt à un camp de Tartares, qu'à une ville Européenne; un assemblage confus de cabanes qui ne renfermoient qu'une troupe de pâtres dirai-je, ou de brigands. Le palais de Romulus s'est conservé long tems. Elle n'étoit qu'une petite chaumière. 2. L'an de Rome 138, Avant Christ 616, Tarquin l'ancien fut élu roi; il apporta dans l'état naissant le goût des arts. Quand je songe au goût Etrusque qu'on apperçevoit dans tous les premiers monumens de Rome, et que je le compare avec l'attachement exclusif des Grecs pour leurs artistes, l'origine Corinthienne de Tarquin me paroît très suspecte. Quoiqu'il en soit, cet étranger construisit beaucoup d'ouvrages publics, le grand Cirque, et les Cloaques; il commença le Capitole et des murailles de pierre autour de la ville, et ses successeurs n'eurent que la gloire d'exécuter ses idées. Les anciens parlent avec étonnement de la grandeur de ces monumens; des cloaques surtout, qui auroient fait honneur au siècle d'Auguste, et qui paroissoient bien au-dessus des forces d'un petit roitelet. Mais ne seroit-il pas permis de croire que la gloire du fondateur a obscurci celle des consuls et des censeurs qui ont rétabli, agrandi, et perfectionné tous ces ouvrages?

Dionys. Halicarn. Antiquit. Rom. l. iii. p. 106. Tit. Liv. i. 35, 36.

ges? Je vois que les censeurs donnèrent une fois mille talens pour nettoyer et pour rétablir ces cloaques qui s'étoient bouchées. Les premiers consuls contribuèrent peu à l'embellissement de la ville. Le magistrat d'une année ne pouvoit guères dédier l'ouvrage qu'il auroit commencé, pendant que la gloire plus brillante d'un triomphe ne coûtoit alors qu'une campagne heureuse de quinze jours. Les Gaulois ont dû trouver dans Rome une ville assez pauvre et mal-bâtie. Je pense qu'on se fait une idée trop outrée des ravages de ces barbares, et que de quelques expressions un peu hyperboliques de Tite Live, on a conclu un peu légèrement que toute la ville avoit périe dans l'incendie des Gaulois. Mais sans me servir du fameux passage de Polybe, qui soutient qui la ville s'étoit rachetée du feu et même du pillage, sans m'appuyer d'une expression de Tite Live, douteuse à la vérité et qui peut ne regarder que le premier jour, je dirai seulement, 1. Que dans l'incendie de Néron on vit périr le temple de la Lune, l'ouvrage de Servius Tullius, et le temple de Jupiter Stator construit par Romulus, le temple de Vesta et le palais de Numa; et l'autel et le temple d'Hercule qu'on attribuoit à Evandre, et qui n'étoit certainement pas moins ancien que la ville même. 2. Que d'abord après la défaite des Gaulois, avant qu'on eût pris la résolution de rétablir la ville, le sénat s'assembla dans la *Curia Hostilia*, qui a dû s'être trouvée au milieu des quartiers Gaulois. Je conviens que les Gaulois firent beaucoup de mal à Rome, et qu'un très grand nombre de monumens publics

V. Tit. Liv. v. 42,3.

Tacit. Annal. xv. 41.

Tit. Liv. v. 55.

publics et de maisons particulières furent embrasées. 3. Les Romains rebâtirent bientôt la ville, mais avec une telle précipitation qu'on ne tiroit point les rues au cordeau, et que les cloaques, qui devoient être toujours sous les lieux publics, se trouvèrent dans beaucoup d'endroits sous les maisons. La ville se ressentit longtems de cette circonstance. Les rues étoient toujours remplies de sinuosités, et fort étroites, et les maisons d'une hauteur extraordinaire. Il n'y avoit que les fauxbourgs, le champ de Mars, &c. bâtis dans un tems plus heureux, qui n'avoient point ces désagrémens. Les embellissemens de la ville ne commencèrent que vers le milieu du cinquième siècle, sous la censure d'Appius Claudius, qui construisit un aqueduc et un grand chemin pavé jusqu'à Capoue. Ces ouvrages étoient originaux dans leur espèce. Rome s'enrichit bientôt. La dévotion de ses généraux la remplit de temples. Chaque victoire fournissoit l'occasion du vœu, les richesses pour bâtir le temple, et les ouvrages d'art pour l'orner. Quand on songe que Volsinii, petite ville de l'Etrurie, a fourni deux milles statues, il est difficile de calculer ce que les généraux ont dû tirer de Tarentum, Syracuse, Carthage, Corinthe, Athènes, Pelta, et Alexandrie. Pompée, César, Auguste, et Agrippa, l'avarice des gouverneurs, et le luxe des particuliers, tout contribua à remplir Rome des plus beaux édifices. Enfin le 18 Juillet, l'an de Rome 817, et de l'ère Chrétienne 64, le hasard, et peut-être la vanité de Néron, alluma une incendie affreuse, qui dura six jours et sept nuits, et qui

Cicero de Leg. Agrar. contra Rullum. ii. 35.

Tit. Liv. ix. 29.

Plin. Hist. Nat. xxxiv. 7.

Tacit. Annal. xv. 38—43.

Sueton. in Neron. 38.

qui réduisit en cendres un nombre infini de maisons et de temples, les dépouilles des guerres Celtiques et Puniques, et les plus beaux ouvrages de la Grèce. Des quatorze régions, trois furent ruinées de fond en comble, sept souffrirent au point qu'il n'en resta que peu de bâtimens; il n'y en eut que quatre où le feu ne parvint pas. 4. Rome renaquit bientôt de ses cendres plus belle que jamais. Les règlemens de Néron seroient dignes du plus sage des princes. On distribua les quartiers d'une façon régulière, on tira les rues au cordeau, on leur donna une largeur convenable; on les orna partout de portiques, on devoit employer les débris des édifices à remplir les marais d'Ostie. Les propriétaires étoient obligés de rebâtir de pierre de Tibur ou de Gabii, à l'épreuve du feu, et sans murs mitoyens. Cet édit, appuyé de l'autorité, des récompenses, et de l'exemple du prince, aussi bien que de son successeur Vespasien, produisit un tel effet, que malgré les horreurs de trois guerres civiles et de trois fantômes d'empereurs, tout se retrouvoit sur un pied bien supérieur à l'ancienne ville dans le tems que Pline acheva son histoire naturelle en 831. Les fléaux physiques sont bientôt réparés dans une capitale dont les ressources sont celles d'un empire entier. Depuis Vespasien jusqu'à Marc Aurèle, tous les empereurs se sont piqués de contribuer à l'embellissement de Rome, et si la décadence des arts empêcha Sévère, Alexandre, Aurélien, et Dioclétien d'y mettre autant de goût, ils tâchèrent au moins d'y suppléer, par la magnificence. La fondation de Constantinople affoiblit Rome, les barbares

Mon Journal, le 20 Septemb. 1763.

Plin. in præfat. Hist. Natur. *passim*. xxxvi. 25.

Mon Journal, le 6 Octobre, 1763.

bares y firent quelque dégat, mais c'est au zèle des papes, qui ruinèrent les temples, et à la misère des siècles suivans, qu'il faut attribuer la ruine de la plûpart des édifices de l'ancienne Rome. Grégoire le Grand et le laps du tems y ont fait plus de mal qu'Atila.

Tacit. Annal. iv. 56.

ROMA DEA. Le peuple de Smyrne, pour faire sa cour aux Romains, bâtit un temple à Rome Déesse. Cet exemple d'adulation et de superstition fut bientôt imité dans toutes les provinces; mais ce ne fut qu'en 874, 315 ans après la fondation du temple de Smyrne, que l'Empereur Hadrien introduisit le culte de la capitale dans la capitale même. Il y bâtit un temple magnifique, et ordonna que la fête des Palilia ne seroit plus appellée que l'anniversaire de la naissance de Rome. Lorsque la Déesse est représentée sur les médailles, on la voit en habit militaire, une partie de son sein découverte, l'exposition de Romulus gravée sur son bouclier.

V. Valesium ad Ammian. Marcell. xvi. 10. p. 103. Addison's Dialogues upon Medals, p. 127.

Plinii Collatio.

On voit, dans la belle bibliothèque du Marquis Riccardi, à Florence, un excellent manuscrit qui contient toute l'Histoire Naturelle de Pline l'ancien et les Epitres de Pline le jeune. M. Folkes, qui est mort Président de la Société Royale, a prononcé qu'il étoit le manuscrit le plus ancien de ces écrivains que nous ayons; et le Docteur Lami, garde de la bibliothèque, le croit au moins du neuvième siècle. Il est écrit dans cette petite écriture courante qui est aussi ancienne que les lettres Onciales et beaucoup plus commune. Il est cependant assez net et très bien conservé. Sans avoir eu le tems de l'exa-

miner

miner en détail, j'ai remarqué que l'ordre des livres n'est pas toujours conforme aux éditions dont la méthode paroît néanmoins plus naturelle. Ce MS. fourniroit beaucoup à un nouvel éditeur de Pline. Il n'a pas même été collationé pour l'édition du P. Hardouin. Voici quelques différences que j'ai observées dans des endroits intéressans. 1. Dans le fameux passage sur l'étendue de Rome on y lit *Censoribus Imperatoribus Vespasianis A. U. C.* 926. *M. P.* 13,200: *ita ut* XII. *praetereanturque ex veteribus* VII. *quae esse desierunt efficit passuum per directum* $\overline{\text{XX}}$ *M.* DCCLXV*..... *per vicos omnium viarum mensura colligit paullo amplius* $\overline{\text{XX}}$ *P.* 2. *L.* xxxiii. *c.* 1. on y lit *A. U. C.* 448, *et* CCCIV. *ann. post Capitolinam*, en parlant du temple de la Concorde de Flavius. 3. En parlant du Circus Maximus, on y trouve CCL. écrit en figures, sans que *mille* soit ou exprimé ou désigné par un trait.

Sect. VIII.

LATIUM ET CAMPANIA.

Campaniæ Regio. Ce petit pays, qui n'a guères plus de 180 milles Romains dans son étendue depuis le Tibre jusqu'au Silarus, et qui en a à peine 50 dans sa plus grande largeur de Sora au promontoire Circeii, existera toujours dans la mémoire des hommes, et attirera l'attention de tous V. Cluvier. Ital. Antiq. l. iii. et iv.

* La leçon ordinaire est suppléée à la marge d'une main plus récente et tout à fait moderne.

Plin. Hist. Natur. iii. 5.

les siècles. Nous le connoissons dans tous ses états, le pays de la barbarie et des fables; rempli de vingt nations libres, vertueuses, et féroces; le siège de l'empire, du luxe, et des arts; avili aujourd'hui par la superstition et la misère. Dans chacun de ses états à peine y a-t-il un village, une montagne, une rivière qui ne soit fameuse dans l'histoire ou la poësie. Il se divise naturellement en I. LATIUM, II. CAMPANIA, et III. le pays les PICENTINS. Je suis surpris qu'Auguste les ait réunis dans une seule région. Constantin en confia le gouvernement au consulaire de la Campanie, un des principaux officiers du Bas Empire. Je voudrois savoir comment les loix concilioient sa juridiction avec celle du préfet de Rome dont l'autorité, qui n'étoit bornée que par le centième milliaire, devoit enlever au consulaire plus de la moitié de sa province. Ses bornes sont connues; la Mer, le Tibre, le Silarus, l'Anio, et le pays des Marsi, des Samnites, et des Hirpini.

La Carte de l'Italie ancienne, par M. Deslisle.

Giannone, Hist. Civile de Naples, tom. i. l. ii. c. 3.

V. Cluvier. Ital. Antiq. l. iii.

I. LATIUM. Dans le sens nouveau et étendu où l'on peut considérer le Latium, ses limites s'étendoient bien plus loin que celles du Latium ancien et propre. Il étoit renfermé entre la mer, le Tibre, l'Anio, et le Liris. Ce sont-là les bornes générales que les anciens lui ont données; mais on voit le Latium se resserroit en deçà de l'Anio pour faire place au pays des Æqui, et qu'il se débordoit au-delà du Liris, jusqu'au mont Massique. C'est aux Romains qu'on doit l'extension du nom Latin. A mesure qu'ils subjuguoient les cités de cette côte, ils les recevoient dans la ligue qu'ils avoient formée

La Carte du Milieu de l'Italie de Deslisle.

ancienne-

anciennement avec la cité des Latins, et ces peuples acquéroient par adoption le nom générique des Latins. C'est au moyen de ces cités qu'il faut faire un nouveau partage. J'y trouve les cités suivantes: 1. Les Latins ou le Latium ancien et propre; 2. Les Rutuli; 3. Les Hernici; 4. Les Volsci; et 5. Les Aurunci ou Ausones. Je suis étonné que les Romains n'ayent pas étendu cette dénomination aux Sabins, leurs premiers alliés, mais surtout aux Æqui dont le pays étoit presqu'enclavé dans le Latium. Ce pays est riche et fertile, à l'exception de quelques endroits maritimes, tels que le territoire d'Ardée, le pays entre Antium et Lavinium jusqu'à Pometia, avec une partie des environs de Circeii, de Terracine, et de Setia. Ces endroits sont marécageux et mal-sains. On trouve encore des cantons pierreux et remplis de montagnes, mais encore y trouve-t-on des fruits, des bois, et des pâturages.

I. 1. LATIUM VETUS SEU PROPRIUM. Ce petit pays sera mieux désigné par le dénombrement de ses villes que par des bornes que ne sauroient qu'être un peu vagues. Les anciens ont voulu l'étendre depuis l'embouchure du Tibre jusqu'au promontoire de Circeii sur une côte de cinquante milles. V. Cluvier. Ital. Antiq. l. iii. c. 3, 4.

Je conviens que Circeii étoit une ville Latine aussi bien que plusieurs autres étrangères à l'ancienne cité, quoique les rois de Rome les eussent fait entrer dans l'alliance. Une grande partie des terres intermédiaires appartenoit toujours aux Rutuli et aux Volsques. Dans ce Latium propre, je trouve entre la Voie Appienne et la mer, 1. Ostia; 2.

Laurentum ou Laurolavinium; 3. Lavinium et le Numicius; 4. Lanuvium, le Champ Solonius; 5. Politorium; 6. Tellene; et 7. Ficana, sur les bords du Tibre. Entre les Voies Appienne et Latine, y compris les deux chemins, j'apperçois, 1. Bovillæ; 2. Aricia; 3. Alba Longa. Entre la Voie Latine et l'Anio je vois presque toutes les bonnes villes du Latium: 1. Tusculum; 2. Ortona; 3. Labicum et le lac Regillus; 4. Gabii; 5. Præneste; 6. Scaptia; 7. Pedum; 8. Æsula; 9. Tibur.

Sil. Ital. Punic. viii. 358.

Faunigenæ *Socio* bella invasere *Sicano.*
— — — —
Laurentique domo gaudent et *fonte Numici.*
— — — —
Quos celsa devexa jugo Junonia sedes
Lanuvium; atque altrix casti Collatia Bruti,
Quique *immite nemus Triviæ,* atque *ostia Tusci*
Amnis amant, tepidoque fovent *Almone* Cybelen:
Hinc *Tibur,* Catille, tuum, sacrisque dicatum
Fortunæ *Præneste* jugis: Antemnaque prisco
Crustumiò prior, atque habiles ad aratra *Labici,*
Necnon *sceptriferi* qui potant *Tybridis* undam.

Cluvier. Ital. Antiq. l. iii. c. 3. p. 879.

I. 1. Ostia. L'île sacrée, que les deux bras du Tibre formoient auprès d'Ostia, étoit couverte de verdure dans toutes les saisons.

Cl. Rutil. Iter, l. i. 179.

Tum demum ad naves gradior, quà fronte bicorni
Dividuus Tiberis dexteriora secat,
Lævus inaccessis fluvius vitatur arenis;
Hospitis Æneæ gloria sola manet.

Strab. Geog. v. p. 159.

I. 1. Lavinium. Cette ville, autrefois considérable, n'étoit plus qu'un petit village du tems de Strabon.

Strabon. Fidenæ, Antemnæ, et Collatia, avoient subi le même sort.

Il est difficile de demêler la confusion qui règne parmi les anciens au sujet de Lanuvium, Lavinium, et Laurentum ou Laurolavinium. Comme les noms se ressembloient, on les a quelquefois pris pour un seul endroit, et quelquefois on a attribué à l'un ce qui n'appartenoit qu'aux autres. Cluvier sue sang et eau pour les concilier. Cluvier. Ital. Antiq. l. iii. c. 3. p. 888.

I. 1. Alba Longa. On ne connoît Albe que par sa renommée; encore une partie de cette renommée pourroit bien être fabuleuse puisqu'elle fut détruite, à l'aurore des tems historiques, par Tullus Hostilius qui n'en laissa subsister que les temples, dont le principal étoit celui de Jupiter Latialis situé hors de la ville et au sommet du mont Albain. C'étoit-là qu'on offroit tous les ans ce sacrifice commun pour toutes les cités Latines, qui y assistoient par leurs députés. Les consuls y présidoient comme chefs de l'alliance. On conçoit sans peine qu'une pareille cérémonie, qui attiroit un monde infini, devoit faire rebâtir quelques maisons pour les loger. Aussi se forma-t-il bientôt autour du temple un petit bourg nommé Forum Populi. On voyoit aussi sur le mont Albain, et dans les environs, un grand nombre d'autels, de chapelles, et de tombeaux consacrés; aussi bien que de maisons de plaisance, telles que celles de Pompée et de Clodius. Albe étoit placée au bord orientale du lac qui baignoit ses murs sur une hauteur, entre le lac et la montagne; elle étoit au même éloignement de Rome qu'Ardée, c'est à dire Cluvier. Ital. Antiq. l. iii. c. 4. p. 900-915.

à vingt milles. Aucune de ces caractères ne convient à *Albano* à douze milles de Rome, et à deux du lac d'Albe sur la Voie Appienne. Il paroît que ce bourg a pris son origine d'un camp des soldats prétoriens fameux dans l'antiquité, et qui faisoit la garde des empereurs quand ils étoient dans le château d'Albe, l'arx Albana, si redoutable sous Domitien. Ce bourg devint si considérable qu'au commencement du cinquième siècle Eutrope et Orose l'ont pris pour l'ancienne Albe. Cette tradition s'est perpétuée dans le pays. Les environs du mont Albain étoient charmans. Ils produisoient des fruits exquis, et un vin qui ne cédoit qu'à celui de Falerne.

Diony. Hal. l. iv. p. 30.

Cicero in Philip. iii. 6.

I. 1. ARICIA. Quod autem municipium non contemnit qui Aricinum tantopere despicit; vetustate antiquissimum, jure fœderatum, propinquitate pæne finitimum, splendore municipium honestissimum.

Strabon. Geog. v. p. 165.

Aricie étoit dans un fond; cependant sa citadelle étoit fortifiée par la nature.

Cluvier. Ital. Ant. l. iii. c. 4. p. 920-935.

Diane étoit adorée à Aricie d'une façon barbare et Scythique. Les légendes Grecques ne conviennent point si ce fut Oreste qui apporta son culte et sa statue de la Tauride en Italie, ou si l'on en est redevable à Hippolite, fils de Thésée, que Diane elle-même y transporta après lui avoir rendu la vie. Le temple est hors de la ville du côté gauche de la Voie Appienne pour ceux qui vont à Rome. Une chaine de collines, très escarpée et presque aussi haute que le mont Albain, renferme dans son sein un vallon, où l'on voit le bois sacré, le temple

a

au milieu du bois, et un grand lac devant le temple, dont les sources sont aussi sacrées. Le Clivus Virbius, et la fontaine avec le bois d'Egérie, n'étoient pas éloignés de ces endroits. Toute l'enceinte s'appelloit *Nemùs*, aussi bien qu'un bourg qui s'y étoit formé, et le grand prêtre se nommoit *Rex Nemorensis*. Cet emploi, par sa dignité et sa richesse, étoit aussi beau que la manière de l'acquérir étoit singulière. Il y avoit dans le temple un rameau sacré ; tout fugitif qui pouvoit l'enlever, avoit droit de se battre avec le grand prêtre, et de le remplacer s'il le tuoit. Ce sacrifice, qui tenoit lieu des victimes humaines, m'étonne. Les ecclésiastiques qui font les institutions ne sont guères d'humeur de se faire immoler eux-mêmes. Je pense au moins que le rameau sacré se gardoit avec beaucoup de soin, et que le combat que Caligula fit faire n'avoit pas d'exemple depuis longtems.

Sueton. in Calig. c. xxxv.

Vallis Aricinæ sylvâ præcinctus opacâ
Est lacus ; antiquâ religione sacer ;
Regna tenent manibus fortes pedibusque fugaces,
Et perit exemplo postmodo quisque suo.

Ovid. Fast. l. iii. p. 529.

I. 1. TUSCULUM. Tusculum, fondé par Telegonus, le fils et le meurtrier d'Ulysse, étoit fort considérable du tems de Strabon. Il étoit placé sur le dos d'une colline. Tous ses environs (mais surtout ce côté qui regardoit la capitale) étoient très ornés. Tout auprès l'on voyoit une montagne qui communiquoit à celles d'Albe. La bonté de l'air et des eaux l'avoit rempli de palais magnifiques qui formoient un amphithéâtre. La maison de Cicéron étoit au bas de la montagne entre Tusculum et Albe.

Strab. Geo. v. p. 165. Cluv. Ital. Antiq. l. iii. c. 4. p. 944.

Horat. Car. Epod. i.
Nec ut superni villa candens Tusculi
Circæa tangat mœnia.

Id. iii. 9.
Telegoni juga parricidæ ———

Strab. Geo. V. p. 165.
I. 1. PRÆNESTE. Préneste étoit une des villes les plus fortes de l'Italie. Sa citadelle étoit placée sur un rocher escarpé qui avoit deux stades de hauteur perpendiculaire, et la ville entière étoit percée de toutes parts par des souterrains. Sa force fit enfin son malheur. La première démarche de chaque chef de parti étoit de s'emparer de Préneste; et la ville innocente éprouva plus d'une fois toutes les horreurs des sièges et des proscriptions. Les sorts de Préneste étoient fameux parmi le petit nombre d'oracles qu'il y avoit en Italie,

Horat. Car. iii. 4.
——— Frigidum
Præneste ———

Strab. Geo. l. v. p. 164.
I. 1. TIBUR. Cette ville, située sur les deux rives de l'Anio, étoit fameuse pour son temple d'Hercule. L'Anio formoit une grande chute en se précipitant d'un rocher escarpé près de la ville, après quoi, il passoit auprès des carrières de Tibur, d'où l'on tiroit beaucoup de pierre pour les bâtimens de la capitale. On voyoit aussi les sources froides de l'Albula qui étoient très salutaires en bain ou en boisson.

Horat. Car. iii. 29.
Ne semper udum Tibur, et Æsulæ
Declive contempleris arvum ——

Idem, i. 7.
——— Densa tenebit
Tiburis umbra tui.

Idem, iii. 4.
——— Tibur supinum.

Idem, ii. 6.
Tibur Argeo positum colono,
Sit meæ sedes utinam senectæ;
Sit modus lasso maris et viarum
Militiæque.

Ipse

Ipse Anien (miranda fides) infraque superque
Saxeus; heic tumidam rabiem spumosaque ponit
Murmura ————————
Heic æterna quies; nullis heic jura procellis,
Nusquam fervor aquis.

Statii Sylv. l. 3. de villa Tiburtinâ Manlii Vopisci.

I. 2. Rutuli. Cette petite cité habitoit un territoire enclavé dans ceux des Volsques et des Latins, qui la resserroient du côté des terres. Elle ne possédoit pas non plus une côte de mer fort étendue, puisque Lavinium et Antium étoient au delà de ses deux extrémités. Les poëtes, qui confondent les Rutuli avec les Latins, pendant que les historiens les en distinguent, me font soupçonner que cette petite cité s'étoit détachée du corps Latin dans les tems de la fable. Je vois dans le pays des Rutuli trois villes, 1. Ardea; 2. Castrum Inui; et 3. Aphrodisium.

Cluv. Ital. Ant. l. iii. c. 5.

Qui Volusi antiquo derivat stemmate nomen,
Et reges Rutulos, teste Marone, refert.

Cl. Rutilii Iter, l. i. 169.

Cette généalogie de 1200 ans auroit été belle au commencement du cinquième siècle, mais les critiques ont déjà vu que Rutilius s'étoit trompé et que Volusus n'étoit qu'un simple trompette.

I. 2. Ardea. La légende fait voyager d'Argos au pays des Rutuli, Danaë, mère de Persée, que son père avoit jettée dans la mer enfermée dans un tonneau. Elle bâtit Ardée. On connoit assez ce jugement inique, où les Romains, pris pour arbitres entre les Ardeates et les Aricini, se donnèrent à eux-mêmes les terres en litige. Tout peuple auroit pu faire cette injustice, mais tout peuple auroit-il eu la justice dirai-je, ou la politique, de la réparer?

Strab. Geog. l. x. p. 160. Tit. Liv. iii. 71. iv. 11.

réparer? Le sénat le fit d'une façon très sage: il envoya sur ces mêmes terres une colonie d'Ardeates. Les environs d'Ardée souffrirent beaucoup dans la suite des courses des Samnites.

Virg. Æn. vii. 371.

Et Turno, si prima domûs repetatur origo,
Inachus Acrisiusque patres, mediæque Mycenæ.

Sil. Ital. viii. 359.

Sacra manus, Rutuli, servant qui Daunia regna.
— — —
Quos Castrum, Phrygibusque gravis quondam Ardea misit.

Virgil. Æn. vii. 408.

Protinus hinc fuscis tristis Dea tollitur alis
Audacis Rutuli ad muros; quam dicitur urbem
Acrisionæis Danaë fundasse colonis,
Præcipiti delata Noto; locus *Ardea* quondam
Dictus avis, et nunc magnum manet Ardea nomen.
Sed fortuna fuit.

Cluv. Ital. Ant. l. iii. c. 6.

I. 3. HERNICI. Cette cité, enclavée dans celles des Volsques, des Marses, des Æqui, et des Latins, et placée aux sources de l'Anio, du Liris et du Trerus, occupoit un petit canton rude et rempli de montagnes. Les seules villes étoient celles de 1. Anagnia, le chef lieu de la cité; 2. Alatrium; 3. Verulæ; et 4. Ferentinum.

Sil. Italic. viii. 394.

Hernicaque impresso raduntur vomere saxa,
Queis putri pinguis sulcari *Anagnia* glebâ.
Sylla Ferentinis Privernatumque maniplis
Ducebat simul excitis ——

Id. xii.

—— surgit suspensa tumenti
Dorso, frugiferis Cerealis Anagnia glebis.

I. 3. FERENTINUM. Lorsque Silius Italicus associe ce peuple à ceux de Privernum, faut-il penser qu'il savoit que cette ville avoit appartenu aux Volsques, et que les Romains, après l'avoir prise, la don-

donnèrent aux Herniques? Il avoit lu sans doute Tite Live. Il pouvoit lui être resté une idée confuse de ce passage; mais elle étoit bien confuse puisque ce démembrement s'est fait deux ou trois siècles avant les guerres Puniques. Le joug Romain s'appesantit beaucoup sur Ferentinum. Un préteur eut l'insolence de faire enlever les deux questeurs. L'un fut précipité du haut d'un mur, et l'autre fut battu de verges. C. Gracchus avoit bien raison de se plaindre au peuple d'une tyrannie qui blessoit la politique autant que la justice; de pareils traits ont du aigrir des alliés et amener la guerre sociale.

Tit. Liv. iv.

V. Aul. Gel. x. 3. apud. Cluv. Ital. Antiq. iii. 6. p. 984.

I. 4. Volsci. Les Volsques étoient d'une origine très différente des Latins puisqu'ils ne parlèrent pas la même langue. Ils formoient une nation nombreuse et brave, mais qui mettoit dans ses guerres plus d'impétuosité et de légèreté que de constance. On les trouve toujours unis avec leurs voisins, mais surtout avec les Æqui, contre la république naissante, jusqu'au commencement du cinquième siècle de Rome. Après leur défaite totale on les comprit d'abord dans les alliés du nom Latin, dont ils embrassèrent le parti dans le soulèvement des cités Latines. Leur pays étoit très étendu. La mer le bornoit depuis Antium jusqu'à Terracine. Ses autres voisins étoient les Rutuli, les Latins, les Æqui, les Hernici, les Marsi, les Samnites, la Campanie et le Mont Massique, et les Ausones. La nature en a fait le partage en canton des marais Pomptins, et canton des montagnes; le premier étoit fertile, mais mal-sain. J'y trouve,

Cluv. Ital. Antiqua, l. iii. 7, 8.

1. An-

1. Antium; 2. Astura; 3. Circeii, son promontoire, et l'Amasenus, le bois de Feronie, l'Ufens; 4. Anxur, ou Terracine, les Lautulæ. Voilà la côte. 5. Corioli; 6. Longula; 7. Polusca; 8. Suessa Pometia; 9. Latricum entre la Voie Appienne et la mer; mais ces cinq villes paroissent avoir été détruites du tems des rois ou du commencement de la république; 10. Ulubræ; 11. Velitræ; 12. Ecetra; 13. Cora; 14. Norba; 15. Signia; 16. Setia; 17. Privernum entre la Voie Appienne et les montagnes sur la Voie Appienne; 18. Tres Tabernæ, et 19. Forum Appii. Le pays des montagnes n'étoit qu'un grand bassin, formé par une partie de l'Apennin, le mont Massique, et une chaine de hauteurs qui communiquoit des monts Albain et Algide au mont Massique. Ce bassin étoit fertilisé par le Liris et les branches différentes, le Trerus, la Cosa, le Fibrène, et le Melfes. J'y trouve, 1. Fabrateria sur le Trerus; 2. Frusino sur la Cosa; 3. Interamna à la jonction du Liris et du Melfes; 4. Fregellæ; et 5. Sora sur le Liris; 6. Aquinum; 7. Arpinum; 8. Alina; 9. Casinum, ville frontière du côté de la Campanie.

Sil. Italic. viii. 378.

At quos ipsius mensis seposta Lyæi
Sitia, et incelebri miserunt valle *Velitræ;*
Quos *Cora*, quos spumans immiti *Signia* musto,
Et quos pestiferâ *Pomptini* uligine *campi:*
Quà *Saturæ* nebulosa *palus* restagnat, et atro
Liventes cæno per squalida turbidus arva
Cogit aquas *Ufens*, atque inficit æquora limo.

— — —

Id. viii. 398.

Queis *Circæa juga* et scopulosi verticis *Anxur*
Soræque

——————————— *Soræque juventus* Sil. Ital. viii. 396
Addita, fulgebat telis ; hìc Scaptia pubes,
Hìc *Fabrateriæ vulgus ;* nec monte nivoso
Descendens *Atina* aberat, detritaque bello
Suessa ; atque a duro *Frusino* haud imbellis aratro,
At qui *Fibreno* miscentem flumina *Lirim*
Sulfureum, tacitisque vadis ad litora lapsum
Accolit *Arpinas*, accità pube Venafro,
Et Larinatum dextris, socia hispidus arma
Commovet, atque viris ingens exhaurit *Aquinum*.

I. 4. ANTIUM. Les Antiates ont eu une marine, dont ils firent un mauvais usage, en courant toutes les mers de la Grèce du tems d'Alexandre, qui s'en plaignit aux Romains, dont ils dépendoient déjà. Du tems de Strabon, Antium n'étoit qu'un lieu délicieux, une retraite favorite des seigneurs Romains qui y avoient bâti des palais magnifiques. Hadrien préféroit le sien à toutes ses autres maisons de campagne. Antium étoit si mal peuplé du tems de Néron, que ce prince, qui s'intéressoit pour une ville où il avoit vu le jour, y envoya une colonie de vétérans ; mais qui ne s'y fixa point. La plûpart de ces nouveaux habitans se dispersèrent dans les provinces où ils avoient servi, et les autres ne laissèrent point de postérité. Strab. Geog. v. p. 160. Philostrat. in Vitâ Apollonii. viii. 8. Sueton. in Neron. c. 6. Tacit. Annal. xiv. 27.

O Diva gratum quæ regis Antium. Horat. Carm. i. 35.

I. 4. ASTURA. Cicéron avoit une maison de campagne dans cette petite île où tout respiroit la solitude et la méditation. Il y passoit les momens sombres de sa vie.

I. 4. CIRCEII. Cette habitation des enchantemens étoit un promontoire très élevé, que la mer et Strab. Geog. v. p. 160.

et les marais rendoient presqu'une île. La tradition se conservoit si bien dans le pays jusqu'au tems de Strabon qu'on montroit encore la coupe d'Ulysse.

Strab.Geog. v. p. 165.

I. 5. FREGELLÆ. Fregellæ avoit été conquis par les Samnites sur les Volsques. Les Romains l'enlevèrent à ceux-là, et y envoyèrent une colonie qui devint bientôt si considérable, qu'elle étoit une des plus belles villes de l'Italie, et qu'elle avoit une juridiction très étendue, A. U. C. 628. Cette cité se souleva; le consul Opimius la rasa de fond en comble. Du tems de Strabon, ce n'étoit qu'un méchant bourg, où les peuples voisins tenoient encore leurs assemblées civiles et religieuses.

Cluvier. Ital. Antiq. l. iii. c. 8. p. 1035.

Tacit. Liv. Epitom. lx.

I. 5. AQUINUM.

Sit. Italic. 528.

——— Mox et vicinus Aquinas,
Et quæ fumantem texere giganta Fregellæ.

Strabon. Geog. v. p. 164.

C'étoit une grande ville du tems de Strabon.

I. 4. ARPINUM. Cette ville n'est célèbre que pour avoir donné à Rome Marius et Cicéron. Ce dernier a immortalisé la maison de campagne que ses pères lui avoient laissée dans une petite île du Fibrenus. Tout lui plaisoit dans ce séjour; un air sain, un beau paysage, et les vestiges de ses ancêtres. Son père avoit rebâti le château d'une façon élégante; mais du tems de son grand-père, ce n'étoit qu'une maison rustique semblable à celles des premiers Romains.

Cluvier. Ital. Antiq. l. iii. c. 8. p. 1045.

Cicero de Leg. l. ii.

Juvenal. viii. 237.

Hic novus Arpinas ignobilis, et modo Romæ
Municipalis eques, galeatum ponit ubique
Præsidium attonitis, et in omni gente laborat.

— — —

Arpina

Arpinas alius, Volscorum in monte solebat
Poscere mercedes alieno lassus aratro. Juvenal. viii. 245.

— — —

Hic tamen et Cimbros et summa pericula rerum
Excipit, et solus trepidantem protegit urbem. Idem, 249.

I. 4. CASINUM. Au-dessus de San Germano s'élève une haute montagne ; c'est à son sommet que St. Benoit, après avoir renversé un temple d'Apollon, fonda, l'an 523, ce couvent célèbre qui est devenu la capitale d'un grand empire religieux. L'ancien Casinum étoit sur le côteau de cette montagne. Varro avoit une maison de campagne sous la ville de Casinum, dont il a laissé une description qui montre assez combien il s'y plaisoit. Cluvier. Ital. Antiq. l. iii. c. 8. p. 1041. Varro de Re Rustic. iii. 5.

I. 5. AUSONES. Malgré la confusion qui règne dans les origines de l'Italie, on voit assez que les Ausones, ou Aurunci, étoient une cité Opique, et un des plus anciens peuples de l'Italie. Ils occupoient un petit pays enclavé dans celui des Volsques, et borné par ce territoire, le mont Massique, et la mer. On y trouve, 1. Amyclæ, colonie des Lacédémoniens qui ne subsista pas longtems ; les vignobles de Cecube ; 2. Caiété, avec son promontoire ; 3. Formiæ ; 4. Minturnæ et le Liris ; 5. Sinuessa. Ces villes étoient sur la côte. Il y avoit eu dans l'intérieur des terres, 1. Ausona ; et 2. Vescia. Après la destruction de ces villes par les Romains, il paroît que Vescia seule se rétablit. Cluvier. Ital. Antiq. l. iii. 9. Tit. Liv. ix. 25.

I. 5. FORMIÆ. Quelques auteurs ont placé les Lestrigones en Sicile, mais la Géographie des Voyages d'Ulysse, et la tradition constante du pays, font voir que ceux d'Homère étoient situés auprès de

de Formiæ. Cicéron périt dans son *Formianum*.

Sil. Italic. viii. 531.

Horat. Carm. iii. 17.

——————— Domusque
Antiphatæ compressa freto—
Auctore ab illo ducis originem
Qui Formiarum mœnia dicitur
Princeps et innantem Maricæ
Litoribus tenuisse Lirim
Late tyrannus.———

Horat. Serm. i. 5.

In Mamurrarum lassi deinde urbe manemus.

Horat. Carm. i. 31.

——————— rura quæ Liris quietâ
Mordet aquâ, taciturnus amnis.

I. 5. LIRIS, FL.

Sil. Italic. iv. 349.

Vitiferi sacro generatus vertice montis, *(Massici scil.)*
Et Liris nutritus aquis; qui fonte quieto
Dissimulat cursum; ac nullo mutabilis imbre
Perstringit tacitas gemmanti gurgite ripas.

Strab. Geog. l. v. p. 165.

I. 5. PONTIA ET PANDATARIA. Ces deux îles étoient vis-à-vis de l'embouchure du Liris, à deux cens cinquante stades du continent et très proches l'une de l'autre; elles étoient petites mais très peuplées. Les empereurs y mettoient bon ordre par les colonies nombreuses d'exilés qu'ils y envoyoient.

Idem, v. p. 165.

I. 5. SINUESSA. Elle étoit célèbre pour les sources chaudes qu'elle avoit dans ses environs.

Cluvier. Ital. Antiq. l. iv. c. 1. Strabon. Geog. v. p. 167. Plin. Hist. Nat. iii. 5. Flor. Hist. Rom. i. 16.

II. CAMPANIA. Il paroît que les plus anciens habitans du pays étoient les Osques ou Opiques, nation Sicule, qui s'est vue réduite à la fin à la seule ville d'Atella, où sa langue et ses arts se sont conservés très longtems. Le reste du pays passa successivement sous la puissance des Etrusques, des

Sam

Samnites, et des Romains ; sans compter les Grecs, qui établirent plusieurs colonies sur les côtes. La Campanie, pays heureux, méritoit bien l'expression énergique de Pline qu'on y voyoit la nature satisfaite et s'applaudissant de son ouvrage. Le climat étoit doux et sain, les côtes offroient cent ports excellens, la mer fournissoit une profusion de poissons les plus exquis. La terre voyoit renouveller deux fois tous les ans ses fruits et ses fleurs. Les vins des côteaux de Massique, de Gaurus, et de Falerne ; les bleds des campagnes fertiles de Capoue, de Stella, et de Cales ; les oliviers de Venafrum, fournissoient à la nourriture et au luxe de la capitale. L'art et la richesse avoient perfectionné tous ces bienfaits de la nature, et cette côte de la baye de Naples offroit, avant l'incendie du Vésuve, un spectacle unique par sa beauté. Les bornes de ce pays étoient la mer depuis Sinuesse jusqu'au promontoire de Minerve, les pays des Picentins, et des Hirpini ; le Samnium avec le Vulturnus depuis sa source jusqu'à la rencontre du Sabbatus ; et la Campanie avec les hauteurs du mont Massique. Dans cette étendue, je découvre, 1. Vulturnum, et le Vulturnus ; 2. Liternum et le Liternus ou Clanis ; 3. Cumes ; le lac Acherusia ; 4. Misenum et le promontoire ; 4. Baiæ ; 5. Bauli ; les lacs Lucrin et Averne ; 6. Puteoli ; 7. Naples et le Vésuve ; 8. Herculaneum ; 9. Pompeii ; 10. Stabiæ ; 11. Surrentum ; voilà la côte maritime. Je trouve en deça du Vulturnus, 1. Venafrum ; 2. Teanum Sidicium ; 3. Suessa Aurunca ; 4. Calatia ; 5. Cales ;

Cales; 6. Casilinum; 7. Forum Popilii. Je vois au-delà du Vulturnus, 1. Capoue; 2. Saticula; 3. Trebula; 4. Acerræ; 5. Suessula; 6. Atella; 7. Avella; 8. Nola; 9. Nuceria. Les principales rivières sont le Vulturnus, le Savo, le Clanis, le Sebethus et le Sarnus.

Sil. Ital. viii. 526.

Jam vero quos dives opûm, quos dives avorum,
E toto dabat ad bellum *Campânia* tractu,
Ductorum adventû vicinis sedibus *Osci*
Servabant; *Sinuessa* tepens, fluctûque sonorum
Vulturnum ——————————,

Idem. viii. 532.

—————— Stagnisque palustre
Liternum, et quondam fatorum conscia *Cyme*;
Illic *Nuceria* et *Gaurus* navalibus acta,
Prole Dicarcheâ, multo cum milite, *Graia*;
Illic *Parthenope* ac Pœno non pervia *Nola*;
Allifæ, et *Clanio* contemptæ semper *Acerræ*.
Sarrastes etiam *populos*, totasque videres
Sarni mitis opes; illic quos sulfure pingues
Phlegrei legere *sinus*; *Misenus* et ardens
Ore giganteo, *sedes Ithacesia Baii*;
Non *Prochyte*, non ardentem sortita Typhœa
Inarime, non antiqui *saxosa Telonis*
Insula, nec parvis aberat *Calatia* muris,
Surrentum, et pauper sulci Cerealis *Abella*.

Senec. Epist. 86.

II. LITERNUM. Sénèque y possédoit la maison où Scipion l'ancien passa les dernières années de sa vie. Elle étoit bâtie de pierre de taille, avec une muraille et des tours dans le goût d'une forteresse. Elle étoit située au milieu d'un bois d'oliviers et de myrtes; on voyoit de ceux-là du tems de Pline, qui avoient été plantés de la main de Scipion deux cens cinquante ans auparavant. On y voyoit

Plin. Hist. Natur. xvi. 44.

un

un beau réservoir capable d'abreuver une armée, et un petit bain étroit et ténébreux à la mode des anciens.

II. HERCULANEUM. L'extrémité de la ville s'avançoit dans la mer. Le vent *Africus*, en la rafraichissant, la rendoit très saine. Strabon. Geog. l. v. p. 170.

II. MONS VESUVIUS. Le sommet de la montagne, plein de fentes et de cavernes, montroit assez, du tems de Strabon, qu'elle avoit autrefois jetté des flammes. On croyoit que le souffre et les cendres contribuoient beaucoup à fertiliser les campagnes voisines. Strab. Geog. v. p. 170.

II. FALERNUS. Je vois que les anciens confondoient souvent les noms de *Massicus*, *Falernus*, *Faustianus*, *Gauranus*, et *Amineus*. Je sens que tous ces vignobles étoient dans le voisinage les uns des autres, mais je voudrois pouvoir les distinguer. V. Cluvier. Ital. Antiq. l. iv. c. 5. p. 1172.

II. CAPUA. Les Etrusques fondèrent cette ville vers l'an 800 avant l'ère Chrétienne. C'est le sentiment de Velleius Paterculus; et je pense avec lui que celui de Caton, qui ne place cette fondation qu'en 470, resserre trop de révolutions dans des limites trop étroites. Capoue, nommée par les Etrusques Vulturnum ou Alturnum, est à peine connue des anciens dans cette première époque, jusqu'à celle où les Samnites s'en emparèrent par trahison, A. U. C. 423. Le luxe et la douceur du climat produisirent bientôt son effet. Les petits-fils de ces montagnards féroces étoient à peine des hommes, et cela pendant que leurs compatriotes se distinguoient par leur valeur dans le Brutium et la Sicile. Lorsqu'en 343 ils implorèrent le secours Vell. Paterc. l. i. c. 7. Tit. Liv. iv. 37. V. Cluvier. Ital. Antiq. l. iv. c. 1. p. 1089.

Diodor. Sicul. l. xiii. xiv. xv.

des Romains contre les cités Samnites, ils paroissoient avoir oublier leur origine; ils ne regardoient ce peuple que comme un ennemi étranger. Cette circonstance, et le nom inconnu de *Campani* qu'ils s'étoient donnés, me feroit conjecturer que la colonie Samnite étoit peu nombreuse, et que dans la formation de la nouvelle cité, on fut obligé de conserver quelques-uns des anciens habitans, et peut-

Tit. Liv. vii. 30.

être même d'appeller les peuples voisins. Les Romains prirent la défense de Capoue, sujette de son propre aveu, alliée par la grace et la politique de la république. Après la bataille de Cannes, elle

V. Tit. Liv. xxiii. xxvi. xxvii.

préféra l'alliance du vainqueur, qui la vit prendre sous ses yeux par les Consuls, A. U. C. 543, A C. 211. Les Romains usèrent durement de la victoire. On fit périr tout le sénat par la main du bourreau, on relégua les foibles restes de la nation, on détruisit la cité de Capoue. On délibéra longtems sur le sort de la ville. On la conserva enfin pour servir de retraite aux paysans qui faisoient valoir le domaine de la république, ces riches cam-

V. Cicero. de Leg. Agrar. cont. Rull. ii. 27 —36.

pagnes autour de la ville. Rullus le Tribun proposa une loi agrarienne pour distribuer aux citoyens ce revenue le plus assuré de l'état. Sans les lumières et l'éloquence de Cicéron il eut peut-être réussi, comme César le fit pendant son consulat,

Sueton. in Jul. Cæsar. c. 21.

A. U. C. 694. Il partagea les champs de Capoue et Stellatin parmi vingt mille citoyens; à qui il donna dix *jugera* par tête en celui-là et douze dans celui-ci. Il envoya en même tems une colonie à Capoue, qui devint assez considérable, le siège du consulaire de la Campanie, et la huitième

ville

ville de l'empire. Capoue étoit située au milieu d'une belle plaine au pied du mont Tifata, et à trois milles de la rive gauche du Vulturnus. Mais entre 851 et 856, le comte et l'évêque, voyant que les incendies et les courses des Arabes l'avoient presque ruinée, la rebâtirent sous le même nom, et la placèrent auprès du Vulturnus et sur les masures de l'ancien Casilinum. Les auteurs qui parlent du luxe de ces anciens Campani corrompus par leur commerce, leur richesse, et la fertilité de leurs terres, font à peine mention de leur goût pour les arts. Je vois qu'*Albana* et *Seplasia* étoient deux places remplies de tous les instrumens des plaisirs; je ne vois aucun de ces ouvrages qui immortalisent un peuple. Tarentum remplit la capitale de ses tableaux et de ses statues, mais il ne paroît pas que Capoue rendit beaucoup, quoiqu'assurément on ne l'épargnat pas.

Cluvier. Ital. Antiq. l. iv. c. 5, p. 1177.

Talem dives arat Capua, et vicina Vesevo
Ora jugo ———————————

Virgil. Georg. l. ii. 224.

In primis Capua, heu! rebus servare serenis
Inconsulta modum, et pravo peritura tumore.

Sil. Italic. viii. 546.

Nec Capuam pelago, cultûque penûque potentem,
Deliciis, opibus, famâque priore, silebo,
Fortunâ variante vices, quæ freta secundis
Nescivit servare modum; nunc subdita Romæ,
Æmula tunc ———————————
Illa potens opibusque valens, *Roma altera* quondam
Comere quæ paribus potuit fastigia conis,
Octavum rejecta locum vix pone tuetur.

Auson. de claris Urbibus.

Les Romains pensoient qu'il n'y avoit que trois villes, Carthage, Corinthe, et Capoue, en état de soutenir dignement le fardeau d'un grand empire.

Cicer. de Leg. Agrar. ii. 32.

Cluv. Ital. Antiq. l. iv. c. 5, p. 1178.

Le mont Tifata étoit cette chaine de collines qui s'étend du Vulturnus au-dessus des ruines de Capoue, de la ville de Caserta, et des bourgs de Matalone et d'Arvenzo. Elle dominoit Capoue; mais il y avoit entre le pied de la montagne et la ville une plaine assez grande pour y mettre en bataille une troupe nombreuse.

Tit. Liv. iv. 37.

Sil. Italic. xii. 486.

——————— Arduus ipse
Tifata invadit propior, quà mœnibus instat
Collis, et e tumulis subjectam despicit urbem.

Cluvier. Ital. Antiq. l. iv. c. 5.

III. PICENTINI. Ce peuple étoit une colonie que les Romains avoient tirée des *Piceni* de la mer Adriatique. Les Picentini ne leur demeurèrent pas attachés pendant la guerre d'Hannibal; et le sénat les en punit en détruisant leurs villes pour ne leur plus permettre de demeurer que dans des bourgs ouverts. Leur pays s'étendoit du promontoire de Minerve au Silarus. J'y trouve, 1. Picentia, chef lieu de la cité; 2. Salernum dans les montagnes, (celui d'aujourd'hui est sur les bords de la mer); les Romains y envoyèrent une colonie, la septième année après la seconde guerre Punique; 3. Marcina.

Strabon. Geog. v. p. 173.

Sil. Italic. viii. 584.

Ille et pugnacis laudavit tela Salerni,
Falcatos enses ———————

II. BAIÆ.

Horat. Epist. i. 1.

Nullus in orbe sinus Baiis prælucet amœnis,
Si dixit Dives; lacus et mare sensit amorem
Festinantis heri ———————
——————— locuples quem ducit priva triremis.

I. 1. PEDANA REGIO.

Horat. Epist. i. 4.

Quid nunc te dicam facere in regione Pedanâ?

I. 1. ALBA.

I. 1. ALBA.

Quod si bruma nives Albanis illinet agris, Horat. Epist. i. 7.
Ad mare descendet vates tuus, et sibi parcet.

I. 5. SINUESSA.

Vina bibes, iterum Tauro, diffusa palustres Idem. i. 5.
Inter Minturnas Sinuessanumque petrinum.

I. 4. AQUINUM.

—— qui Sidonio contendere callidus ostro Horat. Epist. i. 10.
Nescit Aquinatem potantia vellera fucum.

I. 5. GABII ET FIDENÆ.

Scis Lebedus quid sit; Gabiis desertior atque Horat. Epist. i. 11.
Fidenis vicus ——————————.

III. SALERNUM.

Quæ sit hiems Veliæ, quod cœlum, Vala, Salerni; Horat. Epistol. l. i. 15.
Quorum hominum regio, et qualis via; ————
Major utrum populum frumenti copia pascat,
Collectosne bibant imbres, puteosne perennes
Dulcis aquæ: (nam vina nihil moror illius oræ.
— — — — —
Tractus uter plures lepores, uter educet apros;
Utra magis pisces et echinos æquora celent;
Pinguis ut inde domum possim Phæaxque reverti.

1. FERONIA. On n'élevoit plus de tours entre Feronia et Terracina parcequ'elles étoient toutes frappées de la foudre. Plin. Hist. Natur. l. ii. 55.

2. PITHECUSÆ INSULÆ. On dit que les îles de Pithecusa et de Prochyte étoient sorties de la mer par un tremblement de terre. Idem. ii. 88.

3. PUTEOLI ET SINUESSA. Les exhalaisons de ces endroits étoient mortels pour les animaux, et quelquefois pour les hommes. Idem. ii. 93.

4. BAIÆ. Il y a des sources chaudes, dans la mer même. Idem. ii. 103.

Plin. Hist. Natur. ii. 107. 5. ARICIA. Il y a des auteurs qui disent que la terre y est si remplie de chaleur, qu'un charbon qui tombe s'enflamme tout de suite.

Idem, xiv. 2. Cineas, ambassadeur de Pyrrhus, remarqua que les vignes s'y élevoient à une grande hauteur, mais que le vin avoit un goût dur et désagréable.

Idem, xiv. 2. 6. CAMPANIA. Ses habitans attachoient toujours leurs vignes à des peupliers.

Idem, xiv. 6. 7. SETIA ET CÆCUBUM. Auguste préféroit le vin de Setia à tous les autres. Celui de Cæcubum avoit auparavant la grande réputation; mais du tems de Pline il étoit tout à fait tombé, plutôt par la négligence des cultivateurs que par le canal que Néron avoit fait tirer à travers leurs marais.

Idem, xiv. 6. 8. FALERNUM (*Vinum*). Le vin de Falernum étoit le second en dignité. Le raisin n'en étoit point agréable non plus que celui des deux autres. Le Gaurum et le Faustinum en étoient des crus différens. On le gâta à la fin, à force d'en vouloir trop avoir.

Idem, xiv. 6. 9. ALBANUM (*Vinum*). Le vin d'Alba tenoit le troisième rang. Il étoit fort doux.

Idem, xiv. 6. 10. SURRENTINUM (*Vinum*). L'Empereur Tibère le trouvoit plutôt sain qu'agréable.

Idem, xiv. 6. 11. MASSICUM (*Vinum*). Ce vin, aussi bien que ceux de Fundi et de Calenum, avoit beaucoup de réputation.

Idem, xiv. 6. 12. SIGNIUM (*Vinum*). Ce vin est fort astringent. Le souper du triomphe de Jules César leur donna le quatrième rang dans les repas.

Idem, xviii. 6. 13. LUCULLI ET SCÆVOLÆ VILLÆ. Le fonds de Scævola

Scævola étoit trop grand pour sa maison ; le fonds de Lucullus trop petit pour la sienne.

14. Marii Villa. Sylla louoit la situation de la maison de Marius. Il y trouvoit la science d'un homme de guerre, qui savoit bien asseoir son camp. Plin. Hist. Natur. l. xviii. 6.

15. Puteoli. Auguste fit venir d'Alexandrie une obélisque, qu'il consacra dans les chantiers de Puteoli ; une incendie l'y consuma. Idem, xxxvi. 9.

16. Campania. Sa plaine, de quarante milles, au pied des montagnes, est le canton le plus fertile de l'Italie : cette partie surtout que les Grecs appellent Phlegræus. Idem, xviii. 11.

17. Naples. La colline entre Naples et Puteoli, appellée Leucogea, produit une certaine craie dont on mélange le pain. Auguste en donna vingt mille sesterces par an aux Napolitains, pour l'usage de sa colonie de Capoue. Idem, xviii. 11.

18. Appia (*Via.*) La Voie Appia étoit la plus belle comme la plus ancienne de toutes. Elle étoit de grandes pierres de taille. Le censeur Appius Claudius l'avoit faite A. U. C. 442, et elle s'est très bien conservée jusqu'au tems de Procope. Appius ne l'avoit conduite que jusqu'à Capoue ; on croit que ce fut Jules César qui la continua jusqu'à Brundusium. Il paroît que c'étoit des carrières de Sinuesse, et du Mont Misenus qu'on tira les pierres pour la construire. Bergier. Hist. des Grands Chemins de l'Empire Romain, l. i. c. 8. p. 23. et l. ii. c. 26. p. 221–228.

19. Domitiana (*Via*). L'Empereur Domitien tira de Sinuesse sur la Voie Appia, jusqu'à Puteoli, un magnifique chemin, pour l'agrément des voyageurs, qui étoient auparavant obligés de traverser des Idem, l. ii. c. 27. p. 228-234.

des marais et des sables fort incommodes. Dans plusieurs endroits il étoit pavé de grands carreaux de marbre. Il passoit sur le fleuve Vulturne, que Domitien rendit navagable en nettoyant son lit, et en empêchant ses débordemens. Le poëte Stace fait une belle description de cette route.

Bergier, Grands Chemins, l. i. c. 17. p. 57.

Pomptinæ (*Paludes*). Trajan construisit une chaussée depuis Forum Appii jusqu'à Terracina, à travers les marais Pomptins, qu'on traversoit auparavant sur un canal. Trajan fit aussi dessécher ces marais, qui avoient inondé un terrein si considérable qu'il y avoit autrefois vingt-trois villes.

Idem, l. xi. c. 4. p. 134.

21. Tibur. La pierre de Tibur étoit du genre tempéré. Elle résistoit aux poids, à l'humidité, et à la gelée. Mais le feu lui étoit fatal.

Idem, l. xi. c. 16. p. 167.

22. Privernas. Les chemins du territoire des Privernates étoient creux et profonds. Ils formoient des défilés très dangereux pour la marche des troupes.

Idem, l. xi. c. 16. p. 168.

23. Terracina. Le censeur Appius en travaillant à son chemin fit percer un rocher près de Terracina. L'ouverture est de cent pieds de long sur quinze de large, avec des trottoirs de chaque côté larges de deux pieds. Les murailles, taillées dans le roc, sont chargées d'inscriptions, de dix pieds en dix pieds sur sa hauteur, qui vous paroissent toutes égales, parceque leur grandeur augmente à proportion qu'elles s'éloignent de l'œil.

Idem, l. xi. c. 21. p. 200.

24. Preneste. Sylla fit connoître le premier en Italie, les pavés à la Mosaïque. Il en plaça un dans le temple de la Fortune à Préneste.

Idem, l. xi. c. 41. p. 308.

La famille des Gordiens avoit une très belle mai-

son

son de campagne auprès de Prénéste. Sans parler des basiliques, des bains et des jardins, il y avoit un péristyle, soutenu de deux cens colonnes de marbre, dont cinquante étoient de Caryste, cinquante de Syene en Egypte, et cinquante de la Numidie.

Nec Prænestinæ fundator defuit urbis,
Volcano genitum, pecora inter agrestia regem,
Inventumque focis, omnis quem credidit ætas,
Cæculus. Hunc legio comitatur agrestis,
Quique altum Præneste viri.— Virgil. Æn. l. vii. 678.

Après la défaite générale des Latins, on ôta aux Prénestins une partie de leur territoire pour les punir d'avoir fait alliance avec les Gaulois. Malgré la loi Cornelia, le territoire de Préneste étoit, au tems de Cicéron, entre les mains d'un petit nombre de grands seigneurs. T. Liv. viii. 14. Cicero in Rull. Orat. ii. 28.

25. Sinuessa. Le sénat et le peuple érigèrent un arc de triomphe à Domitien, à l'endroit où sa nouvelle route de Puteoli à Sinuessa se joignoit à la Via Appia. Bergier. GrandsChemins, l. xi. c. 40. p. 300.

26. Tibur. L'Empereur Hadrien y avoit une maison de campagne, qui rassembloit les différentes parties de l'univers. Athènes, Tempe, Canope et jusqu'aux Enfers, tout s'y trouvoit imité avec le plus grand soin. Idem, l. xi. c. 41. p. 309.

Tum gemini fratres Tiburtia mœnia linquunt,
Fratris Tiburtis dictam cognomine gentem,
Catillusque, Acerque Coras, Argiva juventus. Virgil. Æn. l. vii. 670.

——————— domus Albuneæ resonantis,
Et præceps Anio, et Tiburni lucus, et uda
Mobilibus pomaria rivis. Horat. Carm. l. i. Od. vii. 12.

——————— proni Tiburis arce. Juv. Satir. iii. 192.

L'alliance

T. Liv. viii. 14. L'alliance de ceux de Tibur avec les Gaulois leur coûta une partie de leurs terres.

Idem, vi. 25, 26. viii. 14. 27. TUSCULUM. Les Tusculans ayant eu quelque part dans une révolte, on envoya Camille contre eux. Ils surent désarmer ce général, en lui ouvrant leurs portes et en refusant de faire la guerre. Ce procédé toucha le sénat. On leur accorda la paix, et bientôt après, la bourgeoisie, qui ne fut pas même ôtée après la guerre des Latins.

28. ANAGNIA.

Virgil. Æn. vii. 684. ———— quos dives Anagnia pascit.

29. GABII.

Idem, vii. 682. ———— quique arva Gabinæ
Junonis.

30. HERNICA (*Sara*).

Idem, vii. 683. ———— gelidumque Anienem, et roscida rivis
Hernica saxa colunt.

31. VULTURNUS.

Idem, vii. 728. ———— amnisque vadosi
Accola Vulturni.

32. ARICIA.

Idem, vii. 762-778. ———— mater Aricia misit,
Eductum Egeriæ lucis, Hymettia circum
Litora, pinguis ubi et placabilis ara Dianæ.
———— templo Triviæ lucisque sacratis
Cornipedes arcentur equi.

Juvenal. Sat. iv. 117. Dignus Aricinos qui mendicaret ad axes.

33. ANXUR, vel TERRACINA.

Idem, vii. 800. ———— Anxurus Jupiter arvis
Præsidet.
———— subimus
Impositum saxis latis candentibus Anxur.

Horat. Serm. i. 5.

34. FERONIA.

Virgil. Æn. vii. 801. ———— viridi gaudens Feronia luco.

Horat. Serm. i. 5. Ora manusque tuâ lavimus, Feronia, lymphâ.

35.

35. ARDEA. Il y avoit des levées de terre qui formoient un port, et que les empereurs Héliogabale et Alexandre Sévère firent réparer. Bergier. Grands Chemins, l. iv. c. 48. p. 804.

36. GABII.

Simplicibus Gabiis,———— Juvenal. Satir. iii. 192.

———— Vivat Gabiis, ut vixit in agro: Idem, vi. 56.
Vivat Fidenis, et agro cedo paterno.

———— noti celebresque poetæ Idem, vii. 3.
Balneolum Gabiis, Romæ conducere furnos
Tentarent.

37. SORA.

———— optima Soræ, Idem, iii. 223.
Aut Fabrateriæ domus, aut Frusinone paratur;
Quanti nunc tenebras unum conducis in annum.

38. AQUINUM.

———————— Quoties te Idem, iii. 313.
Roma tuo refici properantem, reddet Aquino,
Me quoque ad Helvinam Cererem, vestramque Dianam
Convelle à Cumis. Satyrarum ego, ni pudet illas,
Adjutor gelidos veniam caligatus in agros.

39. VIA LATINA.

Clivosæ veheris dum per monumenta Latinæ. Idem, v. 55.

40. ALBA.

—— lacus suberant, ubi quanquam diruta, servat Idem, iv. 60.
Ignem Trojanum, et Vestam colit Alba minorem.

———————— cominus ursos Idem, iv. 99.
Figebat Numidas, Albanâ nudus arena.

Cras bibet Albanis aliquid de montibus, aut de Idem, v. 33.
Setinis, cujus patriam, titulumque senectus
Delevit, multâ veteris fuligine testæ.

41. PRÆNESTE.

Quis timet aut timuit gelida Præneste ruinam? Idem, iii. 190.

42. POMPTINA

Juvenal. Satir. iii. 305.

42. POMPTINA *(Palus.)*

Interdum et ferro subito grassator agit rem,
Armato quoties tutæ custode tenentur
Et Pomptina palus et Gallinaria sylva.

Virgil. Æn. vii. 803.

43. VOLSCI ET PRIVERNUM.

Hos super advenit Volscâ de gente Camilla
Agmen agens equitum et florentes ære catervas.

Idem, xi. 540.

Pulsus ob invidiam regno, viresque superbas,
Priverno antiquâ Metabus cum excederet urbe.
Ecce fugæ medio summis Amasenus abundans
Spumabat ripis, tantus se nubibus imber
Ruperat.

T. Liv. viii. 20, 21.

Après la guerre des Latins, la réponse hardie d'un citoyen de Privernum valut à ses compatriotes la paix et la bourgeoisie de Rome.

Idem, viii. 14.

44. LANUVIUM. Dans ce même tems on donna la bourgeoisie aux Lanuviens, à condition que les Romains participassent au temple et au bois sacré de Junon Sospita.

Idem, viii. 14.

45. VELITRÆ. Comme ceux de Velitræ s'étoient souvent révoltés, on les transporta au-delà du Tibre, leur défendant de se jamais trouver de l'autre côté de la rivière sous la peine de mille livres d'airain, ou de la prison, jusqu'à ce que l'amende fut payée. On envoya une colonie sur les terres de leurs sénateurs.

46. FORUM APPII.

Horat. Serm. l. i. 5.

——————— inde forum Appî
Differtum nautis, cauponibus atque malignis.

47. ANTIUM. Après la guerre des Latins, on envoya une nouvelle colonie à Antium, avec droit de bourgeoisie. Mais on emmena les galères des Antiates et on leur interdit la navigation.

48. SETIA.

48. Setia. On y envoya une colonie, A.U.C. 372. Pour ces colonies v. Vell. Pat. l. i. c. 14, 15.
49. Aricia. . . . . A.U.C. 413.
50. Cales. . . . . A.U.C. 433.
51. Fundi. . . . . A.U.C. 436.
52. Formiæ. . . . . A.U.C. 436.
53. Acerræ. . . . . A.U.C. 437.
54. Terracina. . . . . A.U.C. 440.
55. Luceria . . . . . A.U.C. 444.
56. Suessa Aurunca. . . . . A.U.C. 447.
57. Saticula. . . . . A.U.C. 447.
58. Sora. . . . . A.U.C. 459.
59. Minturnæ. . . . . A.U.C. 459.
60. Sinuessa. . . . . A.U.C. 459.
61. Puteoli. . . . . A.U.C. 575.
62. Salernum. . . . . A.U.C. 575.
63. Fabrateria. . . . . A.U.C. 630.
64. Fregellæ. . . . . A.U.C. 514.

Le calcul de Velleius paroît un peu embrouillé pour qui voudroit l'éplucher un peu soigneusement. Dans cette réduction je me suis particulièrement attaché aux consulats qu'il a indiqués comme aux dates les mieux constatées.

65. Ostia. Le Tibre, avant que de se jetter dans la mer, se partage en deux bras qui forment l'île sacrée. La ville d'Ostie est située à l'une des embouchures sur le continent, et le fameux port du même nom à l'embouchure septentrionale aussi sur le continent. Comme le limon, qui remplissoit ces embouchures, empêchoit les grands vaisseaux de s'approcher des côtes, Jules César conçut le dessein de ce port, mais ce fut Claude qui l'exécuta avec des dépenses prodigieuses. Il fit creuser un grand port, Berg. Grands Chemins, l. iii. c. 27. p. 447, 449, et l. iv. c. 49. p. 812-814.

port, bâtit deux grandes levées de terre et de maçonnerie, pour en embrasser le contour, et construisit à l'entrée une île artificielle, dont on appuya les fondemens sur le fameux navire qui avoit apporté l'obélisque d'Alexandrie. Sur cette île il éleva un phare. Dans la suite Trajan répara cet ouvrage. Comme le chemin du port étoit très fréquenté on l'avoit partagé en deux parties, l'une pour ceux qui alloient à Rome, l'autre pour ceux qui en revenoient.

Plin. Epist. ii. 17.

66. LAURENS. La maison de campagne de Pline étoit à dix-sept milles de Rome. Pour y aller on suivoit le chemin de Laurentinum, jusqu'au quatorzième milliaire, ou celui d'Ostie, jusqu'au onzième. La route est en partie sablonneuse, et fatigante pour les voitures, mais très agréable lorsqu'on la fait à cheval. La variété du pays, les prés, les pâturages, et les troupeaux nombreux de bœufs et de chevaux qui descendent des montagnes pour y jouir du soleil du printems, tout contribuoit à embellir ce canton. On y manque d'eaux courantes, mais on creuse partout des puits, et l'on trouve toujours très près de la surface une excellente eau, que le voisinage de la mer n'a point corrompu. On a beaucoup de bois et de lait, mais la mer n'est pas poissonneuse. Il y a beaucoup de maisons de campagne le long de cette côte.

67. ALBA.

Juvenal. Satir. xii. 70.

——————— gratus Iülo,
Atque novercali sedes prælata Lavino,
Conspicitur sublimis apex: cui candida nomen
Scrofa dedit, lætis Phrygibus mirabile sumen,
Et nunquam visis triginta clara mamillis.

68. OSTIA.

68. Ostia.

Tandem intrat positas inclusa per æquora moles, Juvenal. Satir. xii. 75.
Tyrrhenamque Pharon, porrectaque brachia rursum
Quæ Pelago currunt medio, longeque relinquunt
Italiam; non sic igitur mirabere portus,
Quos natura dedit: ——

69. Circeium.

Proxima Circææ raduntur litora terræ; Virg. Æneid. vii. 10—21.
Dives inaccessos ubi Solis filia lucos
Assiduo resonat cantû, tectisque superbis
Urit odoratam nocturna in lumina cedrum,
Arguto tenues percurrens pectine telas.
Hinc exaudiri gemitus, iræque leonum
Vincla recusantum, et serâ sub nocte rudentum:
Setigerique sues, atque in præsepibus ursi
Sævire, et formæ magnorum ululare luporum:
Quos hominum ex facie Dea sæva potentibus herbis
Induerat Circe in vultus et terga ferarum.

70. Cajeta.

Tu quoque litoribus nostris, Æneïa nutrix, Idem. vii. 1.
Æternam moriens famam, Cajeta, dedisti:
Et nunc servat honos sedem tuus; ossaque nomen
Hesperiâ in magnâ (si qua est ea gloria) signant.

71. Luculli Villæ. Lucullus tira de quelques îles du Nil un beau marbre noir, dont il se servit beaucoup dans ses bâtimens. Il fut le seul particulier qui donna son nom à une espèce de marbre. Berg. Grands Chemins, l. v. c. 4. p. 327.

72. Cumæ. La ville de Cumes, la plus ancienne de toutes les colonies Grecques en Italie, fut fondée par ceux de la ville du Cumes en Asie, et ceux de la ville de Chalcis dans l'île d'Eubée. Les commencemens de la colonie furent brillans. Elle étendit bientôt sa domination sur les champs fertiles qu'on nommoit Phlégréens; mais les Campa- Strab. l. v. p. 168.

niens la soumirent enfin, et traitèrent ses habitans avec beaucoup de tyrannie et d'indignité. Il reste encore quelques vestiges des mœurs et des usages Grecs. Auprès de la ville il y a un assez grand bois dont le terrein est sablonneux et sans eau. Ce fut là que Sexte Pompée rassembla sa flotte de corsaires. Un endroit qui manquoit d'eau me paroît un singulier rendez-vous pour une escadre.

Virg. Æneid. l. vi. 2.
—— tandem Euboïcis Cumarum adlabitur oris.
— — — — —

Id. vi. 9.
At pius Æneas arces quibus altus Apollo
Præsidet, horrendæque procul secreta Sibyllæ,
Antrum immane, petit; magnam cui mentem animumque
Delius inspirat vates, aperitque futura.
Jam subeunt Triviæ lucos, atque aurea tecta.
Dædalus, ——

— — — — —

Id. vi. 17.
Chalcidicâque levis tandem super adstitit arce.
Redditus hic primum terris, tibi, Phœbe, sacravit
Remigium alarum, posuitque immania templa.

Id. vi. 41.
———— vocat alta in templa sacerdos.
Excisum Euboïcæ latus ingens rupis in antrum,
Quo lati ducunt aditus centum, ostia centum:
Unde ruunt totidem voces, responsa Sibyllæ.

Juvenal. Satir. iii. 1—5.
Quamvis digressû veteris confusus amici,
Laudo tamen vacuis quod sedem figere Cumis
Destinet, atque unum civem donare Sibyllæ.
Janua Bajarum est, et gratum litus amœni
Secessûs, ————

Vell. Paterc. Hist. Roman. l. i. 4. Edit. Burman.
Peu de tems après la guerre de Troie les habitans de Chalcis fondèrent la ville de Cumes. Hippocles et Megasthènes y conduisirent une flotte dont le cours étoit dirigé (dit-on) par une colombe qui les

les précédoit toujours; ou selon d'autres, par des sons d'airain semblables à ceux dont on se sert dans les rits de Cerès, et qu'ils entendoient pendant la nuit. Cumes envoya bientôt une colonie qui fonda Naples. La belle situation de Cumes et sa fidélité aux Romains l'ont fait fleurir, mais le voisinage des Osci lui a fait perdre les mœurs Grecques en bonne partie. La grandeur des murailles montre quelle a dû être l'ancienne splendeur de cette ville.

Selon Eusèbe, Cumes ne fut fondée que 311 ans après la guerre de Troie.

NAPLES. Naples est une colonie des Cuméens. Comme elle s'est distinguée par sa fidélité aux Romains elle a mieux conservé les mœurs Grecques. Son ancienne grandeur se prouve également par l'étendue de ses murailles. Naples, fondée originairement par les Cuméens, fut obligée de recevoir dans la suite une colonie de Campaniens, ce qui a un peu mélangé les mœurs. Celles des Grecs l'emportent cependant de beaucoup. On y voit des confrairies religieuses, des lieux d'exercice pour la jeunesse, des combats gymniques célébrés par l'ordre d'un oracle, auprès du tombeau de Parthenope, une des Sirènes. La beauté du lieu, les bains chauds qui sont très ornés, et les usages Grecs qui y règnent, en font une retraite charmante pour ces Romains que l'age, les infirmités, ou le caractère ont dégoûté du tracas des affaires, et de la capitale. Strab. Geog. l. v. p. 170.

Illo Virgilium me tempore dulcis alebat
Parthenope, studiis florentem ignobilis otî. Virg. Georg. l. iv. 562.

Tacit. Ann. xv. 33. Sueton. in Neron. c. 20, 25.

Néron la choisit comme une ville Grecque, pour y faire le premier essai des théâtres publics. Il y chanta à une assemblée très nombreuse, avec tant d'ardeur, qu'un tremblement de terre, qui ébranla le théâtre, put à peine l'interrompre. A son retour des jeux de la Grèce, il suivit tous les usages des vainqueurs. Il fit son entrée dans Naples par une brèche faite exprès, et dans un char de triomphe, attelé de chevaux blancs.

Hist. Civile de Naples par Giannone, v. i p. 20—31.

Elle étoit ville libre et alliée; du tems des Romains, se gouvernant par ses propres loix, et ne devant pour tout tribut que le secours de ses vaisseaux en tems de guerre. Elle refusa même la bourgeoisie de Rome. Enfin sous les empereurs, elle devint colonie. Parmi ses confrairies, les plus connues étoient celles d'Eumelus, d'Hebon, de Castor, et d'Aristée.

MISENUM.

Virg. Æneid. vi. 232.

At pius Æneas ingenti mole sepulchrum
Imponit, suaque arma viro, remumque, tubamque,
Monte sub aërio, qui nunc Misenus ab illo
Dicitur, æternumque tenet per secula nomen.

Berg. Grands Chemins, l. iv. c. 49. p. 811.

Auguste fit faire un beau port à Misenum capable de recevoir un grand nombre de vaisseaux; ce fut là qu'il établit la flotte destinée à la garde de la mer Toscane.

Néron ayant ordonné à ses galères de revenir en Campanie, à un jour précis ils partirent de Formies, mais ayant rencontré une tempête furieuse, elles ne purent point doubler le promontoire de Misenum, mais elles échouèrent sur la côte de Cumes.

Cluver. Ital. Antiq. l. iv. p. 1137.

PUTEOLI. Cette ville est appellée Puteoli par les

les Latins, et Dicæarchia par les Grecs. Ce n'est pas que les poëtes Romains ne se servent quelquefois du nom de Dicæarchia, et que les historiens Grecs qui ont vécu sous l'empire Romain, ne la nomment quelquefois Puteoli. Elle fut bâtie par les Samiens la quatrième année de la soixante-quatrième Olympiade, 521 ans avant Jesus Christ.

Elle n'étoit dans le commencement que le port de Cumes, située sur le bord du rivage. Dans la seconde guerre Punique, ses habitans la placèrent là où elle est actuellement dans un terrein rempli de souffre, de volcans, et de sources minérales. Elle est très commerçante; ses ports et ses moles sont construits avec beaucoup d'art. Un sable dont on fait un ciment qui se durcit dans l'eau, leur donne une grande facilité à faire toute sorte d'ouvrages dans la mer. Strab. Geog. l. v. p. 169.

Du tems de Cicéron Puteoli étoit ville libre et autonome. Cicero. in Rul. de Leg. Agrar. Orat. ii. 31.

Néron donna à l'ancienne ville de Puteoli, les droits d'une colonie et son propre nom. Tacit. Ann. xiv. 27.

Les habitans de Puteoli érigèrent à Antonin le pieux, un arc de triomphe, pour avoir réparé le port et les moles de leur ville. Un golfe de trois mille six cens pas Romains de largeur sépare les villes de Puteoli et de Baïes. Ce fut là que Caligula fit construire son fameux pont. Il le composa de navires ronds, accouplés deux à deux, et arrêtés à leurs ancres. Il les couvrit ensuite d'une levée de terre, qu'il fit paver de grands carreaux de pierre. Il passa en triomphe sur ce pont deux jours consécutifs. Le premier jour à cheval portant Berg. Grands Chemins, l. ii. c. 40. p. 300. Idem, l. iv. c. 36, p. 738. Sueton. in Caligul. c. 19.

tant la cuirasse d'Alexandre, et le lendemain dans un char attelé de deux chevaux célèbres, toujours environné d'un grands corps de cavalerie et d'infanterie, qu'il harangua sur le pont, et à qui il fit une distribution d'argent.

Berg. Grands Chemins, l. ii. c. 16. p. 170–175. Tacit. Ann. iv. 58. vi. 26.

Dans le chemin de Puteoli à Naples se trouve la montagne de Pausilipus qui s'étend jusqu'à la mer. On l'a percé à jour pour y faire un passage souterrain où deux voitures peuvent passer de front. Il a environ un mille de longueur, sur douze à quinze pieds de largeur et de hauteur. Il ne reçoit l'air et le jour que par plusieurs soupirails. Strabon attribue ce grand ouvrage à un certain Cocceius, (celui peut-être dont Tacite fait mention,) mais la tradition du pays le donne à Lucullus. Quoiqu'il en soit, le roi Alphonse d'Arragon le répara, et le viceroi Don Pierre de Tolède l'acheva.

Strab. Geog. l. v. p. 168 —170.

BAJÆ. Le luxe et la santé attirèrent les Romains à Baïes, dont la situation étoit charmante, et les eaux minérales très salutaires. Des maisons de campagne couvroient tous ses environs. Les bains sont nombreux et magnifiques, et l'on a construit autour d'eux une ville nouvelle aussi grande que Puteoli.

Horat. Carm. l. ii. 18.

Tu secanda marmora
Locas sub ipsum funus, ac sepulchri
Immemor struis domos;
Marisque Baiis obstrepentis urges
Summovere litora,
Parum locuples continente ripâ.

Juv. Sat. xi. 49.

Qui vertêre solum Bajas et ad Ostia currunt.

LUCRINUS ET AVERNUS LACUS.

Virg. Geog. l. ii. 161—165.

An memorem portus Lucrinoque addita claustra,

Atque

Atque indignatum magnis stridoribus æquor:
Julia quà ponto longe mugit unda refuso,
Tyrrhenusque fretis immittitur æstus Avernis?

Ce fut Agrippa qui fit tous ces ouvrages. Voici l'idée qu'on peut s'en faire en combinant les récits de Strabon et de Servius. 1. Le lac Lucrin étoit proprement un golfe long et étroit; mais comme l'idée d'en faire un port s'étoit présentée aux anciens habitans du canton, Agrippa trouva une levée de terre qui traversoit son embouchure, et qui étoit assez large pour porter un chariot; il la fit rétablir dans toute sa longueur qui étoit d'un mille; y laissant une ouverture (apparemment au moyen d'un pont-levis) pour les vaisseaux. Ce port n'a jamais cependant pu servir que pour les plus petits vaisseaux, mais la pèche des huitres y est très considérable. 2. Il fit couper une communication entre le lac Lucrin, et celui d'Averne qui n'en étoit séparé que par une petite langue, et fit entrer la mer dans ce dernier, qui étoit situé plus dans l'intérieur des terres. Agrippa en fit un port très magnifique et très commode pour la réception des vaisseaux. 3. Le lac Averne étoit dans un emplacement singulier. Des montagnes escarpées, couvertes de forêts anciennes et sombres l'environnoient de toutes parts, et ses eaux étoient très profondes même tout près des bords. Il étoit devenu le théâtre des fables. C'étoit le lac infernal d'Homère; on voyoit tout auprès la fontaine de Styx; jamais oiseau n'avoit pu traverser l'Averne sans y tomber mort. Ses rivages étoient remplies des habitations des Cimmeriens; c'étoient des mortels

Strab. Geog. l. v. p. 168—169.
Serv. ad loc. Virgil.

(dirai-je ou des ombres) qui demeuroient dans des maisons souterraines où ils ne voyoient jamais le soleil. Agrippa fit couper ces bois, les environs du lac se défrichèrent et se peuplèrent bientôt, et toutes ces fables disparurent.

Strabon. Idem. l. v. p. 171.

PROCHYTA ET PITHECUSÆ. Ces îles (le sépulchre fabuleux de Typhon) paroissent assises sur des feux souterrains, qui percent très souvent par les volcans et les tremblemens de terre, et toujours par les eaux chaudes. Un tremblement de terre détacha Prochyta des autres îles.

Idem. l. v. p. 172.

CAPREÆ. Il y avoit auparavant deux bourgs. Du tems de Strabon il n'en restoit qu'un seul. Auguste rendit les îles Pitecuses aux Napolitains en échange pour celle-ci, qu'il s'appropria, et où il fit beaucoup de bâtimens.

Tacit. Ann. iv. 67. Sueton. in Tiber. c. 41 —43—72.

Tibère goûta beaucoup cette île; la beauté de la vue, (de cette côte de Campanie si belle avant l'éruption du mont Vésuve,) la douceur du climat, le promontoire de Surrentinum dont elle n'étoit éloignée que de trois milles; tout en faisoit une retraite délicieuse: pendant qu'une mer orageuse, des rochers qui l'entouroient et qu'on ne pouvoit grâvir que par un seul endroit, la rendoient une solitude digne du caractère sauvage et soupçonneux de ce tyran. Il y bâtit douze maisons de campagne pour les différentes saisons; toutes dignes de la magnificence et de la débauche du maître. Les bois étoient remplis de lieux de prostitution, et des satyres et des nymphes ne les laissoient point oisifs. Tibère se fixa à Caprées A. U. C. 780, et dans

dans dix ans, jusqu'à sa mort, il n'en sortit que deux fois.

Sect. IX.

LUCANIA ET BRUTTIUM.

Lucania. Le sang unissoit les Lucaniens et les Bruttiens avant que les Romains en formassent une province. L'un et l'autre peuple sortoient des Samnites, dont les colonies successives se poussoient peu à peu jusqu'à l'extrémité de l'Italie. On ignore l'époque où les Lucaniens se détachèrent du corps des Samnites, mais on sait que vers l'an 356 avant J. C. une grande multitude de bergers Lucaniens se jettèrent sur les débris de la monarchie de Syracuse et prirent la forme d'une nation et le nom de Bruttiens. Quelques uns ont cru que c'étoit un sobriquet injurieux d'esclaves fugitifs que leurs voisins leur donnoient. Cette région étoit la seule qui s'étendit aux deux mers, jusqu'au Silarus sur la mer Toscane qui la séparoit de la Campanie, et jusqu'au Bradanus sur le golfe de Tarente qui la divisoit de l'Apulie. Ces deux nations demeurèrent toujours fidèles à leurs ayeux Samnites et souffrirent avec eux. Des revers perpétuels les avoient tellement abattus que du tems de Strabon ils vivoient épars dans quelques bourgades obscures et foibles, ayant perdu leurs usages, leur langue, et tout ce qui peut distinguer un corps politique. On ne peut suivre une autre méthode, en parlant de cette province, que celle-ci, 1. La Lucanie propre, et 2. Le Bruttium.

V. l'Italia Antiqua de Delisle. Cluv. l. iv. c. 14, et Strab. Geog. vi. p. 175.

Lucania.

Cluvier. Ital. Antiq. l. iv. c. 14.

LUCANIA PROPRIA. Les bornes de la Lucanie sont faciles à marquer. Du côté des terres c'étoient celles de la région. Le Laus sur la mer Toscane et le Crathis sur le golfe de Tarente la séparoient du Bruttium. L'Apennin la coupoit du nord au midi, et formoit ainsi deux parties, dont celle du golfe de Tarente étoit une grande et belle plaine arrosée de vingt rivières. J'y trouve, 1. Sybaris, ou Thurium; 2. Zagarina; 3. Heraclea entre le Siris et l'Aciris; 4. Metapontum; 5. Grumentum; et 6. Acalandra. L'autre côté de l'Apennin n'offroit qu'un pays plus étroit et en général sablonneux et peu fertile. J'y vois, 1. Pæstum ou Posidonium; 2. Elæa ou Velia; 3. Pyxus ou Buxentum. Je ne parle pas de quelques bourgades dont nous ne connoissons que les noms.

V. Cluvier. ItaliaAntiq. l. iv. c. 14. p. 1263—1271. Strab.Geog. vi. p. 182.

SYBARIS. Cette ville Grecque, située entre les deux rivières Sybaris et Crathis, et qui s'étendoit de l'une à l'autre dans un espace de cinquante stades, devint puissante bientôt. Elle avoit rangé sous ses loix quatre nations barbares; vingt-cinq villes lui obéissoient. Elle mettoit sur pied trois cens milles hommes. Il y a surement de l'hyperbole; quand ce nombre seroit celui de tous ses citoyens et sujets en age viril, il nous donneroit encore pour cet état près de 900,000 ames. On peut s'en contenter. Son luxe égaloit sa puissance. Ses festins se préparoient une année à l'avance, et lorsque les citoyens voyageoient ils effaçoient la magnificence des plus grands rois. Les Crotoniates détruisirent Sybaris et sa puissance 510 ans avant

avant J. C. Ses malheureux citoyens, dispersés par toute la Grèce, engagèrent les Athéniens à rétablir leur ville l'an 452. Thessalus, à la tête d'une colonie nombreuse, la rebâtit avec beaucoup de régularité, ayant tiré au cordeau trois grandes rues, coupées par quatre autres. Bientôt la discorde se mit dans l'état à l'occasion du partage des terres. Les nouveaux citoyens exterminèrent les anciens, et demeurèrent maîtres de la ville sous le nom de *Thurium*. Elle fleurit pendant quelque tems. Rivale malheureuse de Tarente, elle se mit sous la protection des Romains qui lui envoyèrent une colonie. Elle prit alors le nom de *Copiæ*, mais elle ne regagna plus son ancienne splendeur.

LAGARIA, colonie des Phocéens; son vin étoit doux, et très estimé par les médecins. Strab.Geog. l. vi. p. 182. Plin. Hist. Nat. xiv. 6.

HERACLEA, colonie des Phocéens. On y montroit un *Palladium*, relique fameuse qu'on se vantoit aussi de posséder à Rome, à Lavinium, et dans plusieurs autres endroits. Strab.Geog. l. vi. p. 182.

METAPONTUM. La tradition veut qu'un capitaine Pylien, séparé par une tempête de Nestor son chef dans leur retour de Troie, ait fondé Metapontum; mais l'histoire en fait une colonie des Achéens que les Lacédémoniens avoient chassé de leur pays: aussi furent-ils toujours les ennemis implacables de ceux de Tarente. Strab.Geog. l. vi. p. 183. Vell.Paterc. l. i. c. 1.

La vigne est quelquefois très grande; il y en avoit des colonnes dans le temple de Junon à Metapontum. Plin. Hist. Natur. xiv. 1.

PÆSTUM. Cette ville, nommée par les Grecs *Posido-* Strab.Geog. l. v. p. 173.

Posidonium, et qui a donné son nom au golfe où elle est située, est une colonie Dorienne, qui a passé successivement aux Sybarites, aux Lucaniens, et aux Romains. Elle est située auprès du Silarus.

Cluvier. Ital. Antiq. l. iv. c. 14. p. 1255.

On voit auprès de Pæstum, un étang salé, d'où sort une rivière de la même qualité, qui, après un cours de deux milles, se perd dans les marais, et rend le climat de Pæstum assez mal sain. Ce fut auprès de cet étang, *Stagnum Salsum*, que Crassus remporta un avantage sur les gladiateurs,

Sil. Italic. viii. 480.

——————— quem Picentia Pæsto
Misit, ———————————

Virg. Georg. iv. 118.

Forsitan et pingues hortos quæ cura colendi
Ornaret, canerem, biferique rosaria *Pæsti*.

Vell. Paterc. i. 14.

Les Romains envoyèrent une colonie à Pæstum A. U. C. 480.

Strab. Geog. l. v. p. 173.

Fluvius Silarus. Le Silarus, qui reçoit le Tanagrus, a la propriété de changer en pierre le bois qu'on y jette sans lui faire perdre sa couleur ni sa figure.

Virg. Georg. iii. 146.

Est lucos Silari circa, ilicibusque virentem
Plurimus Alburnum volitans, cui nomen Asilo
Romanum est œstron Graii vertere vocantes:
Asper, acerbà sonans: quo tota exterrita sylvis
Diffugiunt armenta, furit mugitibus æther
Concussus, sylvæque, et sicci ripa Tanagri.

Sil. Italic. viii. 582.

Nunc Silarus quos nutrit aquis, quo gurgite tradunt
Duritiem lapidum mersis inolescere ramis.

Strab. Geog. l. vi. p. 174.

Velia. Cette ville, appellée par les Grecs *Elæa*, est une colonie des Phociens. Ce peuple s'y retira après

après la prise de sa ville par les Perses. Un territoire borné et stérile l'obligea de s'attacher à la mer. Une marine puissante et de sages loix le mirent bientôt en état de se défendre avec avantage contre les Lucaniens et le peuple de Pæstum quoiqu'ils lui fussent très supérieurs en forces.

PRO. PALINURUS.

—— tua finitimi longe lateque per urbes
Prodigiis acti cœlestibus ossa piabunt,
Et statuent tumulum, et tumulo solemnia mittent:
Æternumque locus Palinuri nomen habebit.
His dictis curæ emotæ, pulsusque parumper
Corde dolor tristi: gaudet cognomine terra.

Virg. Æneid. vi. 378.

BUXENTUM. Buxentum, ou Pyxus, est à la fois le nom du promontoire, de la rivière, et de la ville. Ceux de Messana y envoyèrent une colonie, qui se dispersa bientôt. Les Romains y en établirent une l'an de Rome 558.

Strab. Geog. l. vi. p. 174. Vel. Paterc. l. i. c. 15.

—————— quæ *Buxentia* pubes
Aptabat dextris, irrasæ robora clavæ.

Sil. Italic. viii. 585.

———————— seu sunt *Buxentia* cordi
Rura magis, centum Cereri fruticantia culmis.

Idem. ix. 204.

Comme Buxentum étoit un pays stérile, Cluvier conjecturé qu'il faut lire *Byzacia*, la partie la plus fertile de l'Afrique. L'idée est ingénieuse; et depuis Cluvier, *Byzacia*, appuyé de l'autorité d'un MS. est entré dans le texte de Silius Italicus. Il ne paroît cependant qu' Hannibal ne peut guères offrir à ses soldats que le choix des campagnes Italiques, le prix de leur victoire; selon l'usage ancien

Cluvier. Ital. Antiq. l. iv. c. 14. p. 1261. Silius Italicus publié par Drakenborch à Utrecht,

cien d'envoyer des colonies sur les terres dont on dépouilloit des peuples vaincus.

Cluvier. Ital. Antiq. l. iv. c. 15. Strab. Geog. l. vi.

II. BRUTTIUM. Comme il n'étoit point soudivisé par la politique il faut suivre la méthode que nous fournit la nature. Sur la côte Toscane je trouve, 1. Cerillæ; 2. Clampetia; 3. Terina; 4. Tempsa; 5. Lamelia; 6. Vibo Valentia; 7. Medama; 8. Taurianum; 9. Scyllæum, avec son promontoire, le promontoire Cænis, la colonne de Rhegium; 10. Rhegium, et le promontoire Leucopetra, la pointe la plus méridionale de l'Italie. Du promontoire Leucopetra à celui d'Hercule, la côte suit la direction de l'occident à l'orient. Après avoir tourné celui-ci, on se porte au nord. J'y vois le promontoire Zephyrium, 1. Locri, la Sagra; 2. Caulonia, le promontoire Cocinthum; 3. Scyllaceum; 4. Le Camp d'Hannibal; 5. Petilia, les trois promontoires Iapygiens et l'entrée du golfe de Tarente; le temple de Junon Lacinienne; 6. Croton, le Næthus; 7. Crimisa, avec sa rivière et son promontoire; 8. Ruscianum, et un peu plus loin, le Crathis. Presque toutes ces villes étoient des colonies Grecques qui s'étoient emparées des côtes en laissant aux barbares l'intérieur du pays. Celui-ci étoit sauvage et mal peuplé, couvert de montagnes qui étoient une suite de l'Apennin, et d'une forêt immense nommée *Sila* qui fournissoit de la poix excellente. J'y vois, 1. Pandosia; 2. Consentia; 3. Volcentum; et 4. Mamertum.

CERILLÆ.

Sil. Italic. viii. 581.

——— Et exhaustæ mox Pæno Marte, *Cerillæ*.

TEMPSA.

TEMPSA. Cette ville, nommée anciennement Temesa, étoit fameuse du tems d'Homère pour ses mines de cuivre dont Strabon a vu les traces. Les marchands y venoient de la Grèce.

Εις Τεμεσην μετα χαλκον ————————

On observoit à Tempsa un usage assez commun parmi les Payens, d'offrir tous les ans une jeune fille pour appaiser un génie irrité qui devoit être Ulysse. Un jeune Grec eut la hardiesse de se battre avec le génie, qui s'enfuit et qui se jetta à la mer. La superstition finit, mais la fable continua toujours de faire partie du symbole des Tempsains. Pausanias y vit un ancien tableau où cette aventure étoit représentée.

Homer. Odyss. i. v. 184.

VIBO VALENTIA. Cette ville, nommée par les Grecs Hipponium, étoit une colonie des Locriens. Les Bruttiens l'enlevèrent à ce peuple, et les Romains y envoyèrent, A. U. C. 509, une colonie qui devint très florissante. Agathocle, Roi de Syracuse, s'étant rendu maître de la ville, y construisit un port. La ville est située au milieu de riches prairies ornées de fleurs de toutes les espèces. La tradition se saisit de cette circonstance pour y transporter la scène de l'enlèvement de Proserpine.

Strab. Geog. l. vi. p. 176. Vell. Paterc. l. i. c. 14.

RHEGIUM. Cette ville fut fondée par ceux de Chalcis. Une colonie de Messéniens échappée à la fureur des Lacédémoniens vint s'y établir et acquit bientôt l'autorité souveraine. Elle se distingua bientôt par sa puissance, ses colonies, et par les grands hommes qu'elle a produits. Denys l'ancien

V. Cluvier. Ital. Antiq. l. iv. c. 15. p. 1296.

Strabon. Geog. l. vi. p. 178.

l'ancien la prit et la détruisit de fond en comble; mais son fils la rétablit en partie, et lui donna le nom de *Phœbea* qu'elle ne conserva pas. Elle souffrit beaucoup par la trahison de sa garnison Campanienne qui égorgea tous les anciens habitans, et par un tremblement de terre. Peu avant la guerre sociale Rhegium étoit du nombre de ces dix-huit villes malheureuses que la beauté de leurs édifices, et la richesse de leurs terres avoient fait choisir aux Triumvirs pour assouvir la cupidité de leurs vétérans. Cependant César accorda sa grace à Rhegium; mais voyant que la ville étoit dépeuplée il y envoya une colonie de ses troupes de la marine, et lui donna le nom de *Julium Rhegium.* Sa situation avantageuse l'a soutenu dans toutes les révolutions. C'est le lien de l'Italie et de la Sicile, dont il n'est séparé que par un détroit de douze milles de longueur, et dont la largeur à la Colonne Rhegine n'est que d'un mille et demi.

Appian. de Bell. Civil. l. iv. p. 590. 638. Edit. Hen. Stephan.

Plin. Hist. Nat. iii. 8.

Virgil. Æneid. iii. 414.

> Hæc loca, vi quondam et vastâ convulsa ruinâ
> (Tantum ævi longinqua valet mutare vetustas)
> Dissiluisse ferunt; quum protinus utraque tellus
> Una foret, venit medio vi pontus, et undis
> Hesperium Siculo latus abscidit; arvaque et urbes
> Litore diductas angusto interluit æstû.

Strabon. Geog. vi. p. 178. Plin. Hist. Nat. iii. 8.

Il paroît que Virgile n'a fait que suivre une ancienne tradition adoptée par Eschyle, Strabon et Pline le Naturaliste.

Cluvier. Ital. Antiq. l. iv. c. 15. p. 1301. Strab. Geog. l. vi. p. 179.

Locri Epizephyrii. C'est la troisième tribu des Locriens. Les auteurs ne sont pas d'accord de laquelle des deux autres elle est sortie, des Ozolæ auprès de l'Etolie ou des Epicnemedii auprès de l'île

l'île d'Eubée, mais on convient que cette migration s'est faite Olymp. xxiii. 2. avant J. C. 683. Locri, favorite de la nature, ne ressentoit jamais des horreurs de la peste, mais elle jouissoit d'un bonheur encore plus grand dans les sages loix que Zaleucus lui donna; loix formées sur l'étude réfléchie de celles de la Crète, de Sparte, et de l'Aréopage; loix dont la clarté et la simplicité surpassoient de beaucoup les raffinemens ingénieux de celles de Thurium. Dans la bataille de la Sagra Locri avoit 100,000 combattans; en prenant ce nombre pour celui des citoyens en age viril la colonie entière étoit composée d'environ 300,000 ames. Denys, Roi de Syracuse et maître de Locri, le traita avec une cruauté et une insolence que ce peuple ne rendit que trop bien à la famille innocente et infortunée de ce prince. Les Locriens étoient les bons amis des Rhégiens, ils passoient librement sur les terres les uns des autres, mais leurs cigales plus réservées ne traversoient jamais la rivière qui faisoit la borne. De ces cigales il n'y avoit que celles de Rhegium qui chantassent. L'aridité d'un terrein sans ombre quelconque leur donnoit ce talent.

——— cuncta malis habitantur mœnia Græcis.
Hîc et *Narycii* posuerunt mœnia *Locri*. Virgil. Æneid, iii. 398.

Scyllaceum. C'est à Scyllaceum, colonie des Athéniens, que l'Italie est la plus étroite. La traversée d'une mer à l'autre n'est que de vingt milles. Denys de Syracuse s'étoit proposé d'y construire une muraille pour séparer ses sujets

de l'Isthme du commerce et des incursions des Lucaniens. Mais il ne put exécuter ce dessein.

Cluvier. Ital. Antiq. l. iv. c. 15. p. 1310. Strab. Geog. l. vi. p. 262. T. Liv. xxiv. 2. 3.

CROTON. Cette ville, éloignée de Thurium de deux cens stades, étoit colonie des Achéens, fondée dans le même tems que Syracuse. Elle se distinguoit par la bonté de l'air et la bravoure de ses citoyens qui s'adonnèrent avec tant de succès à la gymnastique que sept Crotoniates remportèrent une fois les sept prix des jeux Olympiques. Milon, leur fameux athlète, commandoit en même tems l'armée qui remporta cette victoire signalée sur les Sybarites. Mais à la journée de la Sagra, Crotone succomba à son tour sous les armes des Locriens et des Rhégiens. Ce combat, où il est question de 130,000 Crotoniates, me fait juger que la république avoit environ 400,000 citoyens. Depuis ce moment Crotone n'éprouva que des revers. Denys s'en rendit maître, et cette ville, dont les murs avoient douze milles de circonférence, étoit à peine à moitié habitée du tems d'Hannibal.

Tit. Liv. xxiv. 3.

JUNONIS LACINIÆ TEMPLUM. A six milles de Crotone, on voyoit ce temple respecté de toutes les nations voisines. Il étoit au milieu d'un grand bois sacré qui renfermoit des pâturages fertiles où paissoient les troupeaux de la déese sans craindre ni les hommes ni les animaux féroces. Le soir chaque espèce se séparoit d'elle-même des autres pour regagner tranquillement son écurie. Les troupeaux ne contribuoient pas moins aux richesses du temple que les offrandes mêmes. Les prêtres avoient employé ce revenu à faire faire une colonne d'or massif. Hannibal n'osa jamais piller ce temple.

Mais

Mais le Censeur Fulvius Flaccus fit enlever la moitié des tuiles, qui étoient de marbre, pour couvrir son temple de la fortune des Chevaliers. Sa mort subite fut attribuée à la vengeance de Junon et le Sénat fit remporter les tuiles. La légende porte qu'un autel placé devant le temple ne voyoit jamais ses cendres ébranlées le moins du monde par les vents. Plin. Hist. Nat. ii. 107.

Pandosia. Cette ancienne ville des Oenotriens et ensuite des Bruttiens étoit placée sur trois collines. L'Acheron couloit sous ses murs. Ce fut là que périt Alexandre, Roi d'Epire. Elle étoit sur la frontière du Bruttium et de la Lucanie. Strab.Geog. vi. p. 176.

Consentia. Elle étoit le chef lieu des Bruttiens. Idem. vi. p. 176.

Petilia. Fondée par Philoctète, elle demeura fidèle aux Romains, pour qui elle soutint un siège opiniâtre contre Hannibal. Je ne conçois pas comment cette ville Grecque au fond du Bruttium pouvoit être du tems de Strabon la capitale des Lucaniens; elle étoit alors assez considérable. Strab.Geog. vi. p. 175. Tit. Liv. xxiii. 30.

——————— Hîc illa ducis Melibæi
Parva Philoctetæ, subnixa Petilia muro. Virgil. Æneid. l.iii. 401.

Magna Græcia. Lorsque les Grecs traversèrent la mer Ionienne pour chercher de nouvelles terres, frappés de l'immensité de ce continent dont ils ignoroient les bornes, ils lui donnèrent le nom de la Grande Grèce. Dans les premiers tems on donnoit hardiment ce nom générique à tous les pays à l'occident de la Grèce où la nation avoit des colonies, la Sicile, l'Italie, la Gaule, et l'Espagne. Semblables aux Européens en Amérique ils ne V. Cluvier. Ital. Antiq. l. iv. c. 16. Strab.Geog. l. v. et vi.

comptoient les barbares pour rien; ils croyoient qu'un établissement sur les côtes leur donnoit des droits sur un pays immense peuplé de cent nations dont ils connoissoient à peine les noms. Dans un sens plus précis ces colonies mêmes étoient la Grande Grèce; mais dispersées sur une grande étendue de côte dont elles n'occupoient que des portions détachées, on ne peut en fixer les bornes qu'en en faisant le dénombrement. Depuis Cumes cependant jusqu'à Tarentum, toute la côte (aussi bien que celles de la Sicile) étoit couverte de colonies Grecques dont les territoires se touchoient. Cette circonstance détermina enfin le nom de la *Grande Grèce* à ces pays exclusivement. Les malheurs de la nation, plusieurs villes détruites, et d'autres qui devinrent barbares, resserrèrent encore la Grande Grèce, qui ne s'étendoit plus que de Tarentum au promontoire Leucopetra; c'est à dire dans le canton qu'on appelloit le front de l'Italie. Dans cette description de la Lucanie aussi bien que dans les autres régions, j'ai marqué la plûpart des colonies Grecques. Du tems de Strabon, Tarentum, Rhegium, et Naples étoient les seules qui conservoient encore les mœurs Grecques. Quant à l'époque de ces migrations il y a du fabuleux et de l'historique. C'est dans la première classe que je mets les Oenotriens, les Arcadiens, Evandre, Philoctète, Epée, Diomède, et tant d'autres chevaliers errans qui se sont établis en Italie avant la première Olympiade. Pesons mes deux raisons. 1. J'ose assurer que du tems d'Homère la côte occidentale de l'Italie n'avoit point reçu de colonies Grecques;

Grecques; et par conséquent Cumes est beaucoup moins ancienne qu'on ne l'a dit. Ce n'est pas dans un pays rempli de Grecs qui soutenoient des relations les plus étroites avec leur pays, que ce pöete auroit placé des géans, des enchantemens, et le sejour même des morts, prodiges qui ne conviennent qu'à un monde nouveau à peine découvert et qu'on ne connoissoit encore que par les hyperboles mal interprétées des voyageurs Phéniciens. 2. Il y a peu de villes de la Grande Grèce qui n'ayent une double origine. L'une qui remonte aux dieux et aux héros de la mythologie; l'autre plus historique et plus récente. Peut-on balancer? Qui ne supposera pas avec raison que les fondateurs réels ont voulu se donner des ayeux imaginaires pour relever l'antiquité et la noblesse de la colonie? Il me paroît que les migrations commencèrent un peu après la première Olympiade, et qu'elles durèrent environ 300 ans. On voit (surtout par Strabon) que leurs discordes civiles et les courses des barbares les livrèrent enfin à la tyrannie des Syracusains, et que les guerres des Samnites, de Pyrrhus, et d'Hannibal les ruinèrent si totalement, que la Grande Grèce paroissoit détruite du tems de Cicéron.

Cicero. in Lælio.

Ovid. Fastor. l. iv. p. 567.

Nec tibi sit mirum Græco rem nomine dici,
Itala nam tellus, *Græcia major* erat.
Venerat Evander plenâ cum classe suorum,
Venerat Alcides; Graius uterque genus.
Hospes Aventinis armenta pavit in herbis
Claviger; et tanto est Albula pota Deo.
Dux quoque *Narycius;* testes Læstrigones exstant.
Et quod adhuc Circes nomina litus habet,

Et jam Telegoni, jam mœnia *Tiburis udi*
Stabant; Argolicæ quæ posuere manus.
Venerat Atridæ fatis agitatus Halesus;
A quo se dictam terra Falisca putat;
Adjice Trojanæ suasorem Antenora pacis,
Et generum Oeniden, Apule Daune, tuum.
Serus ab Iliacis et post Antenora flammis
Abstulit Æneas in loca nostra Deos.

Horat. Epist. i. 2.

——————— Quidve Calabris
Saltibus adjecti Lucani ——

Sect. X.

CALABRIA ET APULIA.

Apulia. Cette région, qui comprenoit une des cornes de l'Italie, étoit bornée par la Lucanie, la Campanie, et le Samnium. Sur la mer Adriatique elle s'étendoit jusqu'au Frento, et sur le golfe de Tarente jusqu'à Metapontum. Le mont Vultur et le Bradanus la séparoient de la Lucanie, et le fleuve Sabbatus du Samnium et de la Campanie. On peut la partager en trois provinces, 1. Le pays des Hirpini; 2. L'Apulie propre; et 3. La Calabre. La Daunie paroît n'être que la seconde des provinces. L'Iapygie n'étoit qu'un nom générique et un peu vague que les Grecs donnoient à toute cette côte. On voit confusément que la Messapie et les Salentini n'étoient que l'extrémité de la corne, et que les Peucetii ou Pædiculi formoient une cité ancienne, d'origine Illyrienne, qui étoit placée dans les environs de Tarentum.

V. la Carte de Deslisle, et Cluvier. Ital. Antiq. l. iv. c. 10.

I. HIRPINI. Je suis surpris que les Romains ayent enlevé ce peuple aux Samnites pour le donner

Cluvier Ital. Antiq. l. iv. c. 8.

mer aux Apuli. Il étoit d'origine Samnite, et sa liaison avec cette nation étoit si étroite que les historiens de la guerre Samnite les ont presque toujours confondus. Cette cité s'étendoit des deux côtés de l'Apennin depuis le Sabbatus jusqu'à l'Aufidus. Je trouve en-deça des montagnes, 1. Equus Tuticus; 2. Callifæ, colonie; 3. Æculanum; 4. Romula; 5. Taurasium; 6. Avillinum, colonie. Au-delà des montagnes, 1. Aquilonia; 2. Herdonia; 3. Rufæ, ou Rufræ, ou Rufrum; 4. Compsa.

TAURASIUM. On voyoit une nation Ligurienne dans les environs de Taurasium. Les Romains, ennuyés des courses des Apuani, prirent la résolution de les transporter dans un pays fort éloigné du leur. Les Consuls Bæbius et Cornelius, les ayant poussé dans les montagnes, les obligèrent de se rendre au nombre de douze milles hommes. Cette petite armée fournit, avec les femmes et les enfans, quarante mille ames, que le sénat fit passer dans le pays des Hirpini, où on leur distribua des terres avec un présent de 150,000 sesterces (dix mille écus) pour les y établir. Du tems de Pline ils conservoient encore les noms de Corneliani et de Bæbiani. Peu de tems après, le Préteur Fulvius y conduisit par mer encore sept mille hommes. Cette migration se fit A. U. C. 573. T. Liv. xl. 38.

AMSANCTI LACUS. Ce lac rendoit des exhalaisons très dangereuses pour ceux qui s'en approchoient. On avoit mêlé beaucoup de fables à la description de ce phénomène. Pline lui-même n'en est point exempt. Il n'étoit pas loin de Taurasium. Plin. Hist. Natur. ii. 93.

Virg. Æn. vii. 563.

Est locus Italiæ in medio, sub montibus altis,
Nobilis, et famâ multis veneratus in oris,
Amsancti valles; densis hunc frondibus atrum
Urget utrinque latus nemoris: medioque fragosus
Dat sonitum saxis et torto vertice torrens.
Hìc specus horrendum sævi spiracula Ditis
Monstratur; ruptoque ingens Acheronte vorago
Pestiferas aperit fauces. ———

II. APULIA PROPRIA. Cette province, qui ne paroît pas avoir jamais formé un corps politique et national, étoit la plus grande des trois. La mer, le Frento, les Hirpini, le Bradanus, et une ligne de Tarentum à Brundisium en-deça de ces villes,— voilà ses bornes. Dans la Daunie propre, ou le pays entre le Frento et l'Aufide, je trouve, 1. Apenesta au pied du mont Garganus; 2. Uria; 3. Sipus ou Sipontum; 4. Salepia avec la *Palus Salapina;* ces quatre villes étoient sur les bords de la mer; 5. Teanum Apulum sur le Frento; 6. Gerion ou Gerunium; 7. Luceria; et 8. Arpi, Argos Hippium, ou Argyrippa. Dans la portion de l'Apulie qui est entre l'Aufide et le mont Vultur, portion plus longue, mais plus étroite que la première, je trouve, 1. Venusia; 2. Canusium; 3. Cannæ; 4. Barium; et 5. Gnatiæ. Dans le petit canton entre le Vultur et le Bradanus, je ne vois que, 1. Bantia; 2. Forentum; 3. Acherontia; et 4. Genusium.

Cicero. de Leg. Agrar. in Rull. Orat. ii. 27.

SIPUS ET SALAPIA. Quand Cicéron veut donner une idée des endroits les moins désirables de l'Italie, il choisit le territoire aride de Sipus, et les marais pestiférés de Salapia.

Strab. Geog. vi. p. 198.

ARPI. On voit que les colonies Grecques en Italie ont agi comme les Européens dans le nouveau

nouveau monde, et qu'ils ont saisi avidement les vraisemblances les moins décisives pour y trouver des traces de leurs ancêtres. C'est ainsi que Diomède doit avoir régné sur les bords de l'Adriatique. On y voit les *insulæ Diomedeæ*, et les présens que ce héros offrit à Minerve dans son temple à Lucerie. Mais ces traditions sont aussi contradictoires qu'elles sont fabuleuses. Le judicieux Strabon a su remarquer qu'on racontoit les aventures de Diomède de quatre façons essentiellement différentes.

Et Venulus, dicto parens, sic farier infit: Virg. Æn. xi.
Vidimus, O cives, Diomeden Argivaque castra;
Atque iter emensi casus superavimus omnes,
Contigimusque manum quâ concidit Ilia tellus.
Ille urbem *Argyripam*, patriæ cognomine gentis,
Victor *Gargani* condebat *Japygis* agris.

Non seulement Arpi, mais encore Beneventum, et Equus Tuticus reconnoissoient Diomède pour leur fondateur.

Mons Garganus, &c.

Nutantique ruens prostravit vertice silvas Sil. Ital. viii. 630.
Garganus; fundoque imo mugivit anhelans
Aufidus; et magno late distantia ponto
Terruerunt pavidos accensâ ceraunià nautas.
Quæsivit Calaber, subductâ luce repente
Immensis tenebris, et terram et litora *Sipûs*.

Canusium. Cette ville, fameuse par la journée de Cannes qui arriva dans son voisinage, étoit située au milieu des plaines de Diomède toujours couvertes de troupeaux nombreux, dont la laine courte, et d'une couleur foncée, servoit à faire des manteaux, et alloit de pair d'avec celle de Tarentum V. Cluvier. Ital. Antiqua, l. iv, c. 12. Strab. Geog. vi. p. 199. Plin. Hist. Nat. c. 8. p 48.

Tarentum la plus estimée de l'Italie. Ce canton, aussi bien que le reste de l'Apulie, avoit été très florissant; mais la guerre d'Hannibal, et celles qui la suivirent, le réduisirent dans l'état de désolation où Strabon le voyoit. Peut-être que Canusium se rétablit un peu sous Adrien après qu'Hérode eut guéri le vice radical de sa situation en y faisant conduire de l'eau.

Hor. Serm. i. 10.

——— Canusini more bilinguis.

Strab. Geog. v. p. 172.

VENUSIA. Venusia étoit considérable du tems de Tibère. C'est à tort que Strabon l'a placé dans le Samnium.

Vell. Pater. i. 14.

Les Romains y envoyèrent une colonie A. U. C. 460, pendant le plus fort de la guerre Samnite.

VENUSIA.

Hor. Serm. ii. 1.

——— Sequor hunc, Lucanus an Apulus anceps:
Nam *Venusinus* arat finem sub utrumque *colonus*,
Missus ad hoc, pulsis (vetus ut est fama) Sabellis,
Quò ne per vacuum Romano incurreret hostis;
Sive quod Apula gens, sive quod Lucania bellum
Incuteret violenta ———

GNATIÆ, SEU EGNATIA.

Idem, i. 5.

——— Dehinc Gnatia, lymphis
Iratis extracta, dedit risusque jocosque,
Dum flammâ sine thura liquescere limine sacro
Persuadere cupit: credat Judæus Apella,
Non ego ———

Plin. Hist. Nat. ii. 107.

Pline assure qu'à Egnatia le bois placé sur une certaine pierre sacrée s'allumoit de lui-même.

Strab. Geog. l. vi. p. 194. Cluvier. Ital. Antiq. l. iv. c. 13.

III. CALABRIA. Cette corne de l'Italie étoit un pays excellent. Il manquoit d'eaux, mais le sol étoit fort et riche, et ses bois et ses pâturages étoient d'un grand rapport. Il étoit très peuplé anciennement; on

on y comptoit treize villes; mais du tems de Strabon, on n'y voyoit plus que celles de Tarentum et de Brundisium. Voici les noms des endroits principaux de la province: 1. Tarentum; 2. Callipolis, le promontoire Japygien ou Salentin; 3. Leuca: 4. Castrum Minervæ; 5. Hydrus, ou Hydruntum; 6. Lupia; 7. Valetium; 8. Brundisium: c'étoient les villes maritimes. Dans l'intérieur des terres j'apperçois, 9. Veretum; 10. Uxentum; 11. Neretum; 12. Manduria; 13. Rhudia, la patrie d'Ennius. Je vois que l'extrémité de la corne étoit connue sous le nom de pays des Salentini, colonie Crétoise; mais je ne découvre aucun vestige de Salente, ville d'Idoménée, ou plutôt de Fenelon.

Pecusve Calabris ante sidus fervidum
Lucana mutuet pascuis. Hor. Carm. Epod. i.

Les bergers Calabrois menoient leurs troupeaux paître dans la Lucanie au mois de Juillet pour éviter les chaleurs de la canicule. Ils les ramenoient en Calabre avant les froids de l'hiver. Vet. Com. ad Locum.

TARENTUM. Les Lacédémoniens fondèrent Tarentum. On sait que pendant le siège d'Ithome, ils renvoyèrent leurs jeunes gens à Sparte et leur abandonnèrent leurs femmes pour conserver la nation sans violer leur serment. N'auroit-il pas eté plus naturel de faire venir leurs femmes au camp d'Ithome? Et ces vingt ans perdus pour la génération! je conçois à peine qu'un peuple ait pu se relever d'une calamité cent fois plus affreuse que la guerre ou la peste. J'avoue bien qui l'dée est très Spartiate, d'un peuple qui badinoit sur les adultères et V. Cluvier. Ital. Antiq. l. iv. c. 13. et Strab. Geog. vi. p. 191—194.

et qui méprisoit les doux penchans de la nature. Il eut beau les mépriser ici. Les enfans de ce commerce vague ignoroient leurs pères, ne tenoient point à l'état, et n'excitoient que des séditions pour obtenir ces héritages que les loix leur refusoient. La république fut charmée de s'en délivrer en les envoyant avec Phalanthus leur chef chercher des établissemens. Ils bâtirent Tarente environ 700 ans avant Jesus Christ. Cette république devint très puissante. Elle eut une marine très supérieure à tous ses voisins, avec une armée de trente milles hommes d'infanterie et trois de cavalerie, sans compter mille cavaliers d'élite qu'on nommoit Hipparques. La philosophie Pythagoricienne y fleurit beaucoup, et Tarente eut, pendant longtems, le bonheur de voir à sa tête le philosophe Archytas. Enfin le luxe vint à la suite de l'abondance et tout fut perdu. La mollesse de Tarente ne pouvoit se comparer qu'avec celle de Capoue et de Sybaris. Leurs jours de fêtes étoient en plus grand nombre que les jours ouvriers. Ils avoient inventé une toile presque transparente qui pâroit les charmes plutôt qu'elle ne les cachoit. Quand les Tarentins étoient obligés de se défendre contre leurs voisins belliqueux, ils ne savoient qu'appeller des généraux étrangers, Alexandre contre les Lucaniens, et Pyrrhus contre les Romains, dont ils s'étoient attirés les armes par leur folle présomption. Rome les soumit. Ils se livrèrent pendant la guerre Punique aux Carthaginois. Fabius ne reprit Tarentum qu'au bout de cinq ans. On y envoya une colonie l'an de Rome 629,

Vell. Paterc. l. i. c. 15.

629, qui se soutint avec splendeur jusqu'à la décadence de l'Empire. Tarente jouissoit d'un beau port dans un golfe qui n'en avoit presqu' aucun. Le sien, qui entroit fort avant dans les terres, avoit cent stades de circonférence. L'embouchure en étoit si étroite qu'on y avoit jetté un pont. Cette circonstance rendoit la citadelle bâtie à l'extrémité de la pointe, maîtresse absolue du port. Construite sur une péninsule qui étoit environnée de rochers très hauts du côté de la mer, elle n'étoit jointe à la ville que par une petite langue de terre fortifiée d'un mur et d'un fossé très profond. La ville étoit située dans la plaine depuis l'intérieur du port jusqu'à la mer. Cet espace étoit percé en tout sens par des rues larges et droites dont Hannibal se servit pour faire sortir les vaisseaux du port, pendant que les Romains étoient maîtres de la citadelle. Du tems de Strabon, on voyoit les anciens murs de Tarentum, qui ne les remplissoit plus, mais qui s'étoit retirée du côté de la citadelle et de l'entrée du port. Elle avoit encore un beau gymnase, et un grand forum, au milieu duquel il y avoit une statue colossale de Jupiter qui ne le cédoit qu'à celle de Rhodes. De tant d'autres monumens des beaux arts qu'elle avoit possédés la plûpart étoient passés à Carthage et à Rome. Tarentum et ses environs avoient le nom de *Saturum*, ou d'abondant. Il le meritoit bien.

Tit. Liv. xxv. 9, 10.

Dulce pellitis ovibus, Galesi
Flumen, et regnata petam Laconi
Rura Phalantho.
Ille terrarum mihi præter omnes
Angulus ridet, ubi non Hymetto

Horat. Carm. ii. 6.

Mella

Mella decedunt, viridique certat
Bacca Venafro.
Ver ubi longum, tepidasque præbet
Jupiter brumas, et amicus Aulon
Fertili Baccho minimum Falernis
Invidet uvis.
Ille te mecum locus, et beatæ
Postulant arces; ibi tu calentem
Debitâ sparges lacrymâ favillam
Vatis amici.

Horat. Epist. i. 7.
——————Imbelle Tarentum.

Juvenal. Satyr. vi. 296.
— — — —
Atque coronatum et petulans, madidumque Tarentum.

Virgil. Georgic. ii. 195.
Sin armenta magis studium, vitulosque tueri,
Aut fœtus ovium, aut urentes culta capellas
Saltus et saturi petito longinqua Tarenti.

CASTRUM MINERVÆ.

Virgil. Æneid. iii. 506. 521. 530.
Prevehimur pelago vicina Ceraunia juxta,
Unde iter Italiam, cursusque brevissimus undis.
Jamque rubescebat stellis Aurora fugatis:
Quum procul obscuros colles, humilemque videmus
Italiam.——————————
Crebescunt optatæ auræ: portusque patescit
Jam propior, templumque apparet in arce Minervæ.
Vela legunt socii, et proras ad litora torquent.
Portus ab Eoo fluctu curvatur in arcum,
Objectæ salsa spumant aspergine cautes.
Ipse latet: gemino demittunt brachia muro
Turriti scopuli, refugitque a litore templum.

Strab. Geog. vi. 195. BRUNDISIUM. Le port de Brundisium, très fréquenté par les Romains pour passer en Grèce, étoit excellent en lui-même. On la comparoit à une corne de cerf qui pousse beaucoup de branches différentes. Comme elle il renfermoit plusieurs ports dans

dans un seul. Partout à l'abri des vents et d'une profondeur suffisante, il n'avoit aucun des défauts de celui de Tarentum.

Les Romains envoyèrent une colonie à Brundisium A. U. C. 509. Vell. Pater. l. i. c. 14.

Nec non Brundisium quò desinit Itala tellus. Sil. Italic. viii. 576.

SALLENTINI.

——Sallentinos obsedit milite campos
Lyctius Idomeneus—————— Virgil. Æneid. iii. 400.

TARENTUM.

Lana Tarentino violas imitata veneno. Horat. Epist. ii. 1.

M. GARGANUS.

Garganum mugire putes memus, aut mare Tuscum.

SECT. XI.

SAMNIUM.

CETTE région, une des plus étendues de l'Italie, mais des plus reculées dans l'intérieur des terres, touchoit à cinq autres régions. Le Marrinus et l'Apennin la séparoient du Picenum; le Nar de l'Umbrie; le Tibre de l'Etrurie; l'Anio et une ligne de ses sources à Beneventum la divisoient de la Campanie; Telesia, Herculaneum, Larinum, et le Tifernus formoient sa frontière avec l'Apulie. Sa côte maritime ne s'étendoit que depuis l'embouchure du Tifernus, jusqu'à celle du Matrinus. Elle comprenoit (outre les Samnites) un grand nombre de cités que les Romains avoient réuni dans une seule province. J'en compte huit principales: V. la Carte de l'Italie par Delisle, et Plin. Hist. Natur. l. iii. c. 4.

principales : 1. *Les Sabins ;* 2. *Les Mansi ;* 3. *Les Æqui ;* 4. *Les Peligni ;* 5. *Les Vestini ;* 6. *Les Marrucini ;* 7. *Les Frentani ;* et 8. *Les Samnites.*

V. Cluvier. Ital. Antiq. l. ii. c. 8 et 9. Cicer. ad Familiares, xv. 14.

I. SABINI. Ce peuple indigène de l'Italie, ou sorti des Lacédémoniens, s'est toujours distingué par son courage, par sa probité, et par des mœurs vertueuses et grossières qui ne sont jamais ressenties du voisinage de la capitale. Son pays étoit borné par le Nar, le Tibre, et les montagnes du côté de l'Umbrie, de l'Etrurie, et du territoire des Marses. Il pénétroit au nord entre l'Umbrie et le Picenum, et aboutissoit en pointe au *Mont Fiscellus.* Une autre langue, formée par le voisinage du Tibre et de l'Anio et terminée par leur jonction, l'approchoit de Rome. Il paroît même que dans les tems les plus reculés les Sabins s'étoient répandus au-delà de l'Anio, mais que dans la suite les Latins repassèrent cette rivière à leur tour. Voici les principales villes des Sabins dans le canton le plus voisin de Rome, c'est à dire dans la partie qui est entre le Tibre, l'Anio, le Velinus et le Nar : 1. Collatia au-delà de l'Anio ; 2. Antemnæ aux portes de Rome ; 3. Fidenæ ; 4. Crustumerium ; 5. Ficulea ; 6. Corniculum ; 7. Nomentum sur l'Allva ; 8. Eretum ; 9. Regillum, la patrie des Claudii ; 10. Cures, la capitale de Tatius ; 11 Casperia sur l'Himella, un peu plus haut que Cures. Dans ce canton riche, qui est auprès du lac et du fleuve Velinus et qu'on nous donne pour la première patrie des Aborigines, je trouve, 1. Reate ; 2. Lista ; 3. Tiora ; 4. Trebula Mutusca ; et 5. Cutiliæ, avec les eaux du même nom qu'on appelloit le nombril ou

ou le centre de l'Italie. Parmi les montagnes je vois, 1. Falacrinum; 2. Amiternum; 3. Foruli. 4. Interocrea; 5. Forum Decii; 6. Vespasiæ; 7. Nursia; 8. Corsula. Entre les montagnes je remarque nommément, Severus, Tetrica et Gurgures.

Le pays des Sabins est long mais étroit. Il produit de l'huile et du vin, et nourrit beaucoup de bétail. Les guerres avoient détruit la plûpart de leurs villes. Du tems d'Auguste, Cures, autrefois si considérable, n'étoit plus qu'une bourgade, Eretum et Trebula n'étoient que de mauvais villages. Strab. Geog. v. p. 158.

Ecce inter primos Therapnæó a sanguine Clausi
Exultat rapidis Nero non imitabilis ausis;
Hunc *Amiterna* cohors, et Bactris nomina ducens
Casperia; hunc *Foruli*, magnæque *Reate* dicatum
Cœlicolum matri; nec non habitata pruinis
Nursia, et a *Tetrica* comitantur *rupe* cohortes:
Cunctis hasta decus, clipeusque refertur in orbem,
Conique implumes, ac lævo tegmina crure.
Ibant, et læti pars Sancum voce canebant,
Auctorem gentis; pars laudes ore ferebant,
Sabe, tuas, qui de proprio cognomine primus
Dixisti populos magnâ ditione Sabinos. Sil. Ital. viii. 414.

Ecce, Sabinorum prisco de sanguine, magnum
Agmen agens Clausus, magnique ipse agminis instar:
Claudia nunc a quo diffunditur et tribus et gens
Per Latium, postquam in partem data Roma Sabinis:
Unà ingens *Amiterna* cohors, *priscique Quirites*,
Ereti manus omnis, *oliviferæque Mutuscæ:*
Qui *Nomentum* urbem, qui *rosea rura Velini;*
Qui *Tetricæ horrentes rupes, montemque Severum*,
Casperiamque colunt, *Forulosque* et *flumen Himellæ.*
Qui Tiberim, *Fabarimque* bibunt: quos *frigida* misit Virgil. Æneid. vii. 706.

Nursia, et Hortinæ classes, populique Latini :
Quosque secans infaustum interluit *Allia* nomen.

Virgil. Æneid. vii. 629.

Quinque adeo magnæ positis incudibus urbes
Tela novant, Atina potens, Tiburque superbum,
Ardea, *Crustumerique*, et turrigeræ *Antemnæ*.

V. Cluvier. Ital. Antiq. l. ii. c. 9. p. 670, 1, 2.

Horatii Villa. Ce poëte avoit une maison nommée Ustica dans le pays des Sabins ; le mons Lucretilis, le canton de Mandela, le ruisseau Digentia, et la fontaine Blandusia, tout en détermine la situation à Monte Libretto entre Cures et Regillum, et à vingt milles du mont Soracte que le poëte appercevoit de loin. Je sais cependant qu'il y a une petite dispute sur la situation de cette maison.

Horat. Epist. i. 16.

Scribetur tibi forma loquaciter, et situs agri.
Continui montes ; ni dissocientur opacâ
Valle, sed ut veniens dextrum latus aspiciat sol,
Lævum decedens currû fugiente vaporet.
Temperiem laudes. Quid, si rubicunda benigne
Corna vepres et pruna ferunt ? si quercus et ilex
Multâ fruge pecus, multâ dominum juvat umbrâ ?
Dicas adductum propius frondere Tarentum.
Fons etiam rivo dare nomen idoneus ut nec
Frigidior Thracam, nec purior ambiat Hebrus,
Infirmo capiti fluit utilis, utilis alvo.
Hæ latebræ dulces, etiam (si credis) amœnæ,
Incolumem tibi me præstant Septembribus horis.

Varro de Re Rustica, l. ii. c. 1. et 6.

Reate. Le territoire de Reate étoit tout en pâturages. On y voyoit les anes de l'Italie les plus grands et les plus beaux. Ils se vendoient quelquefois de soixante à cent mille sesterces. On a donné jusqu'à trois ou quatre cens mille sesterces pour

pour des étalons de cette race. La corne de leurs pieds s'endurcissoit si on les envoyoit à la montagne pendant l'été.

Les environs de Réate et du lac Velinus s'appelloient *Rosea Rura*. L'herbe croissoit si bien et si vîte dans ses beaux pâturages que si on y laissoit une perche le soir, le lendemain matin on ne la retrouvoit plus. Quelques commentateurs l'ont entendu plaisamment de la hauteur et non de l'épaisseur d'une perche, mais la dernière étoit bien assez pour faire donner à ces champs le nom de *graisse de l'Italie.* Cluvier. Ital. Antiq. l. ii. c. 9. p. 677, 678.

> Et quantum longis carpent armenta diebus
> Exiguâ tantum gelidus ros nocte reponet. Virgil. Georg. ii. 200.

II. Marsi. Ce nom leur donna d'abord une origine Phrygienne et les fit descendre dans l'esprit des Grecs du célèbre Marsyas. Leur pays, que les exploits de ses habitans et surtout la Guerre Sociale ou Marsique* a rendu si fameux, étoit petit et rempli de montagnes. La grande chaine de l'Apennin le séparoit des Piceni, des Vestini, et des Peligni. Il ne partageoit qu'avec les Sabins tout le pays qui est entre ces montagnes, le Nar, le Tibre, et l'Anio. Je n'y trouve que peu de villes autour du lac Fucinus. 1. Alba Fucentia, ou Fucetia, colonie au nord du lac; 2. Cerfennia, à l'orient; 3. Marubium, au midi; 4. Anxantia; et 5. Lucus Angitiæ, à l'occident. Dans les montagnes je ne vois que quelques bourgades sans nom dont la situation est mal connue. V. Cluvier. Ital. Antiq. l. ii. c. 15.

* Mon Journal le 1 Novembre, 1763.

Virgil. Æneid. vii. 750.

Quin et *Marubiâ* venit de *gente* sacerdos,
Fronde super galeam et felici comptus olivâ,
Archippi regis missû, fortissimus Umbro :
Vipereo generi et graviter spirantibus hydris
Spargere qui somnos cantuque manuque solebat,
Mulcebatque iras, et morsus arte levabat.
Sed non Dardaniæ medicari cuspidis ictum
Evaluit ; neque eum juvêre in vulnera cantus
Somniferi, et *Marsis* quæsitæ in montibus *herbæ*.
Te *nemus Angitiæ*, vitreâ te *Fucinus* undâ,
Te liquidi flevêre lacus.———

Sil. Italic. viii. 497.

Hæ bellare acies norant; at Marsica pubes
Et bellare manû et chelydris cantare soporem,
Vipereumque herbis hebetare et carmine dentem.
Acetæ prolem Angitiam mala gramina primam
Monstravisse ferunt ; tactûque domare venena,
Et lunam excussisse polo, stridoribus amnes
Frænantem, et silvis montes nudasse vocatis,
Seu populis nomen posuit metuentior hospes
Cum fugeret Phrygios trans æquora Marsya Crenos
Mygdoniam Phæbo superatus pectine loton.

MARUBIUM.

Idem. viii. 507.

Marruvium veteris celebratum nomine Marri,
Urbibus est illis caput.———

ALBA FUCENTIA.

Idem. viii. 509.

———— Interiorque per udos
Alba sedet campos, pomisque rependit aristas.
Cætera in obscuro famæ, et sine nomine vulgi,
Sed numero castella valent.———

Vell. Pater. l. i. 14.

Les Romains y envoyèrent une colonie, l'an de Rome 459.

Strab. Geog. l. v. p. 166.

Comme elle étoit dans l'intérieur des terres, et très bien fortifiée, le Sénat y envoyoit souvent des prisonniers d'importance.

Le

Le Sénat ordonna à Q. Cassius d'y conduire son captif le Roi Persée, avec son fils Alexandre, de lui faire une maison, et de lui fournir de l'argent et des meubles. Le Roi Syphax avoit déjà été traité de la même manière. Tit. Liv. xlv. 42.

Après avoir demeuré quatre ans à Albe, Persée y mourut, aussi bien que son fils Alexandre. Vell. Pater. l. i. c. xi.

Lacus Fucinus. Ce lac, nommé aujourd'hui Lago de Celano, a environ trente milles Romains de circonférence, quand il est dans son état naturel; mais souvent il se débordoit dans les campagnes voisines. Tout le terrein jusqu'aux montagnes étoit quelquefois sous les eaux et quelquefois des champs fertiles et cultivés. L'an de Rome 616, le lac Fucin inonda tout le pays circonvoisin à cinq milles alentour. Strabon attribue ces phénomènes aux sources dans le lac même et qui sont plus ou moins abondantes. Jules César, qui voyoit tout en grand, vouloit creuser un canal qui déchargeroit ce lac de ses eaux superflues. La mort arrêta l'exécution de ce projet qu'Auguste, plus sage ou plus timide, n'osa jamais entreprendre, quoiqu'il y fut souvent sollicité par les Marses. Claude enfin eut le courage de la tenter. Il falloit creuser ce canal depuis le lac jusqu'au Liris. L'intervalle n'étoit que de trois milles; mais on ne pouvoit éviter une montagne haute et pierreuse. On la coupa dans une partie de son étendue; dans le reste on se contenta de la percer. Enfin au bout de onze ans et par le travail assidu de trente mille hommes, ce canal se trouva achevé A. U. C. 805 et de l'ére Chrètienne 52.

Jul. Obsequius de Prodigiis. Strab. Geog. l. v. p. 166. Sueton. in Jul. Cæsar. xliv.

Tacit. Annal. xii. 56, 57. Sueton. in Claud. xx. Plin. Hist. Natur. xxxvi. 15. Dion. Hist. Rom. l. ix. Berger, Grands Chemins, l. iv. c. 46. p. 794.

52. L'empereur, pour étaler aux yeux de la capitale la grandeur de son ouvrage, y attira tout le peuple par une superbe naumachie qu'il leur donna. Deux flottes, qui représentoient les Rhodiens et les Siciliens, y combattirent à toute outrance. Chaque escadre étoit composée de douze galères à trois rangs de rames, et à leur donner trois cens hommes par galère, il y auroit eu plus de sept milles combattans. Le nombre me plairoit bien mieux que les dix-neuf mille de Tacite. Un Triton d'argent s'élevoit du fond des eaux pour sonner la charge, et une flotte encore plus nombreuse environnoit ces malheureux condamnés et les obligeoit de verser leur sang pour l'amusement du peuple Romain. Après ce spectacle on ouvrit le canal, mais on s'apperçut bientôt combien l'ouvrage étoit imparfait, et que l'ignorance ou la négligence des ouvriers ne lui avoit pas donné la profondeur nécessaire. On chercha à y remédier, on crut avoir réussi, mais une inondation montra bientôt que le principe du mal subistoit toujours. Faut-il donc s'étonner si Néron et Hadrien ont été obligés de rétablir cet ouvrage, et que malgré leurs travaux il n'en reste plus de vestiges? Pour les faciliter et les perfectionner il falloit l'art des écluses que les anciens n'avoient point.

Ælius Spartian. in Hadrian. V. Cluvier Ital. Antiq. l. ii. c. 15. p. 763-767.

III. Æqui. Les Æqui, qu'on appelloit aussi les Æquiculi, ces anciens ennemis de Rome naissante, habitoient les deux rives de l'Anio depuis Varia jusqu'à ses sources. Leur pays perçoit d'un côté entre les Sabins et les Marses; d'un autre côté il s'étendoit jusqu'à Algidum entre Alba, Tusculum,

Cluvier. l. ii. c. 16.

culum, et Preneste. Je crois que dans la suite on ajouta au Latium tout ce qu'il falloit pour le pousser jusqu'à l'Anio, mais il ne vaut pas la peine de partager les Æqui. Je trouve dans leur pays, 1. Algidum, avec sa montagne et sa forêt; c'étoit la place forte des Æqui et leur poste avancée; 2. Corbio; 3. Vitellia; 4. Bolæ; en-deçà de l'Anio. Au-delà de l'Anio, 1. Varia; 2. Sublaqueum; et 3. Treba sur la rivière; 4. Carseoli dans les montagnes.

Et te montosæ misere in prælia Nursæ, Ufens, insignem famâ et felicibus armis: Horrida præcipue cui *gens*, assuetaque multo Venatû nemorum, duris *Æquicula* glebis: Armati terram exercent, semperque recentes Convectare juvat prædas, et vivere rapto. — Virgil. Æn. vii. 743.

Quique Anienis habent ripas, gelidoque rigantur Simbrivio, rastrisque domant *Æquicula* rura. — Sil. Italic. viii. 370.

ALGIDUM.

Scilicet hìc olim Volscos Æquosque fugatos Viderat in campis *Algida* terra tuis. — Ovid. Fast. vi. p. 682.

Duris ut ilex tonsa bipennibus Nigræ feraci frondis in *Algido*, &c. — Hor. Carm. iv. 4.

——— Nec amœna retentant *Algida*. — Sil. Ital. xii. 536.

CARSEOLI.

Frigida Carseolis; nec olivis apta ferendis Terra; sed ad segetes ingeniosus ager. — Ovid. Fast. iv. p. 598.

On y envoya une colonie A. U. C. 461. — Vell. Pater. l. i. c. 14.

IV. PELIGNI. Cette nation, qui étoit Illyrienne d'origine, occupoit un petit canton entre l'Apennin, le Sagrus, et l'Aternus. Il étoit tout dans l'intérieur des terres. Les Marucini et les — Cluv. Ital. Antiq. l. ii c. 14.

Frentani l'empêchoient de s'étendre jusqu'à la mer. Je n'y trouve que, 1. Sulmo; 2. Corfinium plus près de l'Apennin et de l'Aternus; et 3. Super Equum.

Flor. iii. 21. SULMO. Sylla fit raser cette ville après sa victoire, mais il paroît qu'elle se rétablit bientôt après.

Ovid. Fast. iv. p. 567.

Serus ab Iliacis et post Antenora flammis
Attulit Æneas in loca nostra Deos.
Hujus erat Solymus Phrygiâ comes unus ab Idâ
A quo Sulmonis mœnia nomen habent.
Sulmonis gelidi patriæ Germanice nostræ
Me miserum Scythico quam procul illa solo est!

Ovid. Amor. ii. Eleg. 16.

Me pars Sulmo tenet, Peligni tertia ruris.
Parva, sed irriguis ora salubris aquis.

Sil. Italic. viii. 511.

——————— Conjungitur acer
Pelignus, gelidoque rapit Sulmone cohortes.

Diodor. Sic. l. xxxvii. in Excerpt. Legat.

CORFINIUM. Les alliés de la ligue Italique choisirent cette ville pour leur nouvelle capitale. Ils l'embellirent beaucoup et construisirent un *forum* avec une très belle *Curia*. Toute cette grandeur tomba avec la ligue.

Cluvier. Ital. Antiq. l. ii. c. 12.

V. VESTINI. Il est aussi difficile qu'il seroit inutile de marquer avec précision les bornes de ces petites cités qui se confondoient les unes dans les autres. Il paroît que les Vestini étoient renfermés entre le Picenum, la mer, et la rive gauche de l'Aternus. J'y trouve, 1. Aternum sur les bords de cette rivière; 2. Pinna, le chef-lieu du canton; 3. Peltuinum; 4. Aufina; et 5. Avia, la plus éloignée de la mer. Elle s'appelloit aussi Aveia et Avilla.

Haud

Haud illo levior bellis *Vestina juventus* Sil. Italic. viii. 517.
Agmina densavit: venatû dura ferarum.
Quæ, Fiscelle, tuas arces, *Pinnamque virentem*,
Pascuaque haud tarde redeuntia tondet *Avillæ*.

VI. MARRUCINI. Ce petit peuple occupoit le canton entre l'Aternus et le Forum. On ne trouve parmi eux que la seule ville de *Teate* qui paroît à la vérité avoir été très considérable. Cluv. Ital. Antiq. l. ii. c. 13.

Marrucina simul Frentanis æmula *pubes*, Sil. Italic. viii. 521.
Corfini populos *magnumque Teate* trahebat.

Silius se trompe à la vérité par rapport à Corfinium.

Ce fut du vivant même de Pline, la dernière année de Néron, qu'il arriva un prodige dans ce pays, et sur les terres de Vectius Marcellus, chevalier Romain. Une vigne et un terrein planté d'oliviers traversèrent réciproquement le chemin public qui les séparoit et changèrent de place. Ce fut apparemment un tremblement de terre. Plin. Hist. Nat. ii. 83.

VII. FRENTANI. Ce peuple, avec moins de réputation peut-être que ses voisins, occupoit plus de territoire. Il s'étendoit sur une côte maritime de quatre-vingt milles depuis l'embouchure du *Forum* jusqu'à celle du Frento et au commencement du promontoire du Mont Garganus. Voici ses endroits principaux, 1. Ortona, le Sagrus; 2. Histonium; 3. Buca, le Tifernus; 4. Anxanum; 5. Larinum, ville considérable, le chef-lieu des *Larinates* qui avoient un territoire étendu, et qui formoient une cité presque indépendante du corps des Frentani. Cluv. Ital. Antiq. l. iv. c. 9.

VIII. SAMNITES. Ce peuple célèbre a donné son Id. l. iv. c. 7. Strab. Geog. l. v. p. 172.

son nom à la région entière qui n'étoit remplie en effet que de ses alliés. Il descendoit des Sabins, (avec qui on l'a souvent confondu,) et les autres cités de la province paroissent avoir été ses colonies, ses confédérés, ou ses sujets. Les Samnites habitoient un pays assez étendu, rempli de forêts et de montagnes, et renfermé entre les Frentani, les Peligni, le Latium, la Campanie, les Hirpini et l'Apulie, et, pour parler plus précisément, entre le Sagrus, le Vulturnus, le Sabbatus, et le Frento. Mais cette cité belliqueuse, qui mettoit sur pied 80,000 fantassins et 8,000 cavaliers, se répandoit souvent au-delà de ses frontières. Elle avoit subjugué les Campaniens, les Marses, et plusieurs cités du Latium; ses troupes couvroient l'Apulie et la Lucanie. Elles faisoient quelquefois des courses jusqu'à Ardea dans le pays des Rutuli. C'est une remarque qu'il faut faire quand on lit Tite Live, que le théâtre de la guerre Samnite est rarement dans le Samnium même. Le peu que nous savons de leurs loix me paroît digne de Lycurgue. On donnoit tous les ans les dix plus belles filles aux dix jeunes guerriers qui s'étoient le plus signalés. Dans leurs dangers extrêmes ils offroient un sacrifice public dans un pavillon immense. Ils y faisoient entrer leurs braves les uns après les autres pour les engager à leurs drapeaux et à la bravoure par les sermens les plus atroces. Ils se choisissoient ensuite mutuellement jusqu'à la concurrence de 16,000 hommes. Cette phalange redoutable se nommoit *Legio Linteata*, non pas de leurs cuirasses puisqu'elles étoient d'or et d'argent, mais des toiles qui

T. Liv. x. 38.

qui avoient couvert le pavillon sacré. Cette institution toute belliqueuse leur avoit valu beaucoup de victoires. Elle fit longtems balancer la fortune entr'eux et les Romains. La république ne les subjugua qu'après six guerres sanglantes, ou plutôt après une guerre continue de soixante-dix ans, où leurs généraux méritèrent vingt-quatre triomphes, et essuyèrent presqu' autant de revers. Les Samnites demeurèrent soumis pendant quelque tems qu'ils ne signalèrent leur valeur que contre leurs ennemis du nom Romain; on les regardoit avec raison comme les meilleures troupes de la république. Ils reprirent les armes à la fin, et on voit qu'ils étoient les chefs de la guerre sociale. Leur révolte leur coûta cher. Après quelques avantages les légions Romaines victorieuses par tout portèrent le fer et le feu dans leur pays, détruisirent jusqu'aux vestiges de leurs villes, et exterminèrent leurs habitans.* Sylla les massacra partout, il en fit égorger quatre ou cinq mille dans l'*Ovile*, et il défendit qu'on leur fit jamais quartier; moins par cruauté que pour assurer le salut des Romains qui étoit incompatible avec celui de ses rivaux. L'entreprise de Pontius Telesinus ne le justifie que trop. Le peu qui restoit des Samnites se sauva de l'Italie, et le pays n'étoit qu'un désert du tems de Tibère: la plûpart des villes étoient détruites. Celles qui subsistoient encore n'étoient plus que des villages. Voici les endroits princi-

* Plutarque dit 6,000, Samnites et Lucaniens. C'étoient les restes de l'armée de Telesinus, (in Sylla.)

paux

paux du Samnium, 1. Æsernia, colonie près des sources du Vulturnus; 2. Allifæ, sur la même rivière; 3. Telesia, colonie sur le Sabbatus; 4. Beneventum, colonie; 5. Caudium, entre Beneventum et Capoue; 6. Sæpinum, colonie; 7. Tifernum; 8. Triventinum sur les frontières des Frentani; 9. Bovianum, colonie vers la source du Tifernus et dans le centre du pays; 10. Aufidena, colonie endeça du Vulturnus et sur les frontières du Latium. Il y a encore beaucoup d'endroits dont on ignore la situation.

Virgil. Georgic. l. ii. 167.

Hæc genus acre virûm, Marsos *pubemque Sabellam*
Extulit.

Sil. Ital. viii. 564.

Affuit et Samnis, nondum vergente favore
Ad Pœnos; sed nec veteri purgatus ab irâ:
Qui Batulum, Nucrasque metunt, Boviania quique
Exagitant lustra, aut Caudinis faucibus hærent;
Et quos aut Rufræ, quos aut Æsernia, quosve
Obscura incultis Herdonia misit ab agris.

Beneventum. Tous les anciens ont placé Beneventum dans le Samnium. Pourquoi dans la carte de l'Italie ancienne de M. Delisle le trouve-t-on dans le pays des Hirpini et dans la région d'Apulia?

Mémoires sur la Suisse, tom. iii. p. 106–116. apud Bibliothèque Raisonnée, tom. xlvii. p. 41–42.

On sait qu'il s'appelloit auparavant Maleventum. M. de Bochat, savant Suisse, qui a très fort approfondi les origines Celtiques, trouve que ces deux mots ont la même signification. *Ben-even-tun* tout comme *Mal-vend-tun*, vouloit dire ville sur une colline de la campagne d'eau. Cette ville étoit en effet sur une hauteur au milieu d'une belle plaine arrosée d'un grand nombre de ruisseaux.

Dans

Dans le moyen age Beneventum devint la capitale d'un grand état. L'an 571 les Lombards, l'ayant conquis, l'érigèrent en duché qui l'emporta bientôt sur ceux de Spolète et de Frioul, et qui s'étendit sur toutes les provinces du royaume de Naples à l'exception de la Calabre et de quelques lieux maritimes. On l'appelloit l'Italie Cistiberine et la petite Lombardie. Ses ducs, en effet de gouverneurs devenus souverains héréditaires, étoient aussi puissans que les rois dont ils étoient feudataires. Ils s'affranchirent même de cette dépendance après la ruine des Lombards. Au lieu de reconnoître le vainqueur François pour son seigneur suzerain, Arechis duc de Beneventum, prit le titre de prince, s'arrogea tous les droits régaliens, et soutint l'effort des armes de Charlemagne. Ce fut sous ce prince et son successeur Grimoald qu'on vit fleurir cet état. Beneventum s'embellissoit; on y avoit ajouté une nouvelle ville, les sciences y régnoient. Au commencement du neuvième siècle, on y comptoit jusqu'à trente-deux philosophes, c'est à dire professeurs des arts libéraux. Cette splendeur passa bientôt. Beneventum devint tributaire des François: Capoue et Salerne, qui n'étoient que du nombre de ses comtés ou *Castaldes*, devinrent des principautés indépendantes. Les Arabes désolèrent cette souveraineté mourante, et à la fin en 891 les Grecs s'en rendirent maîtres.

V. Histoire Civile de Naples, par Giannone, tom. i. l. v, vi. vii. et viii.

SABINI.

Impositus mannis, arvum cœlumque Sabinum
Non cessat laudare. ———— Hor. Epist. i. 7.

1. HORATII

Hor. Epist. i. 10.

HORATII VILLA.

Hæc tibi dictabam fanum post putre Vacunæ—

Idem, i. 14.

Villice, sylvarum et mihi me reddentis agelli,
Quem tu fastidis, habitatum quinque focis, et
Quinque bonos solitum Bariam dimittere patres.

Hor. Carm. i. 17.

Velox amœnum sæpe Lucretilem
Mutat Lyæo Faunus; et igneam
Defendit æstatem capellis
Usque meis, pluviosque ventos.

— — — —

Utcunque dulci, Tyndari, fistulâ
Valles, et Usticæ cubantis,
Lævia personuere saxa.

Idem, iii. 13.

O fons Blandusia, splendidior vitro,
Dulci digne mero, non sine floribus
Cras donaberis hædo.

— — — —

Te flagrantis atrox hora caniculæ
Nescit tangere; tu frigus amabile
Fessis vomere tauris
Præbes et precori vago.

Hor. Epist. i. 18.

Me quoties reficit gelidus Digentia rivus
Quem Mandela bibit, rugosus frigore pagus. ——

VIII. SAMNITES.

Idem, ii. 2.

Cædimur, ac totidem plagis consumimus hostem,
Lento Samnites ad lumina prima duello.

SECT. XII.

PICENUM.

Cluvier. Ital. Antiq. l. ii. c. xi.

CETTE province s'étendoit sur l'Adriatique depuis l'embouchure de l'Æsis jusqu'à celle du Matrinus

La

La première de ces rivières la séparoit de l'Umbrie, l'autre formoit sa frontière avec le pays des Vestini. Dans l'intérieur des terres elle s'étendoit jusqu'au pied de l'Apennin qui la divisoit du pays des Sabins. On peut la partager dans deux cantons. 1. Le Picenum Propre, ou l'Ager Picenus; et, 2. le pays des Pretutii, avec le territoire d'Hadrie; le premier prenoit depuis l'Æsis jusqu'à l'Helvinus, et le second de l'Helvinus jusqu'au Matrinus.

Les Piceni, descendans des Sabins, habitent un pays plutôt long que large, qui fournit abondamment toutes les choses nécessaires à la vie, mais les arbres fruitiers y viennent mieux que le bled. Strabon. Geog. l. v. p. 166.

Cette dernière remarque me fait voir avec surprise que dans la division de l'empire par Constantin on ait donné à cette province le nom de *Picenum Anonarium.*

Le Picenum étoit très peuplé quand ils se soumirent à la république, les Romains y gagnèrent 360,000 sujets: cet événement arriva A. U. C. 485, trois ans avant la première guerre Punique. Plin. Hist. Nat. iii. 13. Flor. Epit. i. 19.

I. Ager Picenus. Voici les lieux maritimes de la province depuis l'Æsis: 1. Ancone, colonie; 2. Numana; 3. Potentia, colonie; 4. Truentum, la rivière Truentum, la Tinna; 5. Firmum, colonie; 6. Cluana; 7. Cupra Maritima, célèbre par le temple de Cupra, la Junon des Etrusques. On voyoit dans l'intérieur des terres, 1. Auximum, qui a été la métropole du pays; 2. Cingulum; 3. Septempeda; 4. Asculum la capitale, colonie; 5. Cupra Montana; 6. Novana; 7. Pollentia. Cluver. Ital. Antiq. l. ii. c. xi. p. 728–743.

Quid

Sil. Italic. viii. 426.

Quid qui *Picenæ* stimulat telluris alumnos
Horridus et squamis et equinâ Curio cristâ
Pars belli quam magna venit. ——
Hic et quos pascunt scopulosæ rura *Numanæ*,
Et quîs litoreæ fumant altaria *Cupræ*;
Quique *Truentinas* servant cum flumine turres
Cernere erat: clipeata procul sub sole corusco
Agmina sanguineâ vibrant in nubila luce.

—————— inclemens hirsuti signifer Ascli.

Strab. Geog. l. v. p. 166.

Ancona. Cette ville doit sa fondation aux réfugiés de Syracuse qui avoient échappé au tyran Denys. Elle étoit située sur un promontoire qui se recourboit au nord pour former le port. Il croissoit dans ces environs beaucoup de bled et de vin.

Berger, Grands Chemins, l. i. c. 25. p. 94. L. iv. c. 49. p. 812. L. v. c. 14. p. 883.

Trajan avoit construit à Ancone un grand et magnifique port. Pour célébrer cet ouvrage le sénat frappa non seulement une médaille, mais il lui érigea encore sur les lieux un arc de triomphe. Il avoit de beaux ornemens qui ne subsistent plus, tels qu'une statue du prince dans un char à quatre chevaux, mais c'est toujours un beau monument. Il est composé du marbre blanc de Paros, dont les grands carreaux sont si bien unis qu'on apperçoit à peine les jointures. Les membres extérieurs, les chapiteaux, corniches, architraves, &c. aussi bien que les moulures, ne sont point des pièces de rapport qu'on y a apposé; l'architecte les a taillés dans le marbre même. Dans l'inscription de l'arc, Ancone est appellée l'abord de l'Italie.

Sil. Ital. viii. 438.

Stat fucare colus nec Sidone vilior *Ancon*,
Murice nec Lybico.——

Incidit

Incidit Adriaci spatium admirabile rhombi
Ante domum Veneris, quam *Dorica* sustinet *Ancon*. Juvenal. Satyr. iv. 39.

AGER PRÆTUTIANUS. Ce petit pays est traversé par le *Vomanus*. Je n'y trouve que, 1. Hadria, qui partage avec celle du Po l'honneur de nommer la mer Adriatique; elle étoit colonie des Syracusiens et ensuite des Romains; 2. Castrum Novum, colonie; 3. Interamna. Cluvier. Ital. Antiq. l. ii. c. xi.

HADRIA.

——— Statque humectata *Vomano*
Hadria ——— Sil. Ital. viii. 439.

SECT. XIII.

UMBRIA.

VOICI les bornes de cette province sous les Romains: le Rubicon et le Sapis la séparoient des Gaulois Lingones; l'Apennin et le Tibre de l'Etrurie; l'Æsis du Picenum; et le Nar, des Sabins. Un petit canton se débordoit au-delà du Nar, jusqu'à Ocriculum; et dans l'intérieur des terres une autre portion, un peu plus considérable, s'étendoit au-delà de l'Æsis jusqu'à Camerinum. Les Gaulois Senones leur avoient enlevé toute la côte maritime du Rubicon, ou plutôt de l'Utens jusqu'à l'Æsis, mais après la destruction de cette cité les Romains rendirent à l'Umbrie leur pays, qui porta pendant assez longtems le nom d'*Ager Gallicus*. Il s'étoit assurément étendu dans le pays, mais comme nous ignorons ses bornes, je ne l'envisagerai que comme la côte maritime de l'Umbrie et la 1re division de la province. La nature fournit les deux autres. L'Apennin coupe cette province V. Cluvier. Ital. Ant. l. ii. c. 4. p. 599—603.

dans toute sa largeur depuis les sources du Tibre jusqu'à celles du Nar. La 2me division sera l'Umbrie au-delà de l'Apennin, et la 3me l'Umbrie en deça de l'Apennin toujours par rapport à la capitale.

Strab. Geog. v. p. 157. L'Umbrie est une province fertile mais remplie de montagnes.

I. FLUMINA.

Sil. Italic. viii. 448.

Sed non *Ruricolæ* firmarunt robore castra
Deteriore, cavis venientes montibus *Umbri*;
Hos *Æsis Sapisque* lavant, rapidasque sonanti
Vertice contorquens undas per saxa *Metaurus*.
—— et Rubico, et Senonum de nomine *Sena*.

V. Cluv. Ital. Antiq. l. ii. c. 5. Voici les lieux de l'Umbrie maritime dans l'ordre de leur situation, 1. L'*Ariminum*, colonie, l'Ariminus; 2. *Pisaurum*, colonie, le Crustumius, ruisseau très rapide; 3. *Fanum Fortunæ*, colonie et ville ancienne; le Metaurus; 4. *Sena Gallica* ou *Senogallia*, colonie; la Sena, l'Æsis.

Vell. Paterc. l. 1. c. 14, 15. Berger, Grands. Chemins, l. 1. c. 25. p. 93. ARIMINUM. Le sénat y envoya une colonie A. U. C. 487, et à Pisaurum A. U. C. 568. Auguste avoit fait réparer la Voie Flaminienne. Le sénat lui fit ériger deux arcs de triomphe aux deux extrémités de son ouvrage, l'un sur le pont du Tibre, l'autre à Ariminum.

Idem, l. iv. c. 36, p. 736. Le pont d'Ariminum, entrepris par Auguste, et achevé par Tibère A. U. C. 779, avoit deux cens pieds de long. Il avoit cinq arcades, les trois du milieu avoient 25 pieds de largeur, et les deux autres 20 pieds chacune. Il étoit orné d'accoudoirs de marbre, de colonnes Doriques, et de statues des empereurs.

Auguste

Auguste y avoit aussi construit un beau port, de grandes pierres de marbre, dont Sigismond Malatesta, seigneur de Rimini, se servit dans la suite pour la superbe église de St. François. Idem, l. iv. c. 49, p. 812.

II. UMBRIA TRANS APENNINUM. Depuis la montagne jusqu'à Ariminum on trouvoit sur la Voie Flaminienne, 1. *Suillum Helvillum;* 2. *Cales;* 3. *Petra Pertusa;* 4. *Forum Sempronii.* A l'orient de la Voie, 1. *Æsis,* ou *Æsium;* 2. *Camerinum,* allié libre, et égal des Romains; 3. *Attidium;* et 4. *Busta Gallorum,* fameux par la défaite des Gaulois en 459, et non point par celle de Camille comme les Grecs modernes l'ont cru. A l'occident de la Voie, 1. Tifernum Metaurense; 2. Urbinum Hortense; et 3. Urbinum Metaurense; on y voit l'origine du duché d'Urbin; 4. Sassina, près du Sapis et au milieu de la tribu Sapinienne. Cluvier. Ital. l. ii. c.

——————————— armis
Vel rastris laudande *Camers,* his *Sassina* dives
Lactis—— Sil. Italic. viii. p. 463.

PETRA PERTUSA. Une haute montagne s'avançoit jusqu'au Metaurus à six milles de Forum Sempronii. Pour y faire passer la Voie Flaminienne, les Romains furent obligés de creuser dans le roc une ouverture qui avoit 35 pas ordinaires de longueur, 5 de largeur, et autant de hauteur. Cluvier. Ital. Antiq. l. ii. c. 6. p. 619.

III. UMBRIA CIS APENNINUM. En descendant le Tibre l'on apperçoit, 1. Tifernum Tiberinum; 2. Arna; 3. Vettona; 4. Tuder; 5. Ameria; 6. Ocriculum. Entre l'Apennin et la Tinia, l'on voit, 1, Iguvium; 2. Assisium; 3. Hispellum; 4. Mevania; 5. Fulginium; 6. Forum Sempronii; 7. Nuceria Camellaria. Entre la Tinia et le Nar, ou sur Cluver. Ital. Antiq. l. ii. c. 7.

cette derniere rivière, 1. Carsulæ; 2. Spoletium; 3. Interamna; et 4. Narnia. Entre la Voie Flaminienne et l'Apennin je ne vois qu'un terrein désert sans vestiges d'habitations.

Sil. Italic. viii. 458.

His urbes *Arna* et latis *Mevania* pratis,
Hispellum, et duro monti per saxa recumbens
Narnia, et infestum nebulis humentibus olim
Iguvium, patulo jacens sine mœnibus arvo
Fulginium; his populi fortes, *Amerinus*, ——
—— et haud parci Martem coluisse *Tudertes*.

Vell. Paterc. l. 1. c. 14.

SPOLETIUM. Les Romains envoyèrent une colonie à Spoletium A. U. C. 518.

V. L'Histoire Civile de Naples, par Giannone, tom. i. livr. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8.

Il devint sous les Lombards la capitale de l'Umbrie et du duché de Spolète, qui alloit toujours de pair avec ceux de Bénévente et de Frioul. Ces gouverneurs amovibles, qu'on appelloit ducs, eurent l'art de se rendre des princes héréditaires et presqu'indépendans. Charlemagne les laissa subsister, et je les vois très puissans encore au commencement du dixième siècle.

Berger, Grands Chemins, l. iv. c. 36. p. 735.

NARNIA. On traversoit le Nar pour entrer dans Narnia, sur un pont qui joignoit deux montagnes très hautes. On voit encore le reste des arcades. On n'en connoît aucunes d'aussi élevées.

Cluvier. Ital. Antiq. l. ii. c. 7. p. 635.

INTERAMNA. A en croire l'auteur anonyme des Olympiades et une inscription ancienne trouvée sur les lieux, cette ville fut bâtie 704 ans avant la 19me année de Tibère. C'est à dire, Olym. xxvi. 4. A. U. C. 81, et 673 ans avant l'ère Chrétienne.

Plin. Hist. Nat. iii. 14.

AMERIA. Selon Caton l'ancien Ameria fut bâtie 964 ans avant la guerre de Persée, c'est à dire 1137 avant Jesus-Christ, et 47 ans après la guerre de Troye.

SECT.

Sect. XIV.

ÆMILIA ET FLAMINIA.

Æmilia. Cette province avoit été occupée par quatre peuples Gaulois. 1. Les Ananes, ou Anamani, qui possédoient le duché de Plaisance; 2. Les Boii étoient répandus dans les duchés de Parme, de Modène, et de Reggio, et dans une partie du Bologne; 3. Les Lingones habitoient dans une partie du Bologne et du Ferrarois, et dans la Romagne; 4. Les Senones s'emparèrent du duché d'Urbin jusqu'à Ancone, mais les Romains bouleversèrent toutes ces divisions. Ils exterminèrent les Senones, ajoutèrent leur pays à l'Umbrie, et fixèrent le Rubico pour la borne nouvelle de la Gaule Cisalpine. Ils chassèrent de leurs territoires les Boii; les deux autres peuples furent épargnés; il paroît cependant qu'ils perdirent bientôt leurs loix, leurs mœurs, leurs noms, et tout ce qui peut distinguer un corps politique. Cette province, bornée par le Po, la Mer, le Rubicon, l'Apennin, et la Ligurie fut remplie de colonies Romaines. Un grand chemin militaire la traversoit d'Ariminum à Placentia, qui étoient éloignées l'une de l'autre de 184 milles Romains. Ce chemin, qui reçut son nom de son fondateur Æmilius, le donne à cette région. On y trouvoit les villes de Placentia, Florentia, Fidentia *(Julia)*, Parma, Tanetum, Regium Lepidi, Mutina, Forum Gallorum, Bononia *(Felsina)*, Claterna, Forum Cornelii, Faventia, Forum Livii, Forum Popilii, et Cæsena. Au nord du

Cluvier. Ital. Antiqua, l. i. c. 27, 28, 29. Berger, Grands Chemins, l. i. c. 8. p. 23.

chemin, on ne voyoit que Brixillum, colonie Romaine, et au midi quelques bourgades Gauloises, telles que Solsona, Aquinum et Saltus Gallicus. La province n'étoit proprement que la Voie Emilienne.

Cluv. Italia Antiq. l. i. c. xxviii. p. 286.

FORUM GALLORUM. Ce bourg, à huit milles de Modène et à dix-sept de Bologne, est célèbre par une bataille qui s'y donna pendant les guerres civiles. Marc Antoine assiégeoit Modène dont Hirtius tâchoit de faire lever le siège. Pansa, l'autre consul, lui amenoit des secours de l'Italie par la Voie Emilienne. Marc Antoine alla au devant de Pansa, l'attaqua un peu au-delà du Forum Gallorum, et l'obligea de se retirer dans son camp fortifié à la hâte, mais que les ennemis ne purent cependant pas forcer. Hirtius arriva bientôt au secours de son collègue, rencontra dans le bourg les troupes d'Antoine, qui se retiroient du côté de Modène, et les défit entièrement.

Idem, l. i. c. xxviii. p. 287.

RHENI INSULA. Les anciens ont parlé avec beaucoup de confusion de l'île de la conférence des Triumvirs. Il faut cependant en trouver une qui réunisse les trois conditions suivantes, 1. De n'être pas éloignée de Bologne; 2. D'être formée par les deux bras d'une petite rivière qui se divise dans cet endroit; 3. D'être assez grande pour que les Triumvirs, assis à la vue des deux armées, pussent s'entretenir néanmoins en secret sans être entendus de leurs amis qui gardoient les ponts de chaque côté. Le Rheno forme sur la Voie Emilienne et à deux milles de Bologne, une petite île qui répond très bien à ces conditions. Le Lavinius, qui est pourtant

tant nommé par Appien pour être la rivière en question, est très proche de Modène.

RUBICO. On voit encore auprès de Césène une colonne d'un beau marbre, mais dont l'inscription n'est pas si bien gravée. Elle porte défense à tout général officier ou soldat de passer le Rubicon à main armée pour entrer en Italie; mais elle paroît supposée. Son langage barbare et le silence de tous les ennemis de César, pour qui elle auroit été une pièce victorieuse, le prouve assez. Cependant n'a-t-elle pas pu être dressée après l'expédition de ce dictateur? Cluv. Ital. Ant. l. i. c. xxviii. p. 296, 297.

RAVENNA. Jusqu'au règne de Dioclétien et de ses collègues, les empereurs demeuroient à Rome, et ne se transportoient sur les frontières que lorsqu'une guerre étrangère les y appeloit. Mais quand les barbares menaçoient l'empire de tout côté, ces princes, toujours à la tête des armées, voloient de province en province, et établissoient leur quartier-général plutôt que leur cour dans les grandes villes qui étoient les plus à portée des barbares, dans Trèves, Sirmio, Nicomédie, Antioche, et Milan. Cette dernière ville devint leur séjour ordinaire en Italie, et les Empereurs Chrétiens trouvèrent dans leur haine pour Rome une nouvelle raison pour la préférer. Mais l'Italie elle-même fut bientôt ouverte aux barbares, et une ville immense au milieu des terres exposoit trop la personne du prince. Ravenne obtint alors la préférence. Située au milieu des eaux, elle étoit entourée d'un rempart naturel qui la rendoit presque inaccessible. Le souverain s'y trouvoit à portée de Idem, l. i. c. xxviii. p. 302-307

de recevoir les secours qui pouvoient lui venir de l'orient; et la flotte, dont elle étoit la station constante, assuroit toujours sa retraite. Depuis Honorius, tous les empereurs y établirent leur cour: les rois Goths suivirent cet exemple, et pendant plus d'un siècle et demi Ravenne étoit la capitale de l'Italie. On se piquoit de l'égaler à Rome; Apone étoit ses Baiæ, et la province d'Istrie, d'où elle tiroit ses bleds, lui tenoit lieu de la Campanie. Lorsque les Lombards envahirent l'Italie, cette ville, demeurée sous le pouvoir des empereurs, ne fut plus que le siège d'un gouvernement qu'on démembroit tous les jours. La situation de Ravenne étoit singulière: c'étoit la Venise de l'Italie ancienne. Sidonius en fait une description qui seroit jolie, si elle n'étoit point aussi remplie d'antithèses.

Plin. Hist. Nat. xiv. 2.

Il y a une espèce de raisins qui se nourrit de brouillards; c'est pourquoi, elle est particulière au territoire de Ravenne.

Berger, Grands Chemins, l. iv. c. 49. p. 811.

Lorsqu'Auguste stationna une partie de sa flotte à Ravenne, il y fit construire un beau port, avec un phare, et un camp pour les matelots bien fortifié, entouré de hautes murailles.

Plin. Hist. Nat. ii. 83.

MUTINA. Sous le consulat de L. Marcius et de Sextus Julius, on vit un prodige inoui dans le territoire de Modène; deux montagnes qui s'entrechoquoient avec violence, en jettant du feu et de la fumée. Des animaux, des maisons, tout ce qui se trouva entr'elles fut écrasé. Des chevaliers Romains qui voyageoient sur la Voie Emilienne furent témoins de ce prodige, qui parut annoncer la guerre sociale. N'étoit-ce point un tremblement de terre?

PLA-

PLACENTIA. Cette ville fut fondée comme une colonie Romaine, peu avant la seconde guerre Punique. Vell. Pater. l. i. c. 15.

BONONIA. Les Romains envoyèrent une colonie à Bologne sous le consulat de Manlius Volso et de Fulvius Nobilior, A. U. C. 565. Idem. Ibid.

——— Parvique Bononia Rheni. C. Sil. Italic. Punic. viii. 601.

RAVENNA.

Quique gravi remo, limosis segniter undis, Idem. viii. 602.
Lenta paludosæ proscindunt stagna Ravennæ.

MUTINA, &c.

Vos etiam accisæ desolatæque virorum Idem, viii. 590.
Eridani gentes; nullo attendente Deorum
Votis tunc vestris, casura ruistis in arma.
Certavit Mutinæ, quassata Placentia bello.

GALLIA CISALPINA. Il n'y avoit point de région en Italie que l'emportât sur la Gaule Cisalpine, pour la bonté des terres, le nombre des habitans, et la grandeur et la richesse des villes. Voici quelques avantages qui la distinguoient. 1. Leurs forêts, dont le gland nourrissoit des troupeaux si nombreux de cochons, que la capitale n'avoit presque pas d'autres provisions. 2. Le pays très bien arrosé produisoit beaucoup de millet qu'on recueilloit en abondance dans les années même que les autres espèces de bled manquoient. 3. Le vin étoit excellent. On le conservoit dans des tonneaux de bois, qu'on faisoit quelquefois plus grands qu'une maison. 4. Les laines: la plus molle et la meilleure étoit celle de Modène. Le pays des Ligures en fournissoit une espèce forte et rude, dont le peuple s'habilloit. Celle de Padoue étoit d'une qualité moyenne. On en faisoit des tapis très Strabon. Geog. v. p. 150—151.

beaux.

beaux. 5. Il y avoit même quelques mines d'or que celles de l'Espagne firent négliger. On en trouvoit à Vercelles, et à Ictomulum dans le voisinage de Plaisance.

PLACENTIA.

P. Aufidius L. F. |-|-|-| Vir. |-| Vir.
Tr. Milit. Praef. Fab. sibi et
L. Aufidio C. N. F. Patri et
Fadianae P. F. Matri et
L. Aufidio L. F. fratri |-|-|-| Vir et
Salviae Cilae fratris uxori et
Liburniae L. F. Consobrinae
Factum ex testamento H-S. CIↃ arbitratû
C. Annisidi C. F. Rufi.

J'ai copié cette inscription dans le couvent des Roquelins attenant à l'Eglise de St. Augustin à Plaisance le 13 Juin, 1764. La pierre peut avoir cinq pieds de long sur trois et demi de largeur. Les lettres, qui sont très bien taillées, ont environ trois pouces de hauteur chacune.

SECT. XV.

VENETIA ET ISTRIA.

VENETI. Il y a trois opinions sur l'origine des Veneti. 1. Celle de Tite Live et des poëtes qui content l'histoire d'Antenor échappé de la prise de Troye, chef des Heneti de Paphlagonie, et fondateur de Padoue. 2. Celle de Polybe, qui en fait une colonie des Illyriens. 3. Celle de Strabon qui les tire des *Veneti*, peuple Gaulois. La première est une fable sans vraisemblance, mais on peut se partager entre les deux

Cluvier. Ital. Antiq. l. i. c. 17. p. 125-133.

deux autres. J'étois fort prévenu en faveur de l'origine Gauloise, établie sur le témoignage de Strabon, l'identité du nom, et la certitude de la migration Celtique. Mais la différence reconnue du langage et la haine que ce peuple a toujours témoigné pour ses voisins les peuples Gaulois forment des barrières invincibles. L'Illyrie d'ailleurs étoit si proche et le passage du mont Ocra si facile qu'il est difficile de se refuser au sentiment de Polybe, qui a reçu la sanction du grand Freret.

Marcian. Heracleensis in Perigesi.

Τον κολπον ισορθσι τον Αδρια τικο ν
Των βαρβαρων πληθος τι περιοικειν κοκλω,
Εκατον χεδον μυριασι πεντηκοντα τε
Χωραν αρισην νεμομενων και καρτισην.
Διδυμο τοκειν γαρ φασι και τα θρεμματα
. . . . . Ἐνετων εισι πεντηκοντα πθ
Πολεις εν αυτω κειμεναι προς τω μυχω.

Venetia. La région qui portoit ce nom étoit composée de quatre pays ou peuples différens: 1. Celui des Veneti, qui étoient bornés d'un côté par les Carni et le Tilavemptus, et de l'autre par les Cenomani et l'Athesis. 2. On y ajouta dans la suite les Cenomani, nation Gauloise, qui s'étendoient depuis l'Athesis jusqu'au Po et l'Addua; et 3. Les Carni qui occupoient le pays entre le Tilavemptus et le Formio: c'étoit proprement le fond de la mer Adriatique. 4. Auguste enfin donna à l'Italie et à la Venetia, l'Istrie entière entre le Formio et l'Arsia. Telle étoit la Venetia dont les bornes étoient l'Arsia, les Alpes Noriques et Rhétiques, l'Addua, le Po, et la mer. Les anciens, et surtout les poëtes, se servent souvent des mots de Rhæti et d'Euganei en parlant de cette province. Il paroît que

que ces peuples y avoient anciennement des établissemens, avant que les Gaulois et les Veneti les obligèrent de se retirer dans les montagnes, dans le pays des Grisons et dans le Trentin.

Juvenal. Satir. viii. 15.

EUGANEI.

——— Euganeâ quantumvis mollior aquâ.

Cluvier. Ital. Antiq. l. i. c. 18. p. 135.

SPINA. Au moyen d'une belle correction dans Pline (l. iii. c. 17.) Cluvier a découvert que l'ancienne ville de Spina fut détruite par les Gaulois, le même jour que Camille prit celle de Veii, A. U. C. 360. Il s'agit seulement de lire *olim oppidum* au lieu de *item Melpum*, nom qui nous est totalement inconnu.

Id. l. i. c. 18. p. 149–154.

APONUM. Apone, bourg à quatre milles de Padoue, fameux par la naissance de Tite-Live, l'étoit encore par ses eaux minérales. Voici les principales circonstances qu'on peut tirer de Cassiodore, Claudien, et plusieurs autres qui en ont parlé : 1. Au milieu de la plaine s'élevoit une hauteur médiocre dont le sommet étoit presque rempli par un lac d'eaux chaudes, dont la force étoit telle qu'on ne pouvoit ni s'y baigner ni en boire. On voyoit avec surprise que ce lac toujours plein ne débordoit jamais, et que ses rivages creusés de toute part par les eaux ne s'enfonçoient point. 2. Une fumée épaisse couvroit la surface du lac. Le vent la chassoit-il pour un moment? on contemploit le fonds où l'on voyoit les offrandes qu'on y avoit jettées; car ce lac étoit un oracle qu'on consultoit en y jettant des dés. 3. On avoit conduit ces eaux par des tuyaux jusqu'à la plaine où l'on avoit construit

struit des réservoirs et des Thermes de plusieurs dégrés de chaleur à proportion de leur éloignement du lac. Ces eaux étoient très salutaires : elles rendoient Apona les Baiæ de ces provinces. 4. Il y avoit auprès d'Apona un temple de Geryon. Il faut bien que ce nom soit ou moderne ou corrompu de celui de quelque divinité Illyrienne.

AQUILEIA. Le Natiso couloit sous ses murs ; il embrassoit une partie de la ville, et lui servoit de fossé. Le Lontius en étoit éloigné de seize milles. En hiver ce n'étoit qu'un torrent; la fonte des neiges le rendoient une rivière considérable pendant l'hiver. Les empereurs y avoient fait construire un beau pont de pierres de tailles. Le pays entre ces rivières étoit très orné, rempli de maisons de campagne et planté de vignes dont les habitans avoient fait partout des berceaux.

Cluvier. Ital. Antiq. l. i. c. 20. p. 185–187.

Les Romains envoyèrent une colonie à Aquileia A. U. C. 573.

Vell. Paterc. l. i. c. 15.

Le sénat, après avoir obligé les Gaulois de quitter le territoire d'Aquileia, y envoya une colonie Latine. Peu d'années après, il augmenta cette colonie d'une nouvelle recrue de quinze cens familles.

Tit. Liv. xxxix. 55. et xliii. 17.

Non erat iste locus : merito tamen aucta recenti
Nona inter claras Aquileia cieberis urbes,
Itala ad Illyricos objecta colonia montes,
Mœnibus et portû celeberrima ; sed tamen illud
Eminet ; extremo quòd te sub tempore legit
Solveret cui justa exacto piacula lustro
Maximus.

Ausonius de Claris Urbibus.

TIMAVUS,

TIMAVUS.

Virgil. Æneid. i. 246.

Antenor potuit, mediis elapsus Achivis,
Illyricos penetrare sinus, atque intima tutus
Regna Liburnorum, et fontem superare Timavi;
Unde per ora novem vasto cum murmure montis
It mare proruptum et pelago premit arva sonanti.

Virg Eclog. viii. 6.

Tu mihi, seu magni superas jam saxa Timavi,
Sive oram Illyrici legis litoris.

Cluv. Ital. Ant. l. i. c. 20. p. 189—195.

Cluvier a traité ce sujet avec beaucoup de justesse et de goût. Voici ce qu'il en dit. 1. La plûpart des poëtes ont paru confondre les fontaines du Timavus et Padoue, qui étoient néanmoins séparées par une distance de plus de cent milles. Ce qui peut n'avoir été chez Virgile qu'une expression négligée, ou une licence poëtique un peu hardie, étoit chez les autres l'effet de leur ignorance. 2. Dans le Frioul, auprès d'un bourg nommé St. Canzan, on voit plusieurs sources qui sortent avec violence du pied d'une montagne, qui s'enterrent un instant après pour ne reparoître qu'au bout de quatorze milles. Ces sources nouvelles (car il y en a plusieurs) se réunissent bientôt en une rivière assez large qui se précipite dans la mer à douze milles d'Aquileia. Toutes ces circonstances conviennent assez bien au Timavus des anciens. 3. Combien voyoit-on de ces sources? Polybe, Strabon, et Martial n'en ont su voir que sept, mais Virgile et Mela en ont compté jusqu'à neuf. Les uns et les autres avoient raison, mais les premiers en ont parlé plus exactement. C'est au bourg nommé St. Giovanni de Cherso ou di Duina, qu'on voit les sept sources de ces écrivains. La première, et la

la plus considérable, forme aussitôt un torrent séparé. Les deux suivantes en forment un second, et les quatres dernières en font un troisième : mais ces trois torrens se réunissent à peu près au milieu de l'intervalle dès sources à la mer. Mais ce fleuve, digne par la réunion de tant d'eaux du nom de Timavus, reçoit encore, avant que de se jetter dans la mer, une autre rivière qui avoit elle-même été grossie par la jonction d'un autre ruisseau. Cette rivière sortoit d'un lac (Lago de la Pietra Rossa) éloigné seulement de la mer de quatre milles, auquel Tite Live donne le nom de *Lacus Timavi*. Voilà les neuf sources de Virgile. 4. Le terrein, entre les sources et la mer, n'est qu'un roc creusé de mille canaux souterrains qui établissent une communication entr'elles. C'est pourquoi six de ces sources sont salées et que la septième ne l'est pas. C'est pourquoi, lorsque la marée est haute, les sources rejettent leurs eaux avec la violence d'une inondation, et que dans les autres tems elles coulent lentement et sans effort. Ces phénomènes n'ont pas été inconnus aux anciens.

Brixia. Brixia, ex illâ nostrâ Italiâ, quæ multum adhuc verecundiæ, frugalitatis, atque etiam rusticitatis antiquæ retinet et servat. Plin. Jun. Epist. i. 14.

Cremona. Les Romains fondèrent la colonie de Cremone d'abord avant le commencement de la seconde guerre Punique. Vell. Paterc. l. i. c. 15.

Mantua. Cette ville, située au milieu des marais que formoient les inondations du Mincius, étoit une ancienne colonie des Etrusques. Cluv. Ital. Ant. l. i. c. 26. p. 256.

Primus

Virgil. Georgic. iii. 12.

Primus Idumæas referam tibi, Mantua, palmas:
Et viridi in campo templum de marmore ponam
Propter aquam, tardis ingens ubi flexibus errat
Mincius, et tenerâ prætexit arundine ripas.

Virgil. Eclog. ix. 28.

Mantua, væ miseræ nimium vicina Cremonæ!

Virgil. Georg. ii. 198.

Et qualem infelix amisit Mantua campum,
Pascentem niveos herboso flumine cycnos.
Non liquidi gregibus fontes, non gramina desunt:
Et quantum longis carpent armenta diebus,
Exiguâ tantum gelidus ros nocte reponet.

Cluv. Ital. Ant. l. i. c. 16. p. 115.

Verona. L'Athesis ou l'Adige partage aujourd'hui cette ville. Il l'environnoit autrefois. La situation de la ville ou le cours de la rivière a changé.

Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 14. c. 6. Sueton. in Aug. lxxvii.

Le vin Rhétique croissoit dans les environs de Verone. Auguste l'aimoit beaucoup, et Virgile ne lui préféroit que celui de Falerne.

Virgil. Georg. ii. 95.

——————— Quo te carmine dicam
Rhætica? Ne cellis ideo contende Falernis.

Berger, Grands Chemins, l. ii. c. 40. p. 300.

Les citoyens de Verone avoient érigé un arc de triomphe à l'Empereur Gallien. L'arc est détruit mais l'inscription subsiste. Elle conservoit la mémoire de la construction des murs de Verone par l'ordre de ce prince; ouvrage commencé le 3 Avril et dedié le 4 Decembre l'an 265.

Mantua.

Virgil. Æneid. x. 198.

Ille etiam patriis agmen ciet Ocnus ab oris
Fatidicæ Mantûs et Tusci filius amnis,
Qui muros matrisque dedit tibi, Mantua, nomen:
Mantua dives avis; sed non genus omnibus unum:
Gens illi triplex, populi sub gente quaterni,
Ipsa caput populis: Tusco de sanguine vires.

Hinc

Hinc quoque quingentos in se Mezentius armat,
Quos patre Benaco, velatus arundine glaucâ
Mincius infestâ ducebat in æquora pinû.

Mantua mittendâ certavit pube Cremonæ, C. Sil. Italic. Punic. l. viii. v. 594.
Mantua musarum domus, atque ad sidera cantû
Evecta Aonio, et Smyrnæis æmula plectris.

VERONA.

——Verona Athesi circumflua.—— Idem. viii. 597.

VENETI.

Tum Trojana manus, tellure antiquitus orti Idem. viii. 604.
Euganeâ, profugique sacris Antenoris oris.
Nec non cum Venetis Aquileia superfluit armis.

PATAVIUM. On comptoit, au dernier recensement d'Auguste, 500 citoyens de Padoue qui avoient la fortune d'un chevalier Romain, 400,000 sesterces, (80,000 livres.) On disoit qu'autrefois cette ville pouvoit armer vingt mille hommes. C'étoit dans ses environs, ou du moins dans la Venetia, qu'on voyoit ces races de chevaux si fameux aux jeux de la Grèce. Denys de Syracuse y avoit un haras. Strabon. Geog. l. v. p. 147.

VERONA. Elle étoit très grande du tems de Strabon. *Brixia, Mantua, Regium,* Comum lui étoient fort inférieures.

CREMONA. Pendant la guerre civile de Vespasien et de Vitellius, Cremone fut prise d'assaut par les troupes du premier après leur victoire de Bedriacum. Le hasard ou la cruauté d'Antonius la livra au feu et au pillage, et cette ville ruinée de fond en comble périt après une incendie de quatre jours. On cria au miracle parceque le temple de Mephitis, situé auprés des murs, avoit Tacit. Hist. iii. 17—53. et sur-tout 33 et 34.

échappé seul à la fureur des flammes. La ville avoit été fondée deux cens quatre-vingt-six ans auparavant, comme une place forte qui couvrît la frontière Romaine du côté des Alpes. Le nombre des habitans qu'on y envoya, la commodité du Po, la richesse de son territoire, et les alliances des peuples voisins qu'elle sut attirer, la rendirent bientôt très florissante. Elle se rétablit bientôt de son malheur par les secours de ses voisins, et les soins de Vespasien. On voit par divers traits qu'elle étoit très forte quoique située dans une plaine, qu'elle avoit des murailles et des tours, des temples très riches, et des foires publiques qui attiroient tout le commerce de ces provinces.

Sect. XVI.

ITINERA.

V. Berger, Grands Chemins, l. iii. c. 6. 7. 8. 9. p. 354–360. et Wesseling præfat. ad Itinerar. Antonin. et Hierosol.

Itineraria et Tabulæ. On peut poser en fait que les hommes ne négligent guères les choses dont l'acquisition est aussi utile qu'aisée. Pour la guerre, les voyages, et l'administration d'un état étendu, il est presque nécessaire d'avoir des Itinéraires et des cartes géographiques, et dès qu'on a construit des grands chemins il est très facile de se procurer ces secours. Je conviens qu'ils n'étoient point aussi communs qu'à présent. Les mêmes monumens qui nous assurent de leur existence nous font sentir qu'ils étoient rares et qu'ils ne se trouvoient qu'entre les mains des généraux et

et des hommes d'état, ou tout au plus des géographes de profession et de quelques curieux, dont le commun des hommes empruntoit les lumières dans le besoin. Croiroit-on qu'un Galen n'ait appris que par l'expérience le chemin qu'il falloit tenir pour aller d'Alexandrie en Troade à l'île de Lemnos, et qu'à son retour il ait dressé un itinéraire de cette route pourqu'on ne s'égarât point comme il avoit fait lui-même? Quand Domitien fit mourir Metius Pomposianus, il fit une action de tyran, mais quand on compare les chefs d'accusation les uns avec les autres on sent que l'acquisition d'une mappe-monde étoit une curiosité singulière dans ce siècle. Agrippa exposa aux yeux du public un itinéraire général de la terre, mais si chaque particulier en avoit eu de pareils chez lui, ce monument d'Agrippa auroit peu mérité l'attention de Pline. On voit cependant, sans recourir aux fables d'un Æthicus, qu'il s'étoit faite du tems d'Auguste un itinéraire de l'Empire. Il nous en reste un très curieux qu'on a attribué à Jules César, à Marc Antoine, à l'Empereur Antonin, à Ammien Marcellin, et à Æthicus lui même. Sans vouloir décider une question aussi obscure qu'elle est peu intéressante, on peut dire qu'un pareil ouvrage destiné à l'utilité publique à dû subir un grand nombre de changemens dans des siècles assez éloignés. Les noms de Constantinople, &c. et l'usage d'appeller les capitales des cités Gauloises par le nom de la cité même, annonceroient assez que le fond de l'ouvrage est du quatrième siècle, et qu'il a pu être dressé sous les enfans du grand

Galen. l. ix. Simplic. Medic. Facult. p. 117. Edit. Basil. apud Wesseling. p. 538. Itiner. Suetton. in Domitian. c. 10 Plin. His Natur. iii. 2.

Constantin. L'Itinéraire de Bourdeaux à Jerusalem avec le retour par un chemin différent est une pièce très curieuse, et qui est à peu près du même tems. C'est dommage qu'elle soit corrompue au point que les détails ne s'accordent presque jamais avec les sommes totales. Les Tables de Peutinger, (qu'on nomme aussi Tables Théodosiennes) paroissent au premier coup une carte géographique; les villes, les rivières et les mers y sont désignées; mais qu'on pense que la but d'une carte est de faire sentir la forme d'un pays, la situation de ses parties, et le rapport mutuel des lieux, et qu'on se rappelle que dans cette table il n'y a ni ordre ni proportion, on sentira qu'on a voulu peindre sur un des longs rouleaux des anciens, une tables des chemins et nullement une carte de l'Empire.

V. Berger, Grands Chemins de l'Empire, l. ii. c. 1-31, et l. iii. c. 34

Viæ Militares. Je ne dirai rien ici d'une infinité de digressions aussi belles que savantes dont M. Berger a rempli son histoire des Grands Chemins de l'Empire Romain, et qui ont un rapport plus ou moins éloigné avec son objet principal; les dépenses qu'ont coûté ces voies militaires qui partoient de la capitale pour s'étendre jusqu'aux frontières les plus reculées, les milliaires, les tombeaux, les maisons, les ponts, dont elles étoient ornées, et l'ordre qui s'observoit à l'égard des postes qui n'ont jamais appartenues qu'à l'état et dont la permission gratuite se communiquoit aux particuliers par les diplomes des princes et des magistrats. Je ne parlerai que de la construction des chemins. Les ouvriers commençoient par tracer au cordeau deux sillons profonds. Ils creusoient ensuite un fossé

de

de l'un à l'autre qu'ils remplissoient de sable et de bonne terre pour donner au chemin une assiette ferme. Dans un terrein uni et solide, cette levée, qu'on nommoit *Agger*, ne s'élevoit qu'à fleur de terre, en lui donnant toujours une pente suffisante pour l'écoulement des eaux. Mais dans la plûpart des endroits on lui donnoit jusqu'à dix, quinze et même vingt pieds de hauteur au-dessus des champs voisins, et puisqu'on n'a certainement pas voulu les dépouiller de leurs meilleures terres, il a fallu beaucoup de dépense pour les charier de loin. Sur cet Agger on plaçoit quatre couches différentes de matériaux. 1. *Le Statumen.* C'étoient des pierres larges et plattes, couchées les unes sur les autres et assises dans un ciment de chaux nouvelle; cette couche avoit dix pouces d'épaisseur. 2. *La Ruderatia.* C'étoient des pierrailles, des pots cassés, des tuiles, des briques répandues avec la pêle, et affermies à grands coups de barre. Elle avoit dix pouces d'épaisseur. 3. *Le Nucleus.* C'étoit une craie grasse et gluante, qui servoit de ciment et qui unissoit tout l'ouvrage. Il avoit un pied d'épaisseur. 4. La *Summa Crusta.* Elle avoit six pouces d'épaisseur, et par conséquent l'ouvrage entier avoit trois pieds. Cette surface étoit ordinairement composée de pierres d'une grandeur inégale et médiocre, (*Glarea*); quelquefois à la vérité c'étoient de gros cailloux (*Silex*), et quelquefois même on y a vu des carreaux taillés d'une façon régulière. Domitien alla jusqu'à paver son chemin de carreaux de marbre. On choisissoit surtout ces pierres un peu raboteuses, (qu'on

nommoit *Fistulosæ*) parcequ'elles donnoient plus de prise aux pieds des chevaux, et on observoit de les coucher toujours tout de leur long et jamais sur les côtés. La largeur ordinaire du pavé étoit de vingt pieds, mais lorsque l'*Agger* s'élevoit au-dessus du niveau de la terre, chacun des côtés occupoit à peu près le même espace, et le chemin entier avoit soixante pieds de largeur. Le règlement qui défendoit de donner aux chemins plus de huit pieds ne pouvoit point regarder les voies militaires.

23d December, 1763.

An INQUIRY *whether a Catalogue of the* ARMIES *sent into the Field is an essential part of an* EPIC POEM.

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 valour 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 colouring, 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 Rutuli an advantage which it was natural should belong to the allies of Æneas; 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 an 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

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.

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 Æneid, 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 composed 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

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 Æneas 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 characterised 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,

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 coloured 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 shews the Aventine to Æneas, which was a barren rock,* situate in his little kingdom, which had no other boundaries than the Tiber, and the territory of the Rutuli.†

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.

* Virgil, Æneid. viii. 190. † Idem, 473.

Of

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 Æneas, without offending against probability and geography.

AN

Lausanne, 24th December, 1763.

AN EXAMINATION OF THE CATALOGUE OF SILIUS ITALICUS.

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 favour 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 have 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

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;* and that we knew

* Silius Ital. viii. 606.

nothing

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.*

A MINUTE EXAMINATION OF HORACE'S JOURNEY TO BRUNDUSIUM, AND OF CICERO'S JOURNEY INTO CILICIA.

25th December, 1763. Lausanne.

An useful chapter might be added to the History of the great Roads of the Roman Empire, by Berger, 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

* Tit. Liv. xxxix. 55. Vell. Patercul. l. i. c. 15.

to

to Tibur (20 Roman miles*), or to Preneste (25 miles †), consumed two days, or rather two nights.‡ 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.§ 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;‖ or that of Cæsar the dictator, who posted

* Itineraria Antiq. Edit. Wesseling, p. 309.

† Idem, p. 302.

‡ Sueton. in August. lxxviii.

§ Plin. Epist. iii. 5. Juvenal. Satir. iii. 239.

‖ Plin. Hist. Nat. vii. 20.

one

one hundred miles a-day with hired carriages.* 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,† or 127 English miles.

> Nil obstat cupidis; nihil moratur
> Qui primo Tiberim reliquit ortu
> Primo vespere naviget Lucrinum.‡

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

* Sueton. in Cæsar. lvii.

† Vetera Itiner. p. 107, 108, 122.

‡ Stat. Sylvar. 14. Carm. iii.

of the Julian year.* The courier arrived in the Circus the second day of the Roman games, and the thirteenth after the defeat.† These two circumstances shew, 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,‡ 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;§ and Ptolemy estimates an ordinary ship's way at 1000 stadia each day.‖ The ten remaining days were consumed in the journey from Pella to Dyrrhachium, 253 miles;¶ and in that from Brundusium to Rome, 368 miles;** 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

* Isac. Bulliad. Epist. ad Calcem. tom. iii. Tit. Liv. ex Edit. Gronov.

† Tit. Liv. xliv. 37. xlv. 1.

‡ Rosin. Antiq. L. iv. c. 13.

§ Itineraria, p. 317. et Not. Wesseling. Plin. Hist. Nat. iii. 2.

‖ Ptolemæi Geog. c. ix.

¶ Itineraria, p. 319.

** Itineraria Ant. p. 307. iii. 117.

no

no further than to Capua; and the Greeks never applied themselves to the making of highways.*

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 days' 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;† 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.

* Strabon. Geog. v. p. 162.

† Horat. L. i. Sat. 5. v. 134. Edit. ad usum Delphini.

Egressum magnâ me accepit Aricia Româ,
Hospitio modico.*

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

——— Jam nox inducere terris
Umbras, et 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, Mecænas and his suite arrive early at Sinuessa, eighteen miles from Formiæ.

Postera lux oritur multo gratissima: namque
Plotius et Varius Sinuessæ Virgiliúsque
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.†

* The whole journey is described in the fifth Satire of the first book of Horace.

† Cluvier. Ital. Antiq. L. iv. c. v. p. 1077. Itiner. Hierosolytanum. Edit. Wessel. p. 611.

Proxima

Proxima Campano ponti quæ villula tectum
Præbuit; et 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 Mecænas diverted himself at tennis; which shews 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 Caudî cauponas.———
* * * * * * * * *
Prorsus jucunde 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 an 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 negociation, 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 an half to which I would reduce the journey of Horace from Rome to Beneventum will give 36½ 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.* Yet why should we suppose that the villa Trivici

* Horace de Sanadon, tom. v. p. 138.

must

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 days' 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 well-known 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 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.* 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

* Berg. Grands Chemins, l. ii. c. 26. p. 226.

style.

style.* 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 humour 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 Mecænas, creating much envy against him,† 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.

* Horace de Sanadon, tom. v. p. 119. Paris, 1756.

† V. Horat. Serm. ii. 6. v. 20—60.

2. In

2. In the year of Rome 702, a decree of the senate entrusted 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;* 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

* 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 Fabricus, and by Middleton, the year of Rome 702.

as

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 humour 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 Her-

* All the distances not noticed in the Itineraries, I have measured on the chart of M. Delisle.

culaneum.

culaneum. 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 Beneventum. 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

of the republic. On the 22d of May, Cicero proceeded to Brundusium, forty-three miles from Tarentum.* Contrary winds and business detained him several days in that harbour. He at length sailed 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.† 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 24½ 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

* Itinerar. p. 119. Pliny says 35 miles. Nat. Hist. iii. 16.
† Itinerar. p. 325—326.

it

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, freed men, 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 convenience 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

united Rome with the frontiers; and had but only one 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 era, we ought rather to think that it was not so early. Most of the Roman roads are works of the emperors.* 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 an 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

* Bergier Hist. des Grands Chemins de l'Empire, l. i. c. 9. p. 27.

the

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 mo-

* Voyez l'Antiquité expliquée du P. Monfaucon.

tions

tions 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.* 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.† I know not how many days he employed in marching thither; but I know that only six were spent in his return.‡ 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.§ 270 Roman miles in

* Tit. Liv. xxvii. 43—51.

† Itineraria Auton. p. 312, 313, 314, 315. I have measured on the chart of Delisle the distance from Canusium to Larinum.

‡ Tit. Liv. xxvii. 50. xxviii. 9.

§ Tit. Liv. xxvii. 46.

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!

ON THE FASTI OF OVID.

Lausanne, 1764.

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

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 complacence 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

* Ovid Fast. l. iv. p. 583.

the

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 connection. 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 connection 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 principle 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 shews to us too

 plainly,

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.

ON

ON 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 Ceninians, was the first victim of Roman valour. 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 Jupiter 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.** Three hundred and twenty triumphs† 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.

* Montesquieu on the Greatness and Decline of the Romans.

† Onuphr. Panvin. on Triumphs. The number is taken from Orosius.

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 honour; and thus dispensed in their own favour 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.* The senate conferred on Valerius Publicola the honour 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 honour 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

* Tit. Liv. L. ii. Dionys. Halicarn. L. v.

most

most precious prerogative; 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 honour of a triumph;* affording therein an example highly pernicious in a free state, of being influenced in the distribution of military favours 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 favourites, 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;

* Tit. Liv. L. iii. Dionys. Harlicarn. L. xi.

and

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

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 valour 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,* who were considered as indebted for their success merely to the orders which he had given to them.† 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 connection, 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 connection between the general and the gods of his country. He alone could interrogate them, and solicit their favour 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

* Cicer. in Pison, C. xxiii.

† See the Abbé Bleterie's Dissertation on the title Imperator. Mém. de l'Académ. des Belles Lettres, tome xxi.

trophies.

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 honour. 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 a

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his services. His own boldness and the favour 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 favourites 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 favour 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 honours 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 honour 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

* I can only cite the authority of Livy and the Fasti of the sixth and seventh centuries of Rome.

of

of their employment, and considering them as still bearing a character which they had once honourably 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 honours the simple citizen or knight, that the laws might not be suspended even in favour of the most distinguished merit. The authority of these laws became so thoroughly established, that the people no longer sought to dispense their favours, 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.* Although the senate

* Appian de Bell. Civil. L. i. Cicer. pro leg. Marcil.

afterwards

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.* 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.† 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 de-

* Tit. Liv. xxviii.

† V. Onuphr. Panvin. de Triumphis, et Appian in Lybicis.

stroyed

stroyed 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 honour, 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 honourably displayed in the skill and success of a campaign, than in the blind fortune and havoc 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 prize undiminished by any loss in the field. Towns strongly fortified by art

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 valour.*

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 conquerors of nations, 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

* V. Flori Epitom. Orosius, T. Liv. lv. Auctor de Vir. illustriss.

supposed regulation, it seems to me as if the heroism of romance were substituted instead of the dictates of prudence and true honour. 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 attention in improving its natural and artificial advantages? Was the honour 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, an hundred times conquered, to which the Romans granted very unequal conditions of peace, and treated rather as

subjects

subjects than allies;* 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 honourable 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

* V. Joseph. Antiq. Judaic. et de Bell. Judaico.

† Tit. Liv. xxvii.

scarcely acquainted. What must have been the absurdity of a law, which denied to such men the triumph, while it lavished that honour on propræ-tors, whose names are known only by the Capito line records?

Hic tamen et Cimbros, et summa pericula rerum
Excipit, et 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 honours 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

* Juvenal Satyr. viii. 249, et seq.

triumph.

triumph. The soldiers followed his chariot, crowned with laurel, and decorated with the military ornaments, which their valour had merited.* They appropriated to themselves the honours 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.† 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

* See the Oration of M. Servillius. Tit. Liv. xlv.

† T. Liv. x.

its general, that he might not be separated from his troops. When the senate decreed a triumph to Livius Salinator,* 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 became 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 Lucul-

* T. Liv. xxviii.

lus.

lus. He triumphed for his victories over the great Mithridates, so often conquered, yet always so formidable. A glance at Cicero's oration in favour 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 value they could estimate, to generals whose worth they were capable of appreciating. I perceive also, that they were not 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 advan-

tages 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 with mourning.

There was, as far as I can discover, but one precise condition always required by the senate, namely, the rank and 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

* Tit. Liv. x.

not

not pregnant with very evil consequences. The victorious generals, therefore, were honoured 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 favourite 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 honour of an ovation, which Crassus had accepted: and which hence-

henceforth 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

passed in the train of his African triumph.* 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 honour 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 honours; 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 an 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

* Appian de Bell. Civil. l. ii.

† Cicer. Philippic xiv. pass. 5.

not

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 honoured, 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 Antony and his lieutenants; but who did not recollect them at hearing

hearing that of Cleopatra? This artifice was employed so late as the reign of Vespasian,* when the name of the Sarmatians was used to justify the triumphal honours 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

* Tacit. Hist. iv. 4.

through

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 Cœlimontane gate." Piso foolishly enough interrupted him, "You are mistaken; I entered by the Esquiline." "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 an

* Cicer. in Pison. c. 23.

cient

cient. 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

and terminating in no useful end? Romulus chose the Capitoline Mount as a place

Religione patrum, et 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.* The different lines which may be drawn from this district to Rome meet in the Campus Martius. The side of the Capitoline 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 in quest ought to be found within these limits. A chain of conjectural evidence leads me to this conclusion, which facts alone can substantiate.† Among the extraordinary honours 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 citi-

* Plutarch and Stephanus, Tit. Liv. Dionys. Halicarn. and Festus.

† Tacit. Annal. i. 8. Sueton. in Aug. c. 100.

zens

zens 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,* 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

* Donat. Roma Vetus, L. i. C. 22. p. 79—88.

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,

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.* 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

* Donat. loc. citat. L. i. C. 21. p. 72. Nardini Roma Antica, L. i. C. 9. p. 38; et C. 10. p. 47—50.

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 affecting 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.* 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

* Martial Epig. x. 6.

between

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 characterised 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 condition 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, et ideo ibi positum Jani signum, et 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, Suetonius, and Pliny* 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 et sævi formidine Martis;
> Centum ærei claudunt vectes, æternaque ferri
> Robora: nec custos absistit limine Janus.†

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

* Tit. Liv. L. i. Sueton in August. xxii. et in Neron. xiii. Horat. Carm. iv. 15. Plin. Hist. Nat. xxxiv. 7.

† Virgil. Æneid. L. vii. 608.

thence

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.* According to Livy, Numa Pompilius erected it at the lower extremity of the Argiletum, to serve as the index to 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;† and Servius fixes its site still more precisely, by saying it was within 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 an hundred fathoms‡ 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 from 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 Pro-

* Tit. Liv. L. i. Serv. ad Æneid. VII. Nardini Roma Antica, L. vii. C. 4. p. 439.

† Donati Roma Vetus, L. ii. C. 26. p. 212.

‡ I measured the distance on Nolli's great map of Rome.

copius,* 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† 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,‡ 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

* Procopius de Bell. Gothic. L. i.

† Nardini Roma Antica, L. i. C. iii. p. 13. et L. v. C. vii. p. 256—257.

‡ Plutarch in Romul.

these

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 honours which it was proposed to bestow on the memory of Augustus.* 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

* Sueton. in Aug. C. 100. Tacit. Annal. I. 8.

hand,

hand, shut when the return of peace shut up the triumphal road. Among the Romans, indeed, this road was rarely interrupted. For the ceremony 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 honourably distinguished from those vain and fatiguing solemnities which create nothing but weariness or contempt. The triumph converted the spectators into actors, by shewing 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,

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 an 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 theological 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

and illustrated the importance of the conquest. A silent but forcible language instructed the Romans in the exploits and valour of their countrymen: symbols chosen with taste shewed to them the cities, rivers, mountains, the scenes of their national enterprize, and even the gods of their prostrate enemies, subdued under the majesty of Capitoline Jupiter. Under the impression of recent and manifest favours, 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 valour. The general's glory was not confined within the narrow sphere of his own family and friends. It redounded to the honour 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

rewarded with that delightful 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 towards 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 honoured 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

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.

REMARQUE

REMARQUES SUR LES OUVRAGES ET SUR LE CARACTÈRE DE SALLUSTE, JULES CÉSAR, CORNELIUS NEPOS, ET TITE LIVE.

Janvier le 19, *de l'An* 1756.

J'ai pris la résolution de lire de suite tous les classiques Latins, les partageant, suivant les matières qu'ils ont traitées, en I. Les Historiens ; II. Les Poetes ; III. Les Orateurs ; dans laquelle classe, je renfermerai tous les autres auteurs qui ont écrit en prose sans être ni philosophes, ni historiens ; IV. Les Philosophes.

I. Classe.

LES HISTORIENS.

C. Crispi Sallustii *Opera quæ extant omnia, cum selectissimis variorum Observationibus. Ex accuratâ Recensione Ant. Thysii. Lugd. Batav.* 1649.

J'ai eu aussi sous la main

C. Crispi Sallustii *quæ extant Opera. Lutet. Paris.* 1744.

C. Crispus Sallustius, qui nous est connu sous nom de l'historien Salluste, naquit à Amiternum au Janvier 19.

au pays des Sabins A. U. C. 669. Après avoir rempli l'emploi de tribun du peuple, il fut chassé du sénat par les censeurs à cause de l'infamie de ses mœurs; il y rentra par le moyen de César qui le fit questeur, préteur, et ensuite gouverneur de la Numidie. Ce fut dans ce dernier emploi qu'ayant amassé de grandes richesses par la concussion, il se trouva en état d'acheter ces fameux jardins de Salluste qui ont toujours été si célèbres à Rome. Nous ne savons rien de lui depuis cette époque jusques à celle de sa mort qui arriva quatre ans avant la bataille d'Actium, A. U. C. 718. (1) Ce fut apparemment dans cette période qu'il écrivit les ouvrages que nous avons de lui. M. Philippe paroît en douter, puisqu'il met la composition de la guerre de Jugurthe, et ses autres ouvrages, comme des suites immédiates de son tribunat, quoiqu'avec un air peu assuré. Pour ce qui est des passages de Salluste où il dit expressément (2) qu'il avoit déjà abandonné la poursuite des honneurs publiques, et qui ne peuvent se rapporter à aucun tems antérieur à sa préture, ils ne lui paroissent pas décisifs, puisqu'il conclut en disant qu'on il n'espéroit plus d'honneurs, ou qu'il cachoit bien finement son ambition. J'avoue que Salluste, homme très capable de dissimuler ses véritables sentimens ailleurs, étoit bien capable de le faire dans cet article. Mais il me paroît que dans une chose de fait aussi publique il ne l'auroit guères osé, et que ce passage se rapporte bien plus naturellement à la vie et tranquillité qu'il menoit dans ces jardins délicieux après son retour d'Afrique. Et je crois que si on fa

(1) Vie Latine de Salluste par M. Philippe prémise à l'édition de Paris que je viens d'indiquer.

(2) Bell. Catilin. c. 3. 4.

fait attention à deux chapitres de ses ouvrages. (1) On y verra une réfutation formelle des accusations qu'on lui intentoit sur cette vie de mollesse; accusations qui ne sauroient convenir qu'aux dernières années de sa vie. Outre que, suivant la remarque de M. Philippe, ses histoires ne sentent point le jeune homme, mais paroissent bien plutôt le fruit de l'age et de la maturité, j'aurai même deux raisons particulières pour le croire de chacun de ses ouvrages qui nous restent en entier: I. Si vous considérez le caractère qu'il nous donne de Caton dans sa guerre Catilinaire et le parallèle qu'il en fait avec César, vous verrez qu'elle ne pourroit point avoir été écrite qu'après la mort de ce dernier. Salluste l'auroit-il mis au niveau de César et lui donné même en quelque façon l'avantage, lui qui, dévoué à la fortune de César, savoit qu'on ne pouvoit pas lui déplaire davantage qu'en encensant les vertus d'un homme qu'il haïssoit personnellement, et contre qui il composa deux invectives même après sa mort? Qu'on prenne garde toujours que je me fonde bien plus sur le caractère de Salluste que sur celui de César. Un Cicéron, qui portoit la dignité dans le sein même de l'adulation, (2) pouvoit défendre Caton sans que César y répondit autrement qu'en homme de lettres; mais notre historien, le flatteur le plus effronté, n'auroit jamais risqué sa faveur afin de pouvoir contredire ce qu'il avoit lui-même dit de Caton en écrivant à César; (3) où il ne lui donne pour tout mérite qu'un génie rusé et harangueur. II. La raison que j'ai pour croire que la guerre Jugurthine n'est point un ouvrage antérieur à sa pré-

(1) Bellum Catilin. c. 3. 4. Bell. Jug. c. 4.

(2) Voyez surtout sa harangue pour Ligarius.

(3) I. Epis. ad Cæsar.

ture est tirée de la matière qui le compose. Dans quel tems peut-il avoir mieux conçu le dessein d'écrire l'histoire d'une guerre particulière qu'alors lorsqu'il étoit gouverneur de la province qui en avoit été le théâtre? La circonstance qu'on nous a conservé de son voyage pour examiner les lieux célèbres, (1) et les citations qu'il fait des livres Puniques, ne sauroient être conciliées avec une autre période.

(1) De la Mothe le Vayer, Jugement des Historiens, tom. i. p. 356, 361.

Quoique Salluste fut un homme des mœurs les plus déréglées, et qu'à cause de cela il avoit été (comme je l'ai déjà dit) chassé du sénat par les censeurs, il ne laisse pas de prendre le ton dans ses ouvrages d'un vieux Fabricius. Aucun des historiens Latins ne fait d'aussi fréquentes ni d'aussi vives plaintes sur la corruption de son temps. A tout propos de ces actions de débauche, d'avarice, de cruauté, et d'injustice, dont les annales de ce siècle n'étoient que trop remplies, il prend occasion de les censurer en les mettant en opposition avec les mœurs des anciens. Les préfaces à ces deux histoires ne sont autre chose. Bien plus, très peu de tems après son expulsion du sénat, écrivant deux lettres publiques à César sur la manière dont on pouvoit rémédier aux désordres de l'état, il ne s'en prend qu'à la corruption des Romains qu'il falloit extirper. (2)

(2) II. Ep. ad Cæsar.

Nous n'avons aujourd'hui que deux ouvrages de Salluste dans l'état où il les a publiés: 1. La Conjuration de Catilina, et 2. La Guerre de Jugurthe; deux morceaux dit-il lui-même des plus curieux, et des plus intéressans de toute l'histoire Romaine.

Il

Il avoit fait outre cela une histoire de son tems depuis A. U. C. 663, jusques à A. U. C. 681. Il ne nous en reste plus que quelques harangues et un assez grand nombre de fragmens détachés, dont la plûpart nous ont été conservés par les vieux grammairiens. Tout le monde sait que Salluste s'est distingué dans le genre concis, mais peut-être tous n'ont pas fait la remarque que l'usage fréquent qu'il fait des infinitifs absolus y contribue beaucoup. La plûpart de ses lecteurs peuvent y avoir trouvé quelquefois de l'obscurité, toujours une certaine dureté; mais malgré tout cela ce style a bien ses beautés, et me paroît même assez propre pour l'histoire, puisqu'il cache en quelque façon les circonstances peu intéressantes qui pèsent de tems à autre sur la plume de l'historien; en ne laissant point reposer le lecteur, mais l'entrainant avec une rapidité égale à travers les jardins et les bruyères. Il faut pourtant faire attention à une fort bonne chose que dit là-dessus De la Mothe le Vayer:(1) Que quoiqu'on puisse dire que Salluste et Tacite sont tous les deux des auteurs concis, c'est d'une façon bien différente, puisque celui-ci l'est autant pour les choses que pour les mots, au lieu que l'autre écrit pour le fonds des matières d'une façon aussi diffuse que Tite Live lui-même; quoique je ne sois pas de l'avis de ce savant, qui entend de cette façon-là le bon mot de Servilius Nonianus, qeu Salluste et Tite Live " Pares magis esse quam similes." Il semble que s'il avoit bien considéré le passage de Quintilien,(2) où il se trouve, il auroit vu qu'il ne falloit point le prendre d'une façon aussi

(1) De la Mothe le Vayer, Jugem. des Hist. tom. i. p. 356.

(2) Quintil. l. x. c. 1.

particulière, et que son auteur ne vouloit parler par là que de l'égalité de mérite de ces deux grands écrivains quoique leur talens fussent aussi différens. Pour ce qui est du fonds de l'histoire, Salluste n'est pas tout à fait exempt du reproche d'avoir fait paroître de la passion dans ce qu'il a écrit au sujet de Cicéron et de César. On l'accuse d'avoir caché plusieurs faits assez considérables, par haine pour l'un et par flatterie pour l'autre. Il est au moins certain que, quoiqu'il donne à ce premier le titre d'Optimus Consul et qu'il ne lui attribue rien qui en soit indigne, les nones de Décembre font une bien autre figure dans les ouvrages de Cicéron lui-même que dans la conjuration de Catilina. Comme Salluste avoit été tribun du peuple, et qu'il étoit créature de César qui ne faisoit que faire revivre le parti de Marius, il n'est point étonnant qu'il ne se montre aucunement favorable à celui du sénat, qu'il regardoit comme une oligarchie toute pure. Aussi quoiqu'il n'entreprenne point de justifier tous les procédés du peuple, l'on voit assez ce qu'il pensoit là-dessus. Il est charmé, par exemple, de pouvoir attribuer à Sulla, chef des Optimates, toutes ces cruautés abominables qui le rendoient si odieux,(1) mais il n'a garde de dire mot des horreurs dont les deux Marius, Cinna, Carbo, Damasippus, remplirent Rome pendant qu'ils avoient le dessus.

(1) Prim. Epist. ad Cæsar.

Je ferai deux petites remarques sur un couple d'endroits de Salluste, qui me paroissent en demander. 1. Parlant de la corruption des Romains, il dit " Igitur primo pecuniæ, dein imperii, cupido crevit."

crevit."(1) Un moment après il dit " Sed primo magis ambitio quam avaritia animos hominum exercebat;" et il en donne une raison toute naturelle, que l'avarice n'a rien que de sordide, au lieu que la vertu et le vice se proposent les mêmes objets d'ambition, et ne diffèrent que dans les moyens qu'ils employent pour y parvenir.(2) Cette contrariété, qui paroît si marquée, n'a point arrêté les commentateurs que j'ai: ils n'en ont rien dit. Pour moi je ne saurois mieux résoudre ce nœud Gordien qu'en le coupant, et je rectifierois sans balancer le second passage sur le premier. Ce qui m'y détermine, outre le témoignage de l'histoire, c'est le raisonnement qu'il y fait, au lieu que le premier n'est qu'une simple affirmation. 2. Nous décrivant le caractère des compagnons de Catilina, Salluste dit, " Quicunque impudicus, adulter, ganeo, aleâ, manû, ventre, pene, bona patria laceraverat."(3) L'expression *pene* est si forte, que bien loin de la souffrir dans une histoire grave, nous en serions choqués dans un roman; comment donc comprendre que Salluste, dont les écrits ne respirent que la sévérité et la vertu, se soit servi d'une expression qui les choquoit autant que celle-là? car *penis* n'étoit point de ces mots que la bienséance permet pour nommer les choses qui lui sont contraires. Cette réponse, qui est assez naturelle, m'est d'abord venue dans l'ésprit, mais un passage de Cicéron prouve qu'elle ne vaut rien, le voici: " Caudam antiqui penem vocabant; ex quo est, propter similitudinem, penicillus. At hodie penis est in obscenis. At vero Frugi-ille

(1) Bell. Catilin. c. 10.

(2) Idem. c. 11.

(3) Idem. c. 14.

Piso in annalibus suis queritur adolescentes peni deditos esse. Quod tu in epistolâ appellas suo nomine, ille tectius penem. Sed quia multi, factum est tam obscœnum, quam id verbum quo tu usus es."(1) Vous voyez par là que le mot *penis*, innocent dans son origine, étoit devenu si obscène qu'il parle avec surprise de Pison qui s'étoit servi d'un terme qui n'auroit point été permis de son tems qui étoit néanmoins celui de Salluste. Si j'osois hasarder une conjecture au sujet de cette difficulté, je dirois que peut-être Salluste étoit Stoicien, secte qui avoit pour maxime fondamentale d'appeller un chat un chat.(2) Nous savons que cette doctrine avoit fait beaucoup de partisans à Rome dans ce siècle-là, et le caractère de sévérité qu'il se donnoit tant de peine pour affecter y convient fort bien.

(1) Cicer. Epistolæ Familiar. l. ix. c. 26.

(2) A Paris, 1730.

J'ai consulté quelquefois une traduction Françoise de Salluste par M. l'Abbé Thyon. Ne l'ayant point lu je n'en dirois rien, si non que si elle est fidèle pour le fonds elle ne l'est point pour la forme, puisque le style concis de ses deux petits ouvrages se trouve noyé dans deux grands in-douze. Elle est accompagnée d'un assez grand nombre de notes historiques et critiques qui m'ont paru bonnes; j'en rapporterai une au sujet d'une correction du texte. Notre auteur, dans sa seconde lettre à César, en faisant une énumeration des cruautés que la faction des nobles avoient exercées après leur victoire sur leurs ennemis, à dessein de les rendre odieux, dit, selon toutes les éditions, " At hercule nunc cum Catone L. Domitio." Quoiqu'il

Quoiqu'il y ait quelque difficulté sur le prænomen du Domitius que Pompée vainquit en Afrique pendant la dictature de Sylla, on peut pourtant croire que Salluste vouloit parler de celui-là. Mais pour le Caton on ne trouve aucun à qui on puisse le rapporter: M. Thyon voudroit(1) donc qu'on lut, "At hinc cum Carbone, L. Domitio." Tout le monde connoît le fameux Carbon qui périt en Italie après la victoire de Sylla, et par là même notre auteur aura blamé non seulement la cruauté de tout le parti mais encore de Pompée en particulier, lequel en effet est accusé d'avoir servi les sanglans sacrifices du dictateur avec un peu trop d'empressement.

(1) Tom. ii. p. 114—123.

Au reste M. Thyon se trompe lorsqu'il nous dit que le père de Pompée mourut pendant son consulat.(2) Il n'y a rien de plus certain que qu'il ne mourut que dans le consulat de Cinna et d'Octavius, deux ans après le sien.(3)

(2) Idem. p. 38.

(3) V. Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 20.

On a beaucoup attaqué Salluste sur ce que, par une affectation blâmable, il vouloit toujours préférer les mots et les manières d'écrire surannées à celles usitées de son tems. Une des choses qui choque le plus un lecteur moderne c'est de le voir préférer continuellement les *u* aux *i* dans des mots tels que lacrymæ, maximus, &c. Mais quoique la dernière façon d'écrire gagna le dessus dans la suite, la première étoit encore fort en usage dans son siècle: car Varro assuroit, au rapport de Cassiodore,(4) que ce n'étoit que l'autorité du premier César, qui la recommandoit tant par ses préceptes que par son exemple, qui donna la vogue à l'*y*.

(4) V. les Fragmens de César, dans l'Edition de ses Ouvrages, par Arn. Montanus, p. 881.

C. Julii Cæsaris *Opera quæ extant, ex Recensione Jos. Scaligeri. Ludg. Batav. Ex Officinâ Elzeiv.* 1635. 12°.

J'ai eu sous la main et je l'ai consulté dans quelques endroits,

C. Julii Cæsaris *Opera quæ extant, cum selectis variorum Commentariis, quorum plerique novi, Operâ et Studio Arnoldi Montani. Amstelod. Ex Officinâ Elzeiv.* 1670. 8°.

" On parle beaucoup de la fortune de César ; mais cet homme extraordinaire avoit tant de grandes qualités sans pas un défaut, quoiqu'il eut bien des vices, qu'il eût été bien difficile, que quelque armée qu'il eût commandé il n'eût été vainqueur, et qu'en quelque république qu'il fût né qu'il ne l'eût gouverné."(1) En effet on ne peut que souscrire au jugement de M. de Montesquieu. Ses talens pour la politique ne demandent pas d'autre preuve que de dire que, né sujet, ses intrigues le firent souverain. Du côté de la guerre il est reconnu de tous comme le plus grand général que nous connoissons. Malgré sa courte vie,(2) et la multitude de ses occupations, il ne se distingua guères moins du côté des lettres. Sa réputation dans ce genre étoit assez bien établie dans un siècle aussi éclairé que l'étoit celui de Cicéron, puisque Quintilien ne craint point de dire,(3) que la force de son génie ne se montroit pas avec moins d'éclat par ses écrits que par ses victoires. Non seulement il s'étoit beaucoup appliqué à l'éloquence, qui lui étoit absolument

(1) Montesquieu. Considérat. sur les Causes de la Grandeur et la Décadence des Romains, p. 125. Lausanne. 1750.

(2) Il mourut agé de 56 ans.

(3) Quintil. l. 10.

ment nécessaire dans une république comme celle de Rome, mais il y eut peu de sciences, qu'il ne posséda:—il étoit à la fois, historien, poëte, théologien, grammairien, astronome; et les écrits qu'il laissa sur tous ces sujets sont cités avec éloge par tous les anciens qui ont eu occasion d'en parler.(1)

(1) V. ses fragmens à la fin de ses ouvrages.

De tant d'ouvrages le seul qui reste ce sont les Mémoires qu'il écrivit de ses guerres avec les Gaulois, et des guerres civiles. Les premiers sont de sept livres, les autres n'en contiennent que trois. Un de ses amis (on ignore si c'étoit Hirtius ou Oppius) y a ajouté un huitième livre des guerres Gauloises, et a fait en entier celles d'Alexandrie, et d'Afrique: car il ne faut point lui attribuer (à Hirtius), un livre ou plutôt un journal qui marque, selon l'ordre des jours, les événemens d'une partie de cette guerre que César soutint en Espagne contre les fils de Pompée. Les barbarismes qu'on y trouve à tout moment en sont les moindres défauts. Il y a une quantité d'endroits qu'on ne peut absolument point entendre. Par bonheur on voit qu'on n'y perd pas grande chose. Voici un échantillon de cette belle histoire. Après un long siège Cordoue est prise par César.(2) Vous lisez encore quelques pages, et vous êtes tout surpris(3) de voir César venir l'attaquer tout de nouveau, sans qu'on ait dit un mot de sa révolte. Quelques critiques attribuent cet ouvrage à un centurion de l'armée de César qui notoit grossièrement jour par jour ce qui s'étoit passé. J'avoue que j'ai de la peine à comprendre que cette pièce soit du tems de la belle latinité; toutefois si elle l'est, elle peut

(2) Comment. de Bell. Hisp. p. 841.
(3) Idem, p. 856.

confirmer

confirmer une vérité que nous ne savions déjà que trop; que le même siècle peut produire des de Thous et des Parivals. Pour ceux qui sont de César lui-même, ils ont toujours été regardé comme des modèles en fait de mémoires. Les plus grandes choses contées avec la dernière simplicité, quoiqu'en langage très elegant,—ce sont là les commentaires de César. On y admire surtout une grande modestie; car on peut remarquer, fort à l'honneur de César, que pendant que Hirtius l'encense en plus d'un endroit,(1) le héros lui-même ne se loue que par le récit de ses actions. Quelques personnes pourtant croyent que l'amour-propre l'a quelquefois emporté sur la sincérité de l'historien, comme par exemple de sa guerre avec les Usipetes et les Tencteri, son expédition en Angleterre, et le commencement de la guerre civile. Malheureux sort de l'histoire! les spectateurs sont trop peu instruits, et les acteurs trop intéressés, pour que nous puissions compter entièrement sur les récits des uns ou des autres! Quoiqu'une des plus grandes beautés de César soit la clarté il ne laisse pas d'avoir bien des endroits obscurs pour les lecteurs qui ne sont pas guerriers. Je voudrois que M. le Chevalier de Folard nous eût donné un commentaire militaire sur cet auteur qui en a bien plus besoin que Polybe. S'il n'y avoit que César qui fut digne de nous donner sa propre histoire, il n'y avoit guères que M. de Folard qui eût dû commenter César. Il y a, outre cela, beaucoup d'autres passages qui ont bien donné de la torture aux critiques qui finissent pour l'ordinaire après dix raisonnemens,

(1) Comment. de Bell. Gallic. l. viii. p. 401, et alia loca.

sonnemens, et vingt conjectures, par avouer qu'ils n'y entendent rien. N'auroient-ils pas pu nous le dire au commencement? Ces sortes de passages se trouvent néanmoins en bien plus grand nombre dans les Guerres Civiles que dans celles des Gaules; apparemment parceque César avoit eu plus de tems pour revoir et pour corriger celles-ci. Toutefois si nous considérons que ces mémoires ne pouvoient guères être le fruit que de quelques soirées dans ses quartiers d'hiver nous trouverons plutôt étonnant qu'il n'y en a pas davantage. En effet ce qui fait un des plus grands mérites de l'écrivain de ces Mémoires c'est cette même promptitude. Tite Live fut vingt ans à écrire son histoire.(1) Isocrate en mit dix pour faire son panégyrique, (2) mais César ne mettoit pas plus de tems à écrire ses victoires qu'à les remporter, et c'est tout dire par rapport à César. Aussi Hirtius remarque-t-il fort bien, Cæteri enim quam bene et emendate, nos etiam quam facile et celeriter eos confecerit, scimus.(3)

(1) Dodwell. Annal. Velleian. s. 3. p. 662. ad calcem Velleii. Burman.

(2) Longin. Traité du Sublime. c. iii. Trad. de Boileau. tom. iii. de ses Ouvrages. p. 31. Edit. de Dresde. 1746.

(3) Comm. de Bell. Galliæ. l. viii. p. 369.

J'ai dit que cette promptitude faisoit un grand mérite de l'écrivain de ces Mémoires, et non des Mémoires mêmes, et je me suis servi de cette expression à dessein. Je distingue très fort d'entre le mérite d'un écrivain et celui de son livre. Le mérite de celui-ci consiste à m'apprendre des choses que je ne savois pas, ou à m'en dire de celles que je savois déjà d'une façon juste et élégante. Dans cet examen il faut faire abstraction de l'auteur pour ne faire attention qu'à ce que je viens de dire. Tel livre qui étoit de peu d'utilité autrefois, peut être aujourd'hui d'un grand prix

à cause

à cause que tous les autres sur le même sujet sont perdus. Des plagiats peuvent bien faire le mérite d'un livre, quoique jamais de son auteur. Car son mérite doit être apprécié d'une toute autre façon. Comme c'est le génie de quoi il s'agit, pour pouvoir décider là-dessus, il faudroit examiner tous les secours qu'il peut avoir eu, de son siècle, de son pays, de son éducation, de ses devanciers, et de mille circonstances. Souvent un rien, un mot lâché par quelqu'un qui n'en sentoit point toute l'importance, une lecture, met quelquefois sur les voies des plus grandes découvertes. Newton conçut le système de l'attraction en voyant tomber des pommes dans son verger. Il faudroit encore combiner tous les préjugés qu'il a eu à combattre, le tems qu'il a mis à son ouvrage, les distractions qu'il a eu, &c. de façon que si nous pouvions découvrir tous ces accessoires nous trouverions souvent que tel autre, dont nous méprisons avec raison les ouvrages, avoit un génie bien supérieur à tel autre que nous lisons avec admiration. Mauvaise réflexion pour l'amour-propre des auteurs! le prix de ce dont nous pouvons juger ne leur appartient quelquefois pas, et le seul mérite qui soit réellement à eux il est presque impossible que nous puissions l'apprécier avec certitude! Mais revenons à nos chèvres.

Pour suivre ce que je disois toute à l'heure de cette distinction, on peut remarquer un autre mérite de ces Mémoires, indépendamment de celui de son auteur; c'est d'être les premières relations que nous ayons tant soit peu détaillées de notre continent; j'entends par là l'Angleterre, la France, la

la Suisse, l'Allemagne, les Pays Bas. C'est là où il faut aller puiser le gouvernement, la religion, les mœurs, &c. de nos ancêtres, et voir au moins en partie la façon dont ils sont passé sous le joug des Romains. Le morceau surtout où César nous décrit les mœurs des Gaulois et des Germains (1) est admirable, celui sur ceux des Bretons ne l'est pas moins.(2)

(1) Cesar. Comment. de Bell. Gall. l. vi. p. 222-249.
(2) Idem. l. v. p. 166.

Je ferai deux remarques sur un couple d'endroits de César. 1. César, en parlant de sa guerre avec les Usipetes et les Tencteri, paroît déguiser un peu les choses. Il assure (3) que quand il fit saisir les chefs des ennemis qui étoient venus dans son camp sur la foi d'une tréve. On pensoit bien de cela à Rome, puisque Caton opinat en plein sénat pour qu'on le renvoyât lié et garotté aux Germains, comme un homme qui avoit déshonoré la foi de la république, par une perfidie insigne. En tout cas, n'auroit-il pas mieux fait de se souvenir de ce qu'il avoit dit en sénat quelques années auparavant? "Bellis Punicis omnibus cum sæpe Carthaginienses et in pace et per inducias, multa nefanda facinora fecissent, nunquam ipsi par occasionem talia fecere, magis quod se dignum, quam quod in illos jure fieri posset, quærebant."(4) Mais on peut bien dire par rapport à tous les discours publics ce que Cicéron disoit de ceux du barreau. "Sed errat vehementer si quis in orationibus nostris auctoritates nostras consignat se habere arbitratur." (5) Car, continue-t-il, ces harangues sont celles des causes et des tems, et non pas des hommes ni des advocats. 2. La description que César donne des

(3) Cesar. Comm. de Bell. Gall. l. iv. p. 134.
(4) Sallust. Bell. Catilin. c. 51.
(5) Cicero pro Cluent. c. 50.

Druides

Druides Gaulois ressemble si parfaitement à celle du clergé catholique qu'on seroit presque tenté de croire que ceux-ci avoient formé leur conduite sur celle de leurs prédécesseurs payens. Mais comme on ne lisoit guères César dans le onzième siècle, contentons-nous de dire que les clergés de tous les siècles et les peuples de tous les siècles se ressemblent assez, * * * * * * * * * * * * * *. Rassemblons les traits principaux de cette description des Druides.

(1) Cesar. de Bell. Gall. l. v. p. 224.

(1) 1. Ils avoient entre leurs mains l'éducation de la jeunesse qui ne sortoit jamais de leurs écoles que remplis d'une profonde vénération pour leurs maîtres. 2. Ils s'étoient rendus juges de presque tous les procés civils et criminels. 3. Ils se servoient de l'excommunication envers les contravenans, laquelle inspiroit au peuple une si grande horreur pour le coupable, qu'il se voyoit séparé de tout commerce civil. 4. Ils avoient un chef qui avoit une grande autorité. A sa mort on lui choisissoit un successeur entre les Druides les plus distingués. 5. Ils étoient exempts du service militaire. 6. Ils ne payoient point d'impôts et jouissoient de toute sorte d'immunités. Je m'étonne que le Père Hardouin n'ait point allégué cette description comme une preuve de son système.(2) Le rusé Archontius Severus (3) auroit bien pu fabriquer un César, pour y insérer ce passage, qui représente, d'une façon bien odieuse, le système de l'hiérarchie Romaine enveloppée sous le nom de Druides Gaulois. Ce père a bien fait d'objections qui ne valoient pas celle-là.

(2) De la Supposition de tous les anciens auteurs.

(3) L'Empereur Frederic II.

Voic

Voici deux remarques de Lipsius. 1. Hirtius, en parlant des Bellovaci, (1) dit qu'ils prirent leurs fascines, " ubi consederant, nam in acie sedere Gallos consuesse, superioribus commentariis declaratum est." La difficulté est bien forte; comment concevoir une armée rangée en ordre de bataille, chacun assis sur sa fascine? Cela devoit être impossible aussi bien que ridicule. Lipsius voudroit donc (2) que par *acies* on n'entendit pas l'armée rangée en bataille, selon la signification usitée de ce mot, mais seulement le tems de la guerre en général, et il apporte deux passages l'un de Tacite,(3) l'autre de Strabon,(4) pour prouver que c'étoit là une chose qui distinguoit les Romains des barbares, ceux-ci étant presque toujours assis dans leurs camps, au lieu que les premiers s'y promenoient beaucoup. Il croit pourtant que pour *in* on pourroit lire *ante* aciem. 2. Dans ce que César dit des machines qu'il employoit pour prendre Marseilles, il parle d'un musculus ou galerie destinée à protéger ceux qui devoient sapper les murailles de la ville, laquelle devoit avoir eu, suivant la lection ordinaire, soixante pieds de longueur.(5) Lipsius trouve cela beaucoup trop, et rapporte plusieurs raisons tirées du nom, des proportions et de l'usage de cette pièce pour autoriser le changement qu'il a fait de LX. en IX.(6) César,(7) parlant de Metellus Scipio, dit qu'il prit le titre d'empereur: " Detrimentis quibuslam circa montem Amanum acceptis sese imperatorem appellaverat." Cela paroît manquer de sens, puisque les généraux ne prenoient jamais ce titre qu'a-

(1) De Bell. Gall. l. viii. p. 368.

(2) Epist. Cent. 1. Epist. 3.

(3) Tacitus in Germ. Morib.

(4) Strabo. in Lib. iii.

(5) Cesar. de Bell. Civ. l. ii. p. 534.

(6) Cité par Montanus ad loc.

(7) Cesar. de Bell. Civ. l. iii. p. 609.

qu'après quelques avantages considérables. Ursinus voudroit qu'au lieu de *detrimentis* on lut *emolumentis*,(1) qui s'y trouve opposé en Cicéron.(2)

(1) Ursinus ad locum.
(2) Lib. iii. de Finibus.

CORNELII NEPOTIS *Vitæ Excellentium Imperatorum, Observationibus et Notis Commentatorum. Lugduni Batavorum.* 1728.

Nous savons très peu de chose de la personne de cet écrivain, sinon qu'il étoit de la Gaule Cisalpine, (de Verone selon quelques uns,) et qu'il a vécu du tems de Jules César et au commencement du règne d'Auguste. Il paroît que c'étoit un auteur fort fertile. Les anciens nous parlent d'un assez grand nombre de livres de sa façon qui avoient la plûpart l'histoire pour objet. Mais de tout cela il ne nous reste plus que les vies de vingt fameux généraux Grecs, de deux Carthaginois, du premier Caton, et de T. Pomponius Atticus. Elles sont toutes très peu détaillées, quoiqu'on y trouve des particularités très curieuses qui ne se rencontrent nulle part ailleurs, et que leur auteur sache fort bien l'art de renfermer bien des choses en peu de place, de façon qu'on est quelquefois tenté de lui appliquer ce qu'il dit lui-même des inscriptions d'Atticus: "vix credendum esse tantas res tam breviter potuisse declarari."(1) Il excelle dans cet art, la difficulté duquel rend les bons abrégés si peu communs, celui de saisir les traits qui peignent les hommes et les événemens, et de savoir laisser

(1) In Attic. cap. 18.

laisser à l'écart toutes les circonstances qui ne font qu'embarrasser une narration et détourner l'attention du lecteur du principal sur l'accessoire. Le caractère d'Alciabade (1) est réellement tel que Tite Live n'en auroit pas honte. Pour son style, sans être beau, (ce qui n'auroit pas convenu à son ouvrage,) il ne laisse pas de marquer un écrivain du siècle de la belle latinité, et de le rendre (à n'envisager que cela) très propre à être mis entre les mains des jeunes gens. On ne peut guères décider de sa fidélité, comme tout ce que nous avons de lui ne roule que sur des tems dont l'éloignement à tout égard ne lui donnoit point de préjugés, et n'ayant qu'à travailler avec un esprit de critique sur les mémoires des auteurs plus anciens, ce qu'il paroît qu'il a assez eu soin de faire. Une chose qu'il faut dire à sa louange c'est qu'il paroît avoir été fort bien intentionné pour la république. Il prend occasion plus d'une fois de faire, à l'occasion des faits qu'il rapporte, (et c'étoit là tout ce que son sujet lui permettoit,) des réflexions qui décèlent assez clairement ses véritables sentimens. Une fois, (2) en rapportant la soumission qu' Agésilaus témoigna aux ordres des Ephores Spartiates, en s'arrêtant au milieu de ses conquêtes pour revenir chez lui, il souhaite que les généraux de son tems eussent suivi ce bel exemple. César avoit donné assez lieu à ce souhait. Dans un autre endroit (3) il compare l'insolence du phalange Macédonien après la mort d'Alexandre, à celle des vétérans de son tems, qui fut, comme on sait, une des principales causes de la ruine de la républi-

(1) In Alcibiad. cap. 11.

(2) In Ages. c. 4.

(3) In Eumen. c. 8.

que. Si dans la vie d'Atticus il se trouve obligé une fois de louer Auguste, c'est en quatre mots qu'il le fait: encore y ajoute-t-il une modification qui ne devoit guères être du goût de ce prince: en parlant de sa fortune il dit qu'elle lui avoit donné tout à ce quoi un citoyen Romain pouvoit parvenir. (1) N'étoit-ce pas le reprocher tacitement de son ambition? Cette vie d'Atticus, où se trouve cette louange, est beaucoup plus longue que toutes les autres, et comme avec cela il n'avoit à décrire que les événemens peu variés d'une vie privée, il pouvoit entrer dans un assez grand détail sur le caractère et les mœurs de cet homme singulier, qui à su si bien se rendre célèbre sans le secours d'aucune action éclatante. Aussi l'a-t-il fait jusqu'à nous apprendre la dépense journalière de sa maison. Elle montoit (2) à quatre mille cinq cens livres argent de Suisse; (3) somme très petite, considérée en elle-même, puisque son domestique étoit fort nombreux, mais qui nous donne une bien grande idée de sa modération si nous nous souvenons qu'il étoit de la même ville et du même siècle que ce Lucullus qui mangea à un seul repas plus de cinq fois autant. (4) Atticus démentit, par sa conduite, les calomnies de ceux qui accusoient les Epicuréens de placer leur souverain bonheur dans la jouissance des plaisirs sensuels. Il leur fit voir qu'un vrai philosophe de cette secte regardoit une volupté délicate et un loisir studieux comme seuls capables de rendre heureux un homme raisonnable. Ce n'est point ici la place d'entreprendre la justification d'Atticus contre les sanglantes accusations

(1) In Attic. c. 19.

(2) Ibid. c. 13.

(3) 3000 asses par mois.

(4) 50,000 denarii.

tions de l'Abbé de St. Real, (1) et dans lesquelles il paroît avoir eu bien des sectateurs. Aussi je ne le ferai pas. Je dirai seulement (après avoir remarqué qu'il étoit bien difficile pour un honnête homme de prendre un parti quand il n'y en avoit aucun qui pensa au bien public) que s'il est difficile de justifier sa conduite en tout, il ne l'est pas moins de s'empêcher d'aimer son caractère. Il en est tout autrement des Catons; en lisant leur vie nous devenons plus aisément leurs admirateurs que leurs imitateurs. Le danger est plutôt de l'autre côté ici.

(1) Dans son Cæsarion, au second tome de ses Oeuvres.

Dans les derniers siècles notre auteur a eu un sort bien différent de celui de bien d'autres. Nous avons regardé beaucoup de fictions modernes comme des pièces authentiques de l'antiquité, ici un écrivain a risqué de se voir enlever son propre ouvrage. Plusieurs critiques, trompés par les titres des anciens manuscrits, ont cru que ces vies des fameux généraux étoient, non pas de Cornelius Nepos, mais d'un certain Æmilius Probus qui doit avoir vécu sous l'empire de Théodose et lui avoir présenté son livre. Mais aujourd'hui on est généralement revenu de cette opinion, et on rend à Nepos ce qui est à Nepos. La seule latinité de son livre seroit bien assez pour nous convaincre qu'il ne pouvoit jamais être écrivain du siècle de Théodose. Elle suffit pour prouver l'antiquité de Quinte Curce, et avec raison, car il est très sûr qu'il y a quinze cens ans qu'on n'écrit plus comme cela en Latin. Mais nous en avons bien d'autres raisons. Supposons pour un moment qu' Æmilius

Probus soit l'auteur de ce livre, que lui fait-on faire? On le fait se vanter d'avoir été lié fort familièrement avec Atticus, qui vécut cinquante ans avant l'ère Chrétienne, dans le même ouvrage qu'il présente à l'Empereur Théodose, qui mourut près de quatre cens ans après cette ère. Certainement ou Æmilius Probus ou nos critiques avoient un coup de marteau. Je ne dis rien de ces passages des vies que j'ai déjà cités par rapport aux généraux Romains, aux vétérans, à Auguste, tous très convenables au siècle de Nepos, mais ridicules dans celui de Probus. Les vers de Probus, qui se trouvent dans tous les anciens manuscrits, aussi bien que le titre qui l'appelle auteur de l'ouvrage, font bien voir comment il faut expliquer ce titre. Comme je ne sais point s'ils se trouvent dans toutes les éditions, les voici :

Vade, liber noster, fato meliore memento,
Cum leget hæc Dominus, te sciat esse meum.
Ne timeas fulvo strictos diedemate crines,
Ridentes blanduni vel pietate oculos ;
Communis cunctis : hominem se regna tenere
Sed meminit ; vincit hinc magis ille homines.
Ornentur steriles : facilis tectura libelli
Theodosio, et doctis carmina nuda placent.
Si rogat auctorem, paullatim detege nostrum
Tunc domino nomen, me sciat esse Probum.
Corpore in hoc manus est genetricis, avique, meaque
Felices domini qui meruere manus.

Je ferai deux ou trois réflexions sur ces vers. 1. Que veut dire le " fato meliore memento?" Il me paroît ne pouvoir convenir qu'à un livre qui avoit

avoit déjà vu le jour, mais qui comptoit paroître alors avec un éclat que lui donnoient quelques circonstances particulières qui accompagnoient sa publication d'alors. Ce seroit justement le ton que prendroit un éditeur qui publieroit une édition de quelque auteur déjà connu, bien supérieure à toutes les autres, et qui la présenteroit à quelque grand prince. Je n'appuie pourtant pas trop sur cet argument, quoique je le croie bon, parceque je sais qu'on peut me répondre, qu'un homme qui auroit présenté un exemplaire de son propre ouvrage à ce prince auroit pu s'être servi des mêmes expressions, par rapport seulement aux autres exemplaires du même ouvrage qui n'avoient pas eu le bonheur de tomber dans des mains aussi respectables. 2. Un auteur (surtout parlant à un empereur) auroit-il loué son propre ouvrage comme il fait dans ce vers, Ornentur steriles? 3. Mais ce qui, selon moi, est la raison la plus forte de toutes, c'est ce qu'il dit dans le onzieme vers, " Corpore in hoc manus est genitricis, avique, meaque." A-t-on jamais entendu parler d'ouvrage bien écrit aux frais communs de l'auteur, de sa mère et de son grand-père? Le ridicule de cela saute aux yeux. Concluons donc de tout cela que Cornelius Nepos est le véritable auteur des vies des fameux généraux, et que Probus n'avoit fait que de faire une copie exacte de l'ouvrage, laquelle il présenta à l'Empereur Theodose.

TITI LIVII *Patavini Historiarum ab Urbe Conditâ Tomi Tres. L'Edition de Gronovius. Amstelodami. Apud D. Elzevir.* 1678.

TITE LIVE est un de ce petit nombre de grands hommes dont le nom seul fait le plus bel éloge qu'il est possible de faire d'eux. Son propre siècle lui a accordé la gloire d'avoir été parmi les historiens ce que Virgile a été pour les poëtes, et Cicéron pour les orateurs. Seize siècles la lui ont confirmé, et ce seroit en vain que quelqu'un penseroit à la lui ravir aujourd'hui. On convient que la majesté de son histoire égaloit celle du peuple de qui elle traitoit. Soit qu'on le considère du côté des choses qu'il raconte, ou de sa façon de les raconter, de sa fidélité ou de son style, les plus grands maîtres de l'art devroient l'avoir continuellement entre les mains, et tous ses lecteurs, de quelque ordre qu'ils soient, peuvent toujours trouver de quoi se plaire et s'instruire. Comme je compte que l'article de son histoire, que je vais commencer à présent, me mènera un peu plus loin que les autres, je partagerai ce que j'ai à dire dans quelques portions; j'en ferai quatre: I. Dans la première, je dirai quelque chose de la personne et de l'ouvrage de Tite Live. II. Dans la seconde, je donnerai quelques des qualités qui distinguent son histoire de la plûpart des autres. III. Dans la troisième, je considererai les objections et les accusations qu'on fait contre lui; et IV. Dans la dernière,

nière, je ferai quelques remarques détachées sur quelques endroits de cet historien.

I. Tite Live naquit à Padoue, alors Patavium, l'an de Rome 694 ; des autres veulent qu'il ait été né à Apone, bourg dans le territoire de cette ville, qu'il n'ait été appellé de Padoue que comme Virgile a été appellé de Mantoue quoique né à Andes. Nous ignorons totalement la vie de Tite Live jusqu'au tems qu'il se mit à écrire l'histoire des affaires Romaines. Il s'y prit d'assez bonne heure. Car quoique nous ne sachions pas précisément l'année qu'il l'a entreprise, nous pouvons toujours être assurés qu'il avoit commencée le premier livre avant l'an de Rome 730 ; car il dit que jusqu'à son tems le Temple de Janus n'avoit été fermé depuis le commencement de la ville que deux fois. Or nous n'ignorons que cette année-là Auguste le ferma pour la troisième fois. Dodwell, savant Anglois, croit que Tite Live avoit commencé son grand ouvrage l'an 725, et qu'il y mit la dernière main en 745. En effet, quand on considère d'un côté la grandeur de la tache et de l'autre les soins prodigieux que Tite Live a dû y avoir apportés pour le rendre aussi parfait qu'il est, on ne trouvera point vingt ans mal employés, mais au contraire on admirera presque autant l'application que le génie de cet auteur. La publication de son livre lui attira certainement une grande et bien juste réputation ; quoique les livres, avant l'invention de l'imprimerie, ne se répandissent point avec la même rapidité. Néanmoins (et c'est encore ce qui ajoute à sa gloire) un citoyen de Gades, ville que les anciens regardoient comme l'extrémité de

la terre du côté de l'occident, fut si frappé de ce qu'il avoit oui dire de Tite Live, et de l'idée que la lecture de son histoire lui en avoit peut-être donnée, fit un voyage exprès à Rome pour le connoître de plus près, et aussitôt qu'il l'eut vu, il quitta la capitale comme s'il n'y avoit plus rien qui méritât l'attention d'un homme raisonnable. Il est vrai que quelques uns disent que de son vivant on faisoit plus de cas à Rome d'un historien fort méprisable que de lui. Quelques critiques se sont pourtant inscrit en faux contre ce fait, et cela à cause qu'on ne peut point l'accorder avec la chronologie, qui nous apprend, que cet historien ne vécut que du tems de l'Empereur Néron, au lieu que le nôtre mourut dans la cinquième année de l'Empereur Tibère. Ils conjecturent que c'étoit du fils de Tite Live et non de lui-même qu'il s'agit dans ce passage. Cela se peut, quoique je ne sache point que le fils de Tite Live se soit distingué du côté de l'histoire. Mais je ne trouve point admissible l'autre raison qu'ils allèguent pour détruire cette circonstance, je veux dire le voyage de ce citoyen de Gades comme prouvant que Tite Live avoit une grande réputation de son vivant. Du tems que Montesquieu étoit le législateur des nations, on se déchaînoit contre lui à Paris. Et qu'on ne pense pas à me fermer la bouche en me vantant le goût du siècle des Cicérons et des Virgiles. Celui des Newton et des Pope le vaut bien. Quoiqu'il en soit, Tite Live survécut long-tems à cette publication, et ce qui pourroit nous faire juger favorablement de l'effet qu'elle avoit produit, c'est qu'Auguste,

guste, qui se connoissoit admirablement en mérite, le choisit pour former l'esprit de son petit-fils Claude, celui qui parvint ensuite à l'empire, et il paroît que ce prince ne profita pas mal sous ses instructions, puisqu'étant encore fort jeune il entreprit une histoire des affaires Romaines qu'il exécuta assez bien. Aussi étoit-ce un génie plus propre à raconter les grandes actions qu'à les faire. Tite Live mourut, comme nous l'avons déjà dit, la cinquième année du règne de l'Empereur Tibère. Il doit avoir laissé un fils qui ne nous est connu que par le conseil que son père lui adressa par rapport à ses études: " de lire Cicéron et Démosthène, et ensuite les autres auteurs, à mesure qu'ils approchoient de ces deux-là." Tous ceux qui ont rapporté ce trait l'ont loué comme sa modestie le méritoit. En effet c'étoit beaucoup de n'avoir point indiqué ses propres écrits en une semblable occasion. Il falloit là être plus que bel esprit, ou même que grand génie, il falloit être grand homme. Il eut aussi une fille qu'il maria à un nommé Lucius Magius, froid orateur, dont les déclamations n'étoient souffertes, que comme étant du fils de Tite Live.

Il faut à présent, après avoir ramassé le petit nombre de traits que l'antiquité, bien peu soigneuse de nous faire connoître les hommes qui l'ont illustré, nous a fourni par rapport à sa personne, dire quelque chose de ses ouvrages. Il en a laissé plusieurs sur divers sujets; mais son histoire est tout ce qui est échappé aux ravages qui nous ont fait perdre une si bonne partie des précieux trésors

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des Grecs et des Romains. Originairement elle contenoit cent quarante livres, et elle s'étendoit depuis la fondation de la république jusqu'à la mort de Drusus Nero, fils adoptif d'Auguste, par une suite de sept siècles et demi; c'est à dire, qu'on y voyoit Rome naissant, s'étendant ses bras sur l'Italie, subjuguant toute la terre, et s'affaissant sous son propre poids. Je ne sais point pourquoi quelques critiques ont voulu qu'au lieu de cent quarante livres, elle en ait contenu cent quarante-deux. Les abrégés de tous les livres, lesquels nous avons, prouvent (ce me semble) qu'il n'y avoit que le nombre indiqué d'abord. Si nous avions cette histoire en son entier nous ne pourrions pas souhaiter quelque chose de plus parfait pour les tems qu'elle embrasse, mais par un malheur affreux, et peut-être à jamais irréparable, nous en avons perdu la plus grande partie. Il ne nous reste encore que, I. Les dix premiers livres, dont la perte auroit été la moins considérable de toutes, tant à cause que les siècles dont ils contiennent l'histoire sont ceux qui nous intéressent le moins, à cause de leur éloignement et de la petite figure les Romains faisoient alors, que parceque ces mêmes siècles ont été traités (à l'aveu de tous les critiques) d'une manière beaucoup plus détaillée et plus exacte. II. Dix autres, depuis le vingtième exclusivement jusqu'au trentième exclusivement, et ils contiennent seulement les dix-sept ans que dura la seconde guerre Punique, où Hannibal, après avoir fait trembler les Romains pour leurs autels et leurs foyers, fut obligé de conseiller, comme nécessaire, un traité qui fit passer l'empire

l'empire du monde de Carthage à Rome. C'étoit-là un morceau digne de la plume de Tite Live, aussi paroît-il y avoir travaillé avec un goût tout particulier. III. Dix autres livres qui contiennent l'abaissement de Philippe et d'Antiochus, et le changement des chaînes des Grecs, changement que ces François de l'antiquité appelloient. IV. Cinq autres livres, qui commencent où ceux-ci finissent, et qui vont jusqu'au quarante cinquième inclusivement, et qui renferment la chûte de Perse, et la grandeur Romaine (si on fait attention aussi bien au dedans qu'au dehors) à son faîte. Ces derniers cinq livres n'ont point été trouvés ni publiés en même tems que le reste. Aussi, pendant que les trente autres livres sont sans la moindre lacune, ceux-ci sont coupés et tronqués dans cent endroits, et cela non de quelques mots ou de quelques lignes, mais souvent de pages entières qui renfermernt les événemens les plus intéressans; et là même où il ne manque rien par rapport à la narration, le texte est fort corrupt et a souvent besoin de la main d'un bon critique. Il est facile par ce petit tableau de voir combien grande est notre perte, puisqu'on y voit que des cent quarante livres qui formoient autrefois ce beau corps d'histoire nous n'en avons plus de nonante cinq. Il me semble avoir lu quelque part dans les ouvrages de milord Bolingbroke, que ce grand homme faisoit bien plus de cas des livres de Tite Live qui sont perdu que de ceux qui nous restent encore, et que (sans faire attention à la quantité de l'un ou de l'autre) il auroit volontiers donné ce

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que nous avons pour recouvrer ce que nous n'avons plus. Je trouve que milord Bolingbroke avoit assez raison de le dire; mais je crois que, quand on en viendroit à l'épreuve, lui, et tout homme de goût, auroit bien de la peine à se défaire d'aucune partie d'un trésor aussi inestimable. On seroit dans le cas de Philippe V. lorsqu'il falloit opter entre la couronne d'Espagne, et la succession de celle de France; le choix étoit facile, mais la difficulté d'en laisser une d'elles. J'avoue pourtant qu'il y auroit bien des auteurs de l'antiquité que je sacrifierois pour avoir seulement les livres de Tite Live qui contiennent l'histoire des 60 ans depuis l'an de Rome 663 jusqu'à 723; on ne peut guères concevoir un point de vue plus magnifique que celui-là, où toute la terre connue étoit le théâtre, et une foule de grands hommes, que la nature pour l'ordinaire ne produit qu'à l'éloignement de quelques siècles, mais qu'elle avoit alors fait contemporains, étoient les acteurs; tels que Marius, Sylla, Metellus, Catulus, Pompée, César, Crassus, Lucullus, Cicéron, Hortensius, M. Antoine, Auguste, et tant d'autres hommes capables de faire le bonheur des hommes ou leur malheur. Un pinceau tel que le sien, sans se jetter, comme Salluste, dans des déclamations continuelles contre les mœurs de son tems, et sans donner, comme Tacite, à l'esprit des hommes ce qui étoit à leur cœur, auroit décrit les mœurs du siècle de Lucullus avec le même sangfroid qu'il l'a fait de ceux de celui de Fabricius, voyant que les unes et les autres étoient des états différens de la république, et que vouloir qu'un peuple maître du monde fût animé du même esprit que les habitans de Rome naissante,

sante, étoit vouloir une république de Platon. Semblable aux observateurs de la nature il auroit reconnu que les expériences valoient mieux que les systèmes, et en conséquence de ce principe il auroit expliqué le caractère de l'homme par ses actions, (encore s'y seroit-il pris avec bien des précautions,) non point les actions suivant l'idée qu'on s'étoit formé d'avance du caractère. Il auroit vu que bien loin que le caractère qu'on pose à la base de la narration soit uniforme, que bien loin, dis-je, qu'il puisse nous rendre raison de la conduite d'une vie entière, rien n'est plus dissemblable à l'homme de hier que l'homme d'aujourd'hui. Les messieurs qui croyent pouvoir nous développer ainsi tous les motifs des actions des hommes (qui très souvent ne les connoissent pas eux-mêmes) ont à la fois bien bonne opinion et de la constance des hommes et de leur propre pénétration; mais qu'ils se souviennent que,

In vain the sage, with retrospective eye,
Would from the apparent what conclude the why,
Infer the motive from the deed, and shew
That what we chanced, was what we meant to do.
Behold! if Fortune or a mistress frowns,
Some plunge in business, others shave their crowns:
To ease the soul of one oppressive weight,
This quits an empire, that embroils a state:
The same adust complexion has impell'd
Charles to the convent, Philip to the field!

En réfléchissant à cette immense perte que nous avons fait d'un si bel ouvrage, nous ne pouvons guères pardonner à nos barbares ancêtres d'avoir si cruellement détruit ou au moins estropié presque tout ce que les anciens avoient fait de beau. Encore

patience

patience pour que dans les mille ans que leur règne a duré ils n'ayent point avancé les sciences, s'ils nous avoient au moins laissé dans le même état où se trouvoit le monde littéraire vers l'an 400, quand ils ont commencé tout de bon leurs inondations, et qu'ils n'eussent pas ruiné, s'ils ne pouvoient bâtir. Ils nous ont à la vérité conservé quelque chose de ces hasards si on peut appeller conserver, laisser quelques ouvrages à l'oubli que le hasard, bien plus que leurs soins, a amené jusqu'au rétablissement des sciences en Europe. Le sort de ce petit nombre, dont presque tous ont été trouvés, fourniroit bien de la matière à des réflexions sur le bizarre sort que quelques uns ont subi. Mais ce ne seroit pas ici un lieu convenable de s'y livrer, de parcourir tout ce qui nous reste de tant d'ouvrages dignes de l'immortalité, et de montrer pourquoi les uns plutôt que les autres sont échappé au grand naufrage des lettres. Tout ce que je dirai ici c'est de remarquer qu'en gros les poëtes se sont beaucoup mieux conservés que les historiens. Mettons en parallèle Salluste, Tite Live, et Tacite, les plus illustres des derniers, avec Virgile, Horace et Ovide les plus célèbres d'entre les premiers. Salluste est presque entièrement perdu, à la réserve de deux petits morceaux. A peine nous reste-t-il un tiers de Tite Live. Nous n'avons pas la moitié de Tacite. Par contre, Virgile et Horace se sont conservés en leur entier, et il ne nous manque que la moitié d'un seul ouvrage, celui encore qui tient le plus de l'histoire. Si on vouloit rechercher les raisons de ce phénomène peut-être ne seroit-elles bien difficile

difficiles à trouver. I. Cæteris paribus, l'ouvrage d'un poëte doit se conserver plus naturellement que celui d'un historien, parcequ'il intéressse davantage tous les tems et tous les pays. Nous ne pouvons guères nous dispenser de savoir ce qui est arrivé à notre patrie pendant le siècle dans lequel nous vivons. Tout nous y rappelle. Les livres donc qui en traitent sont entre les mains de tout le monde. L'éloignement de quelques siècles diminue de beaucoup la vivacité de cet intérêt. Ces ouvrages disparoissent de chez les cabinets des gens du monde, pour se réfugier dans ceux des savans. Cependant c'est toujours l'histoire de la patrie, et cette considération fait que bien des gens ne la négligent pas entièrement. L'origine des familles illustres, celles de tant de coutumes anciennes, la rende encore intéressante pour l'homme curieux, et les principes de la constitution civile et ecclésiastique la rendent souvent necéssaire pour l'homme d'état. Mais lorsqu'à l'éloignement du tems on ajoute encore celui des lieux, on trouvera qu'ils ont perdu presque tout leur mérite, excepté celui que leur auteur a su leur donner par la manière dont il a traité son sujet. Ils ne sont plus guères intéressans qu'aux érudits, à qui tout plait qui est ancien, peu utile, et inconnu de presque tout le monde, et qu'à quelques philosophes qui aiment à considérer l'homme dans toutes ses différentes modifications. Faut-il donc s'étonner si l'on apporte beaucoup moins de soin à leur conservation qu'à celle des poëtes, dont les beautés peuvent être senties à Paris aussi bien qu'à Rome, dans le

siècle

siècle de Louis XV. aussi bien que dans celui d'Auguste? II. Quelques circonstances particulières peuvent encore fonder si non une raison du moins une conjecture: la voici. Dans les tems où les auteurs étoient encore en leur entier, c'est à dire dans les deux ou trois premiers siècles qui ont suivi la chûte de l'empire d'occident, les pays où la langue Latine se conservoit se trouvoient possédés par des nations différentes entre elles mais toutes ennemis jurés du nom Romain. Ces peuples devoient-ils voir avec plaisir des ouvrages se multiplier et se perpétuer qui faisoient voir leurs propres ancêtres dans l'état de la plus grande humiliation, et ceux de leurs esclaves au comble de la grandeur? Ne devoient-ils pas craindre que la lecture de ces mêmes auteurs n'inspirassent aux Romains des sentimens peu convenables à leur condition actuelle, et que s'ils ne les faisoient pas entreprendre de secouer le joug, que du moins ils ne le leur fissent supporter impatiemment? Je ne pense pas qu'on ait publié d'ordres sur ce sujet. Mais il faut bien peu connoître les moines (alors seuls dépositaires du savoir) pour croire qu'ils ne sentoient pas les idées de leurs maîtres; et bien peu leur avarice si l'on s'imagine qu'ils ne se soucioient bien plus de gagner quelques arpens que leur complaisance pouvoient attirer à leur couvent, que de conserver tous les plus beaux morceaux des anciens. D'un autre côté ils ne devoient pas être bien gracieux pour les vaincus de rappeller les triomphes de leurs ancêtres. Dégénérés comme ils étoient ils devoient dire, avec l'affranchi de Terence, " Ista commemoratio quasi expro-

exprobratio est." Or ces considérations n'existoient point, ou n'existoient que très foiblement par rapport aux poëtes. Je n'appuye cependant pas sur cette raison, elle vaudra ce qu'elle pourra.

Dans les siècles depuis la renaissance des lettres on a souvent espéré de recouvrer ce qui nous manque des cent quarante livres de Tite Live. Pendant longtems on les a cru dans le sérail du Grand Seigneur; mais toutes les tentatives infructueuses qu'on a faites pour les en retirer et les grandes sommes qu'on a offertes sans effet, ont à la fin convaincu tout le monde qu'ils ne pouvoient pas y être. Monsieur Des Cloires, un homme qui a beaucoup de connoissances dans tout ce qui regarde les belles lettres, et qui connoît parfaitement la Grèce pour avoir été longtems dans ces pays-là, m'a dit que si le manuscrit entier de Tite Live existoit encore il croyoit qu'il devoit se trouver dans le célèbre monastère d'Athos, où, avant la prise de Constantinople, on avoit transporté tout ce que la ville possédoit de considérable en fait d'anciens manuscrits. Il ajouta que sous le ministère du grand Colbert on avoit formé le dessein d'envoyer à Athos deux bonnes frégates sous pavillon Maltois pour enlever tout ce qu'on pouvoit trouver en ce genre; mais qu'on abandonna ce projet, par la crainte de se compromettre avec la Porte, qui n'auroit pas manqué de découvrir la feinte; qu'on se contenta de le faire visiter par quelques gens de lettres déguisés en marchands, mais que leur recherche fut sans fruits; les moines ou n'ayant rien, ou cachant

soigneusement ce qu'ils avoient. Cette dernière circonstance m'a fait presque croire qu'ils n'étoient pas en état de le produire en manuscrit. Les Grecs modernes sont à la fois si ignorans et si pauvres, qu'on ne peut se persuader, qu'avec bien de la peine, qu'ils eussent pu faire plus de cas de quelques vieilles paperasses dont ils ne connoissoient point le prix, que des sommes considérables qu'elles leur auroient valu auprès des Latins.

Un auteur incertain (quelques uns croyent que c'est Florus) a voulu suppléer en quelque façon à la perte des cent cinq livres de Tite Live que nous n'avons plus, pendant qu'ils existoient encore. Il nous fit des sommaires de chaque livre, où dans peu de mots il fait connoître les matières qui y sont contenues. Quoiqu'on voit que ce petit ouvrage doit avoir nécessairement toute la sécheresse d'un abrégé, cependant s'il étoit encore exact et qu'on pût compter que, par rapport aux faits, c'est Tite Live lui-même, il pourroit être encore d'une certaine utilité; mais voici deux exemples pris du même livre qui montrent combien il est éloigné de cette exactitude. 1. Parlant du second Scipion, qu'on fit consul plusieurs années avant qu'il eut l'age requis par les loix, le * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *.

RE-

Lausanne, 4 Mai, 1757.

REMARQUES CRITIQUES SUR UN PASSAGE DE PLAUTE.

Il y a un passage du Pœnulus de Plaute, *Act. III. s. 3. v. 50.* que je n'entends point suivant la lection ordinaire. Les commentateurs que j'ai vus n'y trouvent cependant point de difficulté, pas même M. de Saumaise.

Un domestique, déguisé en soldat pour tromper un marchand d'esclaves, paroît sur le théâtre. On lui demande qui il est, une personne au fait de la fourberie répond,

——————— Hic latro in Spartâ fuit,
Ut quidem ipse nobis dixit, apud regem Attalum,
Inde nunc aufugit quoniam capitur oppidum.

Je crois pouvoir établir comme premier principe, que, comme on vouloit tromper le marchand d'une manière plausible, la vraisemblance exigeoit qu'on prît, pour bâtir là-dessus leur invention, un événement réel, récent, et connu de tout le monde. M. l'Abbé Sevin a bien considéré les choses comme moi, puisque dans ses curieuses recherches sur l'Histoire de Pergame *(V. Mémoires de l'Académie des Belles Lettres, tom. xii. p. 219.)* il s'est bien servi de ce passage comme une preuve qu'Attale avoit des troupes Grecques à sa solde.

Cela étant, il est question de trouver une époque où Sparte fut prise pendant qu'un roi Attale commandoit dans ses murs. Si l'histoire n'en fournit point pour expliquer ce passage, il faut avoir re-

cours à la critique pour la rétablir. On peut encore remarquer qu'il faut la trouver entre l'an Av. Ch. 241, première année du premier roi Attalus, et l'an 184, tems de la mort de Plaute.

Sparte fut prise par Antigonus Doson en 221. *V. Plutarch. in Cleomen. p.* 819. *Polyb. l. ii. p.* 155. *Justin. l. xxviii. c.* 4. *Rollin, Hist. Ancienne, tom. iv. p.* 239. *Petav. Ration. Tempor. t. i. l. iv. c.* 4. *p.* 127. Un Attalus régnoit alors ; cependant plusieurs raisons m'empêchent de croire, qu'il ait été question de ce fait. En voici quelques unes. I. Tous les auteurs se taisent sur cette circonstance. Cependant, un secours conduit par le roi de Pergame en personne, ne devoit guères échapper à l'exactitude d'un Plutarque et d'un Polybe, qui nous ont décrit toutes les plus petites particularités de cette guerre avec un si grand détail. II. L'an 221 Attalus étoit bien loin de pouvoir sortir de ses états pour aller secourir ses alliés. Achæus, gouverneur et ensuite roi d'Asie, l'attaquoit, l'avoit déjà dépouillé d'une partie de son royaume, et le pressoit vivement dans le reste. Attalus, qui prenoit lui-même des Gaulois à sa solde, pouvoit-il se dessaisir de ses propres troupes en une telle conjoncture, et surtout pouvoit-il aller en personne en Grèce? Environ le tems dont nous parlons, les Byzantins, ses anciens amis, lui demandèrent du secours contre les Rhodiens ; il ne put leur en donner. *V. ubi supra, Sevin. p.* 217. III. Quand même rien d'autre ne s'y opposeroit, la seule circonstance d'un Antiochus alors sur le trône suffiroit pour faire voir que nous n'y sommes pas

pas encore. *Pœn. Act. III. s.* 3. *v.* 31. L'an 223 Seleucus Callinicus étoit assis sur le trône des Seleucides. *V. Prideaux Hist. des Juifs, à l'an* 223. La réponse que je connois à cette preuve c'est de dire que c'étoit un des traits que l'imitateur Latin avoit conservé de son modèle Grec, du tems de qui un Antiochus régnoit peut-être. Mais suivant toutes les apparences, Plaute prit son Pœnulus du Χαρχηδονιος de Ménandre. *V. Menand. et Philers. Reliq. Amstel.* 1709. *p.* 96. Or Ménandre mourut l'an A. C. 292, douze ans avant le premier Antiochus. *Petav. Ration. Temp. p.* 1. *l. iii. c.* 18. *p.* 114.

Sparte fut assiégée en 195 par les Romains et leurs alliés, (*Liv. l. xxxiv. c.* 34, &c. *Just. l. xxxi. c.* 3) mais elle ne fut pas prise. Cependant comme le cas suivant roule sur les mêmes principes j'examinerai celui-ci. I. L'an 197, Eumenes étoit roi de Pergame, son frère Attalus n'étoit point associé à la couronne. *Sevin. ubi supra, p.* 270. *Liv. l. xlii. c.* 16. II. Ce même Attalus, aussi bien que son frère, bien loin de commander dans Sparte, étoit actuellement dans l'armée Romaine.

Dans ce petit raisonnement j'ai suivi la ponctuation la plus naturelle du passage qui rapporte l'*apud Regem Attalum* à *hic latro in Spartâ fuit*, et non à *inde non aufugit*. Ceux qui adoptent la dernière ponctuation, toute dure qu'elle rend la construction, feront bien de réfléchir; I. Que la difficulté de trouver une prise et même un siège de Sparte pendant qu'un Attale et qu'un Antiochus régnoient subsiste en son entier; et II. Qu'il auroit

été ridicule à Plaute de faire venir en Ætolie un homme fuyant de Sparte à Pergame.

Quelle est donc la correction que je propose? la voici; au lieu de *regem Attalum* je lirai *regem Aetolûm*. Expliquons-nous. L'an 191, les Ætoliens, voulant s'emparer de Lacédémone, envoyèrent Alexamène avec mille fantassins et trente cavaliers d'élite, en apparence pour secourir le tyran Nabis, mais en effet pour le tuer, ce qu'Alexamène fit par un coup de main fort hardi; mais s'amusant trop long tems à piller les trésors du palais, les Spartiates reprirent courage et massacrèrent les Ætoliens. Philopœmen vint à Sparte avec l'armée Achæenne, s'en rendit maître, et l'ajouta à la ligue du Péloponnèse. *Liv. l. xxxv. c. 35, &c.* On feignoit donc que ce soldat avoit été *latro* ou garde du corps, (*Pitiscus. Lexic. sub voce Latro. Serv. ad Æneid. xii. v.* 7,) d'Alexamène, et qu'après la prise de la ville par Philopœmen il avoit évité par la fuite le sort de ses compagnons. Comme les faits viennent toujours au secours des systèmes bien fondés, toutes les circonstances qui embarrassoient ci-devant viennent ici se placer d'elles-mêmes. I. L'Antiochus en question est le Grand Antiochus bien connu aux Romains, qui régnoit depuis une trentaine d'années. Bien plus, à l'époque en question il étoit actuellement à Chalcis, où, au lieu de s'occuper des préparatifs de la guerre, il passoit l'hiver dans la débauche et dans les plaisirs, *Liv. l. xxxvi. c.* 11; *Justin. l. xxxi. c.* 6; conduite qui pouvoit bien faire naître chez ses ennemis l'expression, " Mollius quam regi Antiocho oculi

oculi curari solent," *Plaut. Pœnul. Act. III. s.* 3. *v.* 81, pour désigner une mollesse poussée à l'excès. II. Quantité de circonstances de la pièce conviennent beaucoup mieux aux tems qui ont suivi la seconde guerre Punique, époque de la mort de Nabis, qu'à l'intervalle de la première à la seconde où tomba la prise de Sparte par Antigonus. En voici deux assez frappantes. Hannon le Carthaginois de la pièce, lorsqu'on lui dit qu'un jeune enfant avoit été enlevé de Carthage, s'écria, " Proh Dii immortales! plurimi ad hunc modum periere pueri liberi Carthagine." *Pœnul. Act. V. s. 2. v.* 28. De tels enlèvemens conviennent mal au tems où les Carthaginois, malgré leurs pertes, maîtres de la mer, étoient sans ennemi en Afrique, mais fort à celui où Massanissa, même avant la venue de Scipion en Afrique, faisoit des incursions sur leurs terres et vendoit ses captifs aux marchands étrangers, *Liv. l. xxix. c.* 31; et encore mieux à celui où les Carthaginois, privés de leurs armes et de leurs vaisseaux, étoient en proie à quiconque vouloit les attaquer. Tout le monde connoît la fameuse scène en langue Punique qui a coûté tant de veilles aux savans. Quelle apparence que Plaute eut su lui-même, qu'il eut osé présenter à ses compatriotes cette langue, quand la génération qui avoit combattu et connu les Carthaginois étoit éteinte, au lieu que dix-sept ans de guerre, qu'une armée Punique au milieu de l'Italie devoit la leur avoir fait connoître? Quand même on supposeroit qu'il l'avoit trouvé en Ménandre ne l'auroit-il pas rejetté comme un jargon barbare et inintelligible?

Je ne connois que deux objections qu'on pourroit me faire. I. On me dira que je suppose le soldat avoir été Ætolien, au lieu que la pièce, dont la scène est en Ætolie, le dit étranger. Mais Plaute explique lui-même ce qu'il entend par étranger, " ex alio oppido." *Pœnul. Act. III. s.* 1. *v.* 57. ce qu'il pouvoit être sans cesser d'être Ætolien. II. Je donne le titre de roi à Alexamène quoiqu'il ne fût que général. Mais il faut être peu instruit des usages de l'antiquité pour ignorer que les anciens attachoient au mot de roi une idée bien plus étendue que nous : on appelloit ainsi tous ceux que leur rang ou leurs richesses élevoient au-dessus des autres ; *V. Donat. ad Terent. Eunuch. Act. I. s.* 2. *v.* 88.* et Plaute lui-même y a donné autre part, (*Rudens, Act. IV. s.* 2. *v.* 26.) une signification encore plus étendue qu'ici ; car si jamais sujet pouvoit mériter ce titre c'étoit Alexamène. La commission des Ætoliens lui donnoit une autorité sur ses troupes qui étoit sans bornes et au-dessus de celle de bien des rois. Ils ordonnoient aux soldats, " Quicquid Alexamenum res monuisset subiti consilii capere, ad id quamvis inopinatum, temerarium, audax, obedienter exsequendum parati essent ; ac pro eo acciperent tanquam ad id unum agendum missos ab domo se scirent."

Au lieu donc de la leçon reçue, je lis

——————— Hic latro in Spartâ fuit,
Ut quidem ipse nobis dixit, *apud regem Ætolûm ;*
Inde nunc aufugit quoniam capitur oppidum.

* Voyez aussi le Horace de Dacier, tom. i. p. 9, 10. Paris, 1709.

Je

Je n'ai pas besoin, je crois, d'avertir combien ce changement étoit facile et aisé à faire.

Cependant si l'on me disoit qu'il y a à la vérité ici une faute contre l'histoire, mais qu'il faut s'en prendre à l'ignorance de Plaute et non à la négligence de ses copistes, il ne trouvera pas beaucoup d'opposition de ma part. Plaute étoit ignorant; on ne sauroit en douter. Il n'y a qu'à comparer ses Mænechmes, *Act. III. s. 2. v. 56, &c.* avec les *livres xxii. et xxiii. de Justin,* pour sentir combien ses idées étoient confuses sur l'histoire de la Sicile; comme le plan de ses Captifs, où il fait aller et revenir un homme de l'Ætolie en Elide dans l'espace de quelques heures, fait sentir quelles étoient ses connoissances sur la géographie de la Grèce. Cependant j'aimerois mieux dénouer le nœud que de le couper.

Lausanne, 1 Avril, 1757.

REMARQUES SUR QUELQUES ENDROITS DE VIRGILE.

——————— Et te, maxime Cæsar,
Qui nunc extremis Asiæ jam victor in oris
Imbellem avertis Romanis arcibus Indum.
VIRG. *Georg. lib. ii. v.* 161.

LES savans sont fort partagés sur les peuples qu'il faut ici entendre par Indiens. Les uns veulent que ce soient les Æthiopiens, les autres prétendent qu'ils ne peuvent être que les habitans de l'Hindostan. Le père Catrou prend ce dernier parti; il croit y trouver un appui à son système que Virgile

Virgile revit et corrigea ses Bucoliques la pénultième année avant sa mort. En effet l'ambassade du roi Porus, de laquelle, suivant lui, il s'agit ici, tomba sur l'an de Rome 734, dix ans après la première publication des Georgiques. Pour moi je ne saurois adopter son idée. Tout me paroît naturel si vous l'entendez des Æthiopiens, tout révolte si vous l'entendez des Indiens orientaux. Je n'aurois point de dispute avec le Rev. Père pour lui faire avouer que les anciens donnoient souvent aux Æthiopiens le nom d'Indiens, il l'avoue lui-même formellement. *Tom. II. du Virgile de Catrou, p.* 248, 487. Mais comme quelque autre pourroit en douter et que je ne veux pas ici traiter la matière ex professo, je le renverrai à la belle dissertation de M. Freret sur la géographie de Xenophon, *Mémoir. de l'Acad. des Belles Lettres, tom. iv. p.* 588, *edit. Paris*, où il prouve, à n'en laisser aucun doute, la vérité que j'avance. Si l'on demandoit pourquoi on les confondoit, je dirois que leur origine commune, leur couleur basanée, et l'or qui se trouve dans les deux pays suffisoient bien pour induire en erreur d'aussi petits géographes que les anciens. Il ne s'agit plus que d'examiner si les paroles de Virgile conviennent mieux aux Indiens occidentaux ou à ceux de l'orient. Virgile lui-même sera son meilleur interprète. Il faut trouver I^ment^ un peuple distingué assez par sa mollesse, pour que Virgile fût obligé de leur donner une épithète qui est bien loin de renfermer un compliment à son maître; et voilà justement ce que je trouve au sujet des Æthiopiens. Strabon nous dit d'eux

d'eux qu'ils n'étoient propres ni à la guerre ni à aucun emploi de la vie. Οιαν προειπομεν εδε παρασκευασμενην προς πολεμον ουτε προς αλλον βιον. *Strab. Geog.* l. xvii. p. 563. *Edit. Casaub.* Il appuye extrêmement sur cette inaptitude à la guerre, et il semble même que c'est pour la démontrer qu'il fait le récit d'une guerre dont je parlerai dans un moment. En effet toute cette guerre nous les représente comme les plus foibles des hommes; ils surprennent à la vérité trois cohortes Romaines, mais dès que le préfet de l'Egypte marche contr'eux avec dix mille hommes, trente mille Æthiopiens, la moitié à peine armée, fuyent en confusion, et le laissent pénétrer sans obstacle au cœur de leur pays: voilà bien l'*imbellem Indum*. Mais je doute qu'on puisse parler de la sorte des vrais Indiens. Quoiqu'ils ne se soient jamais distingués par leurs conquêtes, ils ne l'ont jamais été par leur foiblesse. Alexandre les subjugua, mais ils lui avoient opposé auparavant une résistance infiniment supérieure à celle qu'il avoit éprouvée des autres peuples de l'Asie. *Voyez Q. Curt. l. ix. c.* 4, *s.* 16, qui donne à des nations Indiennes le titre de *ferocissimæ*. II. Il faut encore trouver un peuple voisin de l'empire Romain qui pouvoit y faire des incursions, et qui pouvoit être empêchés d'attaquer les forteresses des Romains: *avertis Romanis ab arcibus*. L'on sent, à la simple vue de la carte, combien un tel voisinage convenoit aux Æthiopiens. Ils étoient limitrophes de l'Egypte devenu province Romaine depuis la mort de Cléopatre. *Voyez Suet. in Cæsar. August. c.* 18. *Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c.* 39, *s.* 2.

Les

Les Indiens au contraire étoient séparés des Romains par des pays immenses, par tout l'empire des Parthes. J'aimerois autant que Boileau eut loué Louis XIV. d'avoir garanti la France des invasions des Siamois, après qu'il eut reçu une ambassade de ce dernier peuple. III. Il faudroit que ce peuple en question eût eu quelque démêlé avec les Romains, mais que la réputation et les victoires d'Auguste les eût obligés de se tenir en repos.* Tout cela paroît être exactement vrai des Æthiopiens. Candace, leur reine, fit une invasion en Ægypte quelques années après pendant que les troupes Romaines étoient engagées dans une expédition en Arabie. *Plin. Hist. Nat. l. vi. c.* 29. *Strab. Geog. l. xvii.* 564. *Prideaux Histoire des Juifs sous l'an avant Christ* . L'on donne même à comprendre que les Æthiopiens avoient voulu remuer pendant peut-être qu'Auguste étoit en Ægypte, puisque le prétexte qu'ils alléguoient (savoir certains torts qu'ils avoient reçus des anciens monarques du pays, λεγοντων δε ως αδικοιντο υπο των Μοναρχων) subsistoit déjà; mais effrayés apparemment du bruit de ses expoloits ils renvoyèrent leur entreprise à des tems plus favorables. Il n'y a rien de pareil dans le cas des Indiens. Jamais ils n'ont eu de démêlé avec les Romains. Ils envoyèrent à la vérité une ambassade à ce prince, mais ce fut uniquement pour demander sa protection et rendre hommage à ses vertus, (*Strab. Geog. l. xv.* 495. *Flori Histor. Roman. l. iv. c.* 12.) circon-

* Jam victor .....avertis.

stance

stance qui me confirme dans l'idée qu'il n'est point question ici des Indiens orientaux, ni de leur ambassade. Virgile, habile adulateur, auroit-il jamais exposé des lecteurs à confondre un événement aussi unique, aussi flatteur pour son héros, que celui d'un peuple libre qui vient de l'extrémité de la terre rendre hommage à ses vertus, à le confondre, dis-je, avec ces avantages qu'on obtenoit si souvent sur les barbares limitrophes de l'empire?

Une autre raison, qui ne me permet pas d'adopter le système du Père Catrou, c'est le phrase *Asiæ extremis in oris.* Quelque tour que le Rev. Père tache de lui donner, on ne peut pas se dispenser d'avouer, que la seconde ligne de celles que j'ai rapportées n'indique l'endroit où César étoit lorsqu'il s'occupoit à ce qui est décrit dans la troisième. Or César reçut l'ambassade des Indiens à Samos. *V. Dion. Hist. Roman. l. lv. p.* 626. Quelque licence que les anciens se soient donnés dans l'application du mot d'Asie aussi bien que ceux d'Inde, de Syrie, de Scythie, &c. on ne me persuadera jamais qu'ils ayent appellé les frontières les plus reculées de l'Asie une île qui en forme l'entrée. Au lieu que l'Egypte, où César étoit, séparoit en effet l'Asie des pays lointains et inconnus de l'Afrique, suivant un système fort reçu du tems de Virgile, qui donnoit l'Egypte à l'Asie. *V. Notit. Orb. Ant. Cellar. tom. ii. l. iv. p.* 3. et *Sallust. in Jugurth. c.* 18.

Voilà les raisons qui m'engagent à rejetter le système du Père Catrou, et à croire que notre poëte ne vouloit parler dans cet endroit que des Æthiopiens.

piens. Il ne reste qu'à examiner deux de ses objections contre mon opinion, lesquelles me paroissent assez foibles. I^ment. Les Æthiopiens, dit-il, étoient-ils assez considérables dans la bataille d'Actium pour ne la représenter que par là? *tom. 2. p.* 249; peut-être que non. En tout cas c'est à ceux qui le croyent à le soutenir. Cette objection ne me regarde pas, moi qui ne parle point des Æthiopiens auxiliaires d'Antoine, mais comme voulant faire la guerre en leur propre nom. II. Virgile devoit avoir fini son second livre avant la bataille d'Actium: soit, quoique Donat n'ait beaucoup de poids dans mon esprit. Mais il ne publia les Georgiques que l'année après, et je crois bien qu'il les retouchoit jusqu'au jour de leur publication.

A Lausanne, 13 Mai, 1757.

REMARQUES CRITIQUES SUR UN PASSAGE DE VIRGILE.

Nam quà Pellæi gens fortunata Canopi
Accolit effuso stagnantem flumine Nilum,
Et circum pictis vehitur sua rura phaselis;
Quàque Pharetratæ vicinia Persidis urget,
Et viridem Ægyptum nigrâ fæcundat arenâ,
Et diversa ruens septem discurrit in ora
Usque coloratis amnis devexus ab Indis.
Omnis in hac certam regio jacit arte salutem.

VIRG. *Georg. iv. v.* 287.

Ce passage a bien coûté des veilles aux savans. C'est proprement la quatrième ligne qui en fai[t] tout[e]

toute la difficulté. Le voisinage du Nil et de la Perse choque les premiers principes de la géographie et paroît inconcevable, sur tout se trouvant dans Virgile qui réunissoit les connoissances du savant aux talens du bel-esprit. On s'est pris diversement pour s'en tirer. Les uns ont cru le texte corrompu; les autres ont voulu l'expliquer. Encore ceux-ci ont-ils suivi des routes différentes; on a rapproché la Perse du Nil; on a reculé le Nil jusqu'à la Perse. Voyons quel sentiment il nous convient le mieux d'embrasser.

Je ne fais qu'indiquer la correction de M. de Segrais qui transposoit réciproquement les vers *Quàque Pharetratæ, &c. Et viridem, &c.* de manière que les quatre premières lignes se rapportoient au Nil et à l'Egypte, et les quatre dernières à l'Indus, fleuve limitrophe de la Perse. (1) M. Huet a si bien réfuté cette émendation (2) qu'à moins d'avoir perdu l'esprit on ne sauroit l'admettre: aussi quoique M. de Segrais fût très bel-esprit (3) il n'avoit ni la pénétration ni l'érudition nécessaire pour faire un bon critique. (4)

L'opinion qui trouve des Perses sur les bords du Nil est celle du Père Catrou. Il la propose avec sa confiance ordinaire, et il faut convenir que son système est joli. Il fait venir un passage de Salluste pour nous apprendre que les Perses passèrent en Afrique après la mort de leur général Hercule, qu'ils y prirent le nom de Nomades ou Numides, et qu'ils s'étendirent dans la plus grande partie de l'Afrique intérieure. " Voici donc un grand empire établi en Afrique par les Persans qui bordent l'Egypte,

(1) V. Recueil de Dissertations de Philologie, &c. publ. par l'Abbé Tilladet; les Dissert. de M. de Segrais et de M. Huet. sont au vol. ii. p. 22—68.
(2) Ibid. p. 54.
(3) Siècle de Louis XIV. tom. iii. p. 312.
(4) Huetii Comment. p. 264.

l'Egypte, et qui la serrent du côté occidental, mais sur tout la Haute Egypte." (1) Il essaye ensuite de répondre à quelques objections qu'on pouvoit lui faire, mais il n'a point prévenu les miennes. Il faut convenir avec lui que, quoique Salluste ne nous donne cette tradition que d'un air peu assuré, *(fides ejus rei penes auctoris erit,)* (2) il nous la donne pourtant, et ce qui étoit bon pour l'historien l'étoit sûrement pour le poëte; comme on ne peut lui disputer que Virgile ne se soit plu à désigner les colonies du nom des pays dont elle venoient: mais je dis, I^ment. que la tradition en question (quand même elle conviendroit au sens de Virgile) n'étoit pas de nature à pouvoir en être employée, et II^ment. qu'elle n'y convient pas.

(1) Virgile de Catrou, tom. ii. p. 481.

(2) Sallust. in Bell. Jugurth. c. 17.

I^ment. Il y a de certains traits d'histoire ancienne, vrais ou faux, qui vont bien dans un poëme; ils délassent le lecteur et ils donnent bonne idée du savoir du poëte, mais dès qu'on les y fait entrer (surtout quand ce n'est qu'en allusion) on les suppose déjà connus de tout le monde, et ils doivent l'être en effet. Mais cette colonie des Persans ne peut point avoir place dans cette classe. Salluste, qui le premier l'avoit tiré des livres Puniques du roi Hiempsal, avoue, que c'étoit *ab eâ famâ quæ plerosque obtinet diversum.* En effet un Hercule, général des Mèdes, des Perses, et des Arméniens, mort en Espagne, est si totalement opposé aux notions communes, qu'il faudroit qu'un lecteur fût averti d'avance de ce qu'on vouloit lui dire, pour pouvoir y comprendre quelque chose. Il eut

eut pu donner lieu à une épisode, à une description, mais pour une allusion aussi courte, autant sans préparation, non seulement Virgile, mais même le pédant Properce l'auroit sûrement exclu. Les traits les plus fabuleux, mais dans la bouche de tout le monde, les Gorgones, les Jardins des Hespérides, avec tous leurs prodiges, pouvoient être reçus plutôt que cette tradition, vraie peut-être, mais heurtant de front toutes les idées du vulgaire. De plus elle étoit nouvelle, autre circonstance fâcheuse. Virgile doit avoir écrit les lignes en question au plus tard d'abord après la mort de Cornelius Gallus, (1) l'an de Rome 726. (2) Salluste avoit écrit la Guerre Jugurthine dans sa retraite, (3) environ l'an 711 ou 712. Or Salluste étoit le premier qui fit connoître à ses compatriotes l'opinion des Numides sur leur propre origine, en traduisant les morceaux de la langue Punique qui en traitoient. Quinze ans, qui s'étoient écoulés depuis la publication de cet ouvrage, bien loin de l'avoir mis entre les mains de tout le monde, ne devoient (vu la rareté des livres et les troubles des tems) l'avoir fait connoître qu'à un petit nombre de curieux, de gens particulièrement adonnés à l'étude des antiquités de leur patrie. Peut-être que Virgile ne l'avoit pas encore vu, mais à coup sûr de mille de ses lecteurs (et un poëte n'écrit pas seulement pour les savans) à peine s'en trouvoit un qui l'eut eu entre les mains. Virgile seroit-il allé rechercher dans un tel écrivain, des idées aussi singulières que leur auteur étoit nouveau? Et où les est-il allé chercher? Dans le Latium peut-être ou tout au

(1) Serv. ad Eclog. x. v. 1.
(2) Sueton, in Aug. c. 66. Crevier. Histoire des Empereurs, tom. i. p. 72.
(3) Sallust. in Jug. c. 4. (V. p. 400.)

plus dans l'enceinte de l'Italie. Un certain nombre de personnes connoît toujours bien l'histoire de sa patrie. Point du tout: à toutes les autres circonstances propres à embarrasser ses lecteurs, il auroit joint l'éloignement des lieux, il seroit allé en Perse pour en faire venir une colonie en Afrique afin de pouvoir dire qu'ils habitoient près des bords du Nil. Les exemples que le Père Catrou apporte comme semblables à celui-ci ne le sont point. Il n'y a jamais eu qu'une voix sur le pays d'où sortoient les Toscans, ni sur les ancêtres de ceux de Cumes. Depuis qu'Hérodote avoit parlé de la première migration (1) il a été suivi par une foule d'autres, (2) et Varron, (3) aussi bien que Caton, (4) avoient si bien éclairci la fondation des principales villes de l'Italie qu'il n'y restoit que peu ou point de difficultés. Aussi Velleius Paterculus du même siècle que Virgile (5) n'a point hésité d'affirmer la même chose que lui sur la fondation de Cumes. (6)

(1) Herodot. l. i. c. 72. p. 45. Edit. H. Steph.
(2) Justin, ou plutôt Trogus Pompeius, l. xx. c. 1. Virgile lui-même Æneid. viii. v. 479, &c.
(3) V. Cicero. in Quæst. Academ. l. i. c. 3.
(4) Corn. Nepos. in Caton. c. 8. Serv. ad Æneid. vii. v. 678. Vell. Paterc. l. i. c. 7.
(5) Vell. Paterc. Hist. l. ii. c. 36. Dodwell. Annal. Velleiani. s. 8.
(6) Vell. Patercul. l. i. c. 4.

II. Mais en second lieu je dis que cette tradition, vraie ou fabuleuse, ancienne ou moderne, connue ou obscure, ne convient nullement au sens de Virgile. Suivant le P. Catrou lui-même il falloit que le peuple en question touchât les bords du Nil; or a suivre la narration de Salluste nous trouverons que les Numides Persans n'étoient point dans ce cas, et que leur pays étoit très éloigné du Nil et de l'Egypte. Il est difficile de fixer au juste les bornes des divers peuples de l'Afrique, c'est parcequ'ils n'en avoient point de bien déterminées, et qu'ils changeoient (comme nous le dit Virgile lui-même)

leurs

(1) leurs habitations lorsqu'ils ne trouvoient plus de pâturage là où ils étoient. Cependant comme toute l'Afrique étoit peuplée, leurs erreurs ne pouvoient pas s'étendre bien loin, et on a cru pouvoir leur assigner de certaines limites qu'ils ne passoient guères. De cette manière on a donné la rivière Tusca pour borne orientale de la Numidie. (2) Cette rivière, située plus à l'occident que Carthage, étoit éloignée de plus de la moitié de la largeur de l'Afrique du Nil, avec lequel ces peuples n'avoient aucun commerce, de sorte que j'aimerois autant parler du voisinage du Portugal et de la Pologne que de celui de ces deux nations. Si l'on me répondoit que telles à la vérité pouvoient être les bornes de la Numidie du tems de Salluste et de Pline, mais que dans les anciens tems, dont il s'agit ici, elles s'étendoient bien plus loin, ma réplique seroit facile; je lui dirois qu'il fonde son objection sur un fait qu'il suppose mais dont il n'apporte point de preuve; que Salluste n'insinue nulle part rien de pareil; qu'au contraire il dit expressément que tous les peuples vaincus reçurent le nom des Numides leurs vainqueurs. Je sais bien qu'après Juba, la Numidie se rétrécit, et qu'une bonne partie de ce royaume prit le nom de Mauritanie; (3) mais cela arriva dans un tems bien postérieur non seulement à l'établissement des Perses en Afrique mais même au tems de Salluste: à la vérité le Père Catrou, pour accabler ses adversaires, nous cite un passage de Salluste, "*Africæ interior pars pleraque ab Numidis possessa est*," d'où il conclut que leur empire (puisqu'il renfermoit la plus grande partie de l'Afrique

(1) Omnia secum armentarius Afer agit, tectumque Laremque. Virgil. Georg. l. iii. v. 343.

(2) Plin. Hist. Nat. l. v. c. 3. Cellar. Notit. Orb. Antiq. tom. ii. pars 2. p. 111.

(3) Cellar. Notit. Orb. Antiq. tom. ii. pars 2. p. 125.

rique intérieure) alloit jusqu'au Nil et la Haute Egypte. Mais je lui nie son principe et sa conséquence. Dans deux éditions assez bonnes (1) que j'ai de Salluste, au lieu d'*interior* on a *inferior*, ce qui fait un sens bien différent, sans qu'il soit fait mention de différente leçon. *Interior*, par rapport à l'Afrique, ne sauroit signifier que la partie située fort avant dans les terres. Mais, sans nous arrêter au sentiment de Soldus qui y donne un sens, dont on ne pourroit trouver d'exemple, Glareanus (2) en offre deux pour le mot *inferior*. Il peut signifier la partie de l'Afrique la plus près de la mer et de l'embouchure des rivières, ou bien la partie occidentale de cette région. Sans m'arrêter à examiner ces différentes explications, puisqu'elles me sont également favorables, je ne dirai qu'un mot sur la hardiesse du Père Catrou, qui ose ainsi falsifier un auteur entre les mains de tout le monde pour le plier à ses systèmes. Etoit-ce excès d'inattention? Etoit-ce manque de bonne foi? Je n'ai garde de décider: mais le caractère de confrère du Père Hardouin est bien loin de fournir un préjugé en sa faveur. Je lui nie aussi sa conséquence. Admettons son *interior*, donnons-lui toute l'étendue possible, n'y mettons d'autres bornes que la longitude de Catabaltomus, borne de l'Afrique même suivant Salluste, (3) il restera toujours une immense étendue de pays avant que d'arriver en Egypte, les Garamantes, les Blemmyes, et les déserts de la Lybie. Sans compter que l'*urget* de Virgile indique ce qui est, non ce qui étoit, un poëte de nos jours diroit-il que la Toscane toucha à la

(1) L'une de Thysius, Lugd. Bat. 1649, cum notis variorum, l'autre de Philippe, Paris, 1744.

(2) In edit. Thysii ad c. 18. Bell. Jugurth.

(3) Sallustii Bell. Jugurth. c. 17. Cellar. ubi supra, p. 66.

la Sicile parceque les Toscans d'autrefois possédoient toute l'Italie jusqu'au détroit de Messine?(1)

Les Persans de l'autre côté du Nil ne sont pas plus réels. Sénèque nous parle bien d'une nation vers les cataractes qui avoit été placée là par les Persans, mais il ne nous dit point qu'elle étoit Persanne elle-même. Au contraire, à en juger par les coutumes de la nation des Perses, c'étoit une de ces nations sujettes à son empire, mais différente d'elle-même, qu'elle transportoit hors de son pays par diverses raisons de politique, comme elle avoit fait à l'égard des Branchides,(2) des Egyptiens,(3) des Hyrcaniens,(4) des Eretriens,(5) des Barcæens,(6) &c. Il n'est pas même naturel de croire que les Persans s'éloignassent volontiers de leurs pays; eux qui y jouissoient de si grands privilèges(7) et qui méprisoient ou estimoient les autres peuples à proportion qu'ils étoient éloignés ou voisins de la Perse.(8)

En voici assez, et peut-être trop, sur le système du Jésuite. Il nous reste à examiner celui de M. Huet, nom cher aux savans, et qui conservera à jamais sa place dans les fastes de la littérature à côté de ceux de ses amis les Sirmonds, les Petaus, et les Bochards. Il a fait une dissertation sur cette question, mais je crains qu'elle ne soit de ces productions qui peuvent nuire à une réputation naissante, sans pouvoir ajouter à une réputation établie. Il y verse l'érudition à pleines mains, mais ce n'est pas ce que j'y trouve à rédire. Son sujet la comportoit, il la demandoit même. Mais j'y aurois voulu plus de choix dans ses citations, plus de net-

(1) T. Liv. l. i. c. 2.

(2) Q. Curt. Hist. de Reb. Alex. l. vii. c. 5.

(3) Xenophon. Cyropæd. l. vi. p. 106. Edit. Hen. Steph.

(4) V. La Dissert. de M. Freret. tom. iv. des Mém. de l'Acad. des Belles Lettres, p. 588.

(5) Crevier. Hist. des Empereurs, tom. vii. p. 234.

(6) Herodot. l. iv. p. 129.

(7) V. passim. Xenophon. Cyropæd. sed præcipue, l. i.

(8) Herodot. l. i. p. 64.

teté dans ses idées, plus de méthode dans son plan; j'y cherchois l'esprit philosophique qui rassemble, je n'y ai trouvé que l'esprit compilateur qui ramasse.

Le fonds de son système revient à ceci. Les anciens, petits géographes, croyoient que la mer Indienne et Persanne n'étoit qu'un grand lac derrière lequel étoit une grande étendue de terre qui joignoit l'Inde à l'Æthiopie, pays que les anciens confondoient souvent; que le Nil, dont la source étoit en Asie, traversoit ces terres par un grand détour pour arriver en Æthiopie; et qu'ainsi, comme il traversoit l'Inde et que l'Inde touche à la Perse, on pouvoit l'appeller voisin de la Perse. Quarante à cinquante citations viennent prouver tout ceci. Il me seroit ennuyeux de les éplucher toutes les unes après les autres quand même j'aurois tous les auteurs allégués. Trois remarques générales que je ferai en retrancheront la plus grande partie; quatre ou cinq qui vont plus au fait que les autres me resteront, lesquelles j'examinerai à part.

I^ment. Une bonne partie des autorités de M. Huet tombent d'elles-mêmes comme trop vagues ou trop obscures. Je ne fais point de difficulté d'avouer que je n'entends point Vibius Sequester, quand il dit que le Gange est la seule rivière qui coule vers le levant avec le midi, non plus que Solin (malgré l'explication de M. Huet) lorsqu'il veut que le Nil et l'Euphrate soient situés " *ad modum ejusdem perpendiculi;*" ni Héliodore, qui prétend que le Nil a sa source là où le climat de l'orient finit et celui du midi commence. Lorsque l'Egyptien Nonnus me dit

dit que la mer Arabique retentit des coups des combats de Bacchus je le regarde comme la ridicule amplification d'un poëte oriental, et je ne pense pas à l'appliquer à la géographie. Quand l'agréable Ovide rassemble à la cour de Cepheus tant de différentes nations, je n'y fais pas attention, puisqu'outre que les poëtes, aussi bien que les romanciers, ont coutume de faire trouver à la cour de leurs rois les gens des pays les plus éloignés, il n'est pas plus favorable (à l'examiner à la rigueur) à M. Huet qu'à moi. Il n'est pas plus naturel de trouver des Nabothæans et des habitans de la Palestine à la cour du roi des Indes, qu'il ne l'est de faire venir des Bactriens et des Indiens en Æthiopie. Je fais le même jugement des passages d'Æschyle et de Stace. L'Æthiopie étoit en effet orientale pour des Grecs et des Romains qui ne faisoient attention qu'aux points cardinaux.

II^ment. Il y en a beaucoup qui rapprochent à la vérité l'Inde et l'Æthiopie; mais quand on considère la chose de plus près on voit que ce n'est uniquement qu'une méprise et une confusion de nom. On connoissoit bien l'Æthiopie mais on l'appelloit l'Inde; l'on ne se méprenoit point sur la situation de l'Inde mais on lui donnoit le nom d'Æthiopie. Ainsi on pouvoit dire que le Nil avoit sa source dans l'Inde, non dans l'Inde Asiatique mais dans l'Africaine, et l'on pouvoit assurer qu'un tel faisoit un voyage aux Indes lorsqu'en effet il n'alloit qu'en Æthiopie. Parmi d'autres causes voici la principale raison de cette réciprocité de nom. Les Æthiopiens (déjà nommés ainsi) habitoient sur les

bords de l'Indus, d'où ils allèrent dans le pays au dessus de l'Ægypte conservant leur ancien nom, en même tems qu'ils donnèrent celui d'Inde à leur nouvelle patrie.(1) Une telle explication débrouille bien la difficulté, mais fait tomber les armes à M. Huet. Une erreur de nom ne lui suffisoit point, il lui en falloit un de fait qui établît l'existence de son continent imaginaire, qui s'étendoit depuis le pays des Garamantes jusqu'à celui des Seres, et auquel les anciens donnoient indifféremment le nom d'Inde et celui d'Æthiopie. M. Huet sent combien cette différence lui est essentielle, puisqu'après avoir avoué tout ce que je viens de dire(2) sur les Æthiopiens dans le Levant et les Indiens dans le midi il se contredit quelques pages après, (3) et s'échauffe beaucoup contre les critiques qui veulent que l'Æthiopie se soit appellée autrefois l'Inde. Après cette explication on voit à quoi servent ses citations d'Hérodote, d'Agalarchide, d'Hygin, de Sénèque, de St. Chrysostome, de Nonnus, de Théophylacte, d'Euménius, de Sidonius Apollinaris, et de Procope.

(1) V. La Dissert. de M. Freret. Mémoires de l'Académ. des Belles Lettres, tom. vi. p. 588. Marsham. Canon Chronic. p. 335. Scriptoresque, ibi citatos. Euseb. p. 402. Strab. l. ii. p. 103. Philostrat. l. iii. c. 6.

(2) Recueil de Dissertations, tom. ii. p. 40.

(3) Idem, p. 48.

III^ment. Dans quelques autres autorités, plus pressantes peut-être, M. Huet n'observe point une précaution très nécessaire à prendre. Il cite indifféremment tous ceux qui paroissent contenir quelque chose de favorable à sa cause, sans faire attention au tems où ils ont vécu, comme si c'étoit rendre vraisemblable l'erreur de Virgile en déterrant quelque chose de pareil dans un écrivain qui a vécu six cens ans avant ou après lui. Les connoissances géographiques encore plus qu'aucunes autres

autres sont dans un flux et reflux continuel. Les voyages, les conquêtes, le commerce, les étendent: les transmigrations, le partage des états, la barbarie, les rétrécissent. Les occidentaux ont eu là-dessus leur aurore, leur midi, et leur couchant. Du tems des premiers Grecs on se bornoit à la Grèce et à l'Asie mineure. L'occident n'étoit pas connu,(1) l'orient ne l'étoit que par des fables. Les voyages de leurs sages et les conquêtes de leurs héros leur ouvrirent celui-ci. Ils connurent et devinrent esclaves des Romains presqu'en même tems. Pendant quelques siècles ces deux peuples connoissoient la terre beaucoup moins que nous, mais beaucoup plus que leurs ancêtres. Pendant cette période les Strabons et les Plines écrivirent; c'étoit le grand jour des connoissances. Les Arabes vinrent, subjuguèrent tout, et obscurcirent tout. L'orient se referma aux occidentaux et la nuit fut longue. M. Huet, voulant expliquer les opinions et les connoissances du siècle d'Auguste, (et Virgile étoit plutôt au-dessus qu'au-dessous de son siècle,) n'auroit dû citer que des auteurs de la seconde période. Il me dispensera donc d'examiner les témoignages de Pindare, d'Æschyle, de Cedrenus, de Benjamin de Tudèle, d'Aben Ezra, de Vincent, de Beauvais, de Marc Paule, et de Cocceius Sabellicus.

(1) Joseph. l. i. contr. Appion. p. 1038.

Exécutons à présent notre promesse et examinons un peu plus particulièrement quelques autorités qui méritent d'être tirées de la foule.

I^ment. Polybe nous dit, à ce que M. Huet assure, que l'Asie et l'Afrique se touchoient par l'Æthiopie, d'où

d'où il conclut pour l'existence de son continent derrière la mer Indienne. Mais quoique ce passage paroisse plausible au premier abord il se réduit presqu'à rien. 1. Polybe ne nous le dit point de la manière que M. Huet suppose. Il ne le donne point comme sa propre opinion, ni comme celle des gens de lettres de son tems; il raconte seulement, à propos de l'ignorance de ses contemporains sur la géographie, qu'on ignoroit presque tout ce qui étoit au septentrion de Narbonne, et qu'on ne savoit pas bien si l'Asie et l'Afrique étoient contigues, ou si elles étoient séparées par la mer, tout comme Varron a traité de fabuleux toute l'histoire Grecque avant les Olympiades,(1) sans que ni l'un ni l'autre ayent voulu traiter de faux tout ce qu'on rapportoit et qui étoit antérieur à leurs époques ou au-delà de leurs bornes. 2. Polybe, quand même il diroit tout ce qu'on lui fait dire, n'affirme rien du tout de l'origine du Nil, article non moins essentiel que la jonction des deux continens. 3. Depuis le tems de Polybe à celui de Virgile on avoit acquis de nouvelles lumières sur cette matière. Eudoxe, fuyant Ptolémée Lathyrus, avoit fait le tour de l'Afrique.(2) Des Indiens avoient été jettés par les tempêtes sur les côtes d'Allemagne.(3) Le Roi des Suèves les donna au proconsul Metellus Celer.(4) Strabon, à la vérité,(5) révoque en doute le voyage d'Eudoxus, mais lorsque Virgile écrivit il passoit pour sûrement vrai, et Strabon lui-même, quoiqu'il rejette cette preuve, regardoit bien l'Afrique comme une péninsule.(6)

(1) Censorin. de Die Natali. c. 21.
(2) Plin. Hist. Natur. l. ii. c. 67. Cornel. Nepot. Fragm. p. 731.
(3) Plin. ubi supra. Cornel. Nepot. p. 732.
(4) Si l'on veut savoir qui étoit ce Metellus, V. Life of Cicero by Middleton, tom. i. p. 234. Cicero. Orat. pro Cælio. c. 24. et Epist. ad Fam. l. v. Ep. 2. Cicéron étoit ami de Metellus aussi bien que de Nepos. V. Seuton. in Julio, c. 55. Voss. de Histor. Latin. l. i. c. 24.
(5) Strab. l. ii. p. 67.
(6) Idem, l. xv. p. 567.

II^mert. Alexandre

II^ment. Alexandre s'imagina, sur quelques ressemblances qu'il trouva de l'Inde au Nil, que c'étoit une seule et même rivière. J'en conviens, et j'avoue même que, comme " *regis ad exemplum totus componitur orbis*," ce pouvoit bien être l'opinion favorite de la cour pendant quelque tems; mais par la même raison comme il découvrit son erreur bientôt après,(1) elle devoit avoir perdu tout son crédit, d'autant plus que l'intervalle n'étoit pas assez grand pour qu'elle eût pu prendre racine dans les esprits. Après une telle expérience on devoit même être devenu plus réservé à admettre les relations et les conjectures qui joignoient les deux continens, et qui trouvoient le Nil dans quelque rivière des Indes.

(1) Arrian. Expedit. Alexand. l. vi. p. 236.

III^ment. Josephe (dit-on) place la source du Nil, qu'il appelle Geon, à l'orient. Cela est vrai dans un certain sens. Mais en même tems il est facile de voir qu'il parloit de ce qu'étoit ce fleuve du tems qu'il arrosoit le Paradis terrestre, et non de ce qu'il étoit de son tems, étant apparemment dans l'idée de ceux qui croyent que la chute d'Adam et ensuite le déluge avoient apporté un grand changement à la terre primitive. Je ne demande d'autres preuves de ce que j'avance que les paroles mêmes de Josephe. Il dit que le jardin d'Eden étoit arrosé par un fleuve qui environnoit toute la terre, et qui se partageoit dans quatre branches, le Ganges, l'Euphrate, le Tigris, et le Nil. " Αρδεται δε ȣτος ο κηπος υπο ενος ποταμȣ πασαν εν κυκλῳ την γην περιρρεοντος, ος εις τεθαρα μερη χιζεται.(2) Il faut être soi-même de la plus crasse ignorance pour ignorer que

(2) Joseph. Antiq. Jud. l. i. c. 2.

que tout ceci n'est point vrai de l'état présent des choses, et imaginer que Josephe l'a été pour supposer qu'il l'ait cru tel.

IV^ment. La fable de Memnon, fils de Tithone et d'Aurore, est toute fondée sur la supposition que l'Æthiopie étoit en orient. Voilà (je m'imagine) pourquoi. Il étoit supposé fils de l'Aurore, c'est à dire qu'il étoit né en orient ; (1) mais d'un autre côté on le supposoit Æthiopien ou au moins Haut Ægyptien ; on trouvoit de ses monumens dans la Thébaïde, (2) comment arranger tout cela sans le système de M. Huet ? très facilement. Il y avoit ici deux traditions différentes qu'il ne faut point songer à concilier ensemble, d'autant plus que, suivant toutes les apparences, il étoit question de deux hommes très différens. (3) Il y avoit un roi Ægyptien nommé Memnon, ou plutôt Amenophis, autrement dit Ismandas ou Osymandas. (4) Les savans se sont donné bien des peines pour fixer l'époque de son règne. (5) Il y avoit encore le fils de Tithone, son père alla en Perse fort à l'orient de Troye. Le roi d'Assyrie lui donna le gouvernement de Suse, et lors du siège de Troye il envoya Memnon avec une armée au secours de son parent Priam. (6) Il y vint, mais fut tué d'abord par Achille. (7)

(1) Virgil. Æneid. i. v. 755. et alios.
(2) Strab. l. xvii. p.
(3) On peut voir cette matière assez développée dans la mythologie de l'Abbé Banier, tom. iii. p. 496.
(4) Strab. l. xvii. p. 561. Tacit. Annal. ii. c. 61.
(5) Marsham. Canon Chronicus. p. 424, &c. Perizonzius, Reineccius, &c.
(6) Diod. Sicul. l. i. p. 106. Traduct. Rhodoman.
(7) La Mythologie de l'Abbé Banier. tom. iii. p. 500.

V^ment. Je viens à présent à la preuve qu'on tire de quelques lignes de Lucain et que j'avoue être très plausible. Le poëte y fait connoître la source du Nil ; voici ce qu'il en dit:

——————— Tua flumina prodam
Quà Deus undarum regnator, Nile, tuarum

Te

Te mihi nosse dedit; mundi nam surgit ab axe,
Ausus in ardentem ripas attollere Cancrum:
In Borean is rectus aquis, mediumque Booten,
Cursus in occasum flexu torquetur et ortum.
Nunc Arabum populis, Lybicis nunc æquus arenis,
Teque vident primi, quærunt tamen hi quoque Seres
Æthiopumque feris alieno gurgite campos. (1)

(1) Lucan. Pharsal. l. x. v. 285.

Il paroît que le poëte dit expressément que le Nil commence au-delà du pays des Seres. Or tout le monde sait que les Seres étoient les Chinois septentrionaux. (2). La conséquence est facile à tirer. Il faut avouer de bonne foi que Lucain a fait ici une bévue; à la vérité je crois que M. Huet se trompe sur le genre de la bévue, quoique ce soit de ce genre que dépend la force ou la foiblesse de son argument. Je crois que Lucain se trompe non sur la source du Nil, mais sur la situation des Seres, (ce qui ne me fait rien,) qu'il place ceux-ci en Afrique et non celle-là en Asie. Ma thèse est aisée à prouver par le reste de ce même passage. 1. Le Nil (suivant Lucain) s'élève sous le tropique de Cancer. La seule inspection de la carte peut faire voir que cela est très vrai de l'Æthiopie, mais qu'il ne sauroit point l'être d'une région au-delà du pays des Seres. 2. Lucain dit que, quoiqu'il se courbe quelquefois un peu à droite et à gauche, cependant sa course est toujours constamment au Nord, *In Borean is rectus aquis.* Je ne suis point obligé de rendre raison de cette méprise de Lucain dès qu'elle n'affecte plus mon sentiment; cependant je crois qu'il ne seroit pas difficile si non de le justifier au moins de l'excuser. On pourroit

(2) Cellar. Notit. Orb. Antiq. tom. ii. 543.

dire

dire que comme les anciens appelloient les Seres *primi hominum*, (1) Lucain vouloit seulement faire connoître par là que le Nil venoit des extrémités du monde sans avoir en vue la situation particulière des Seres Asiatiques. Ou bien on pourroit conjecturer, non sans vraisemblance, que comme les Indiens donnèrent leur nom à l'Æthiopie pour se rappeller toujours le souvenir de leur pays, de même ils s'étoient fait un Hydaspe et des Seres. Cette pratique, fondée sur la nature, étoit fort commune aux anciens. (2)

(1) Plin. Hist. Natur. L. vi. c. 17.

(2) Virgil. Æneid. iii. v. 349.

Je crois avoir assez fait voir que ce vaste amas d'érudition que M. Huet nous présente ne n'éclaircit point la question. Mais j'aurois pu m'épargner cette peine ; j'avois une voie plus courte, c'étoit de prouver que le système du savant Prélat, quand même il seroit vrai, ne lève point les difficultés. Accordons-lui pour un moment que le Nil coule dans les Indes, par où y passe-t-il? ce n'est sûrement pas en deça de l'Indus, puisque les anciens depuis Alexandre connoissoient toute la mer jusqu'à l'embouchure de ce fleuve. Par la même raison ce ne pouvoit pas être non plus en-deça du Ganges. Il faut que les anciens ayent cru que la jonction des deux continens se faisoit à la Chine ou aux extrémités des Indes. Mais depuis les frontières de la Perse jusqu'à cette contrée il y a encore plus loin que depuis cette même Perse jusqu'à l'Egypte: et cette distance devient encore bien plus grande si, avec M. Huet, vous entendez par la Perse, la Persis proprement dite. (3) Valoit-

(3) Recueil de Dissert. tom. ii. p. 61.

loit-il la peine de faire faire tant de courses au Nil pour le laisser en plus piteux état qu'auparavant?

Mais n'y a-t-il donc aucun moyen d'expliquer ce passage? ou faut-il se condamner pour jamais à l'ignorance? J'en ai un, que je proposerai, non avec la présomption du Père Catrou, mais avec la timidité d'un critique qui sait quels obstacles les ténèbres de l'antiquité, le défaut des monumens, et surtout sa propre insuffisance, ne peuvent qu'apporter dans la recherche de la vérité.

Le mot *urget* signifie bien *presse, avoisine*, mais il veut dire aussi *incommode*, comme les significations figurées *urgeri fame* et tant d'autres montrent suffisamment. Je pose aussi en fait que le *quàque* indique une région distinguée de celle où étoit située *Canope* mais comprise dans l'Egypte, dont le P. Catrou a bien fait voir qu'il est uniquement question dans ce passage. (1) Si donc on peut trouver une contrée de l'Egypte qui étoit particulièrement sujette aux incursions des Perses nous pouvons espérer d'avoir saisi le sens de Virgile.

(1) Virgile de Catrou. tom. ii. p. 489.

La partie orientale de l'Egypte, le long de la branche Bubastique du Nil, où étoit situé Pelusium, la clef du pays, étoit toujours la plus exposée aux incursions de tous les peuples qui étoient puissans en orient. Comme les déserts de l'Arabie n'étoient proprement à personne, vu le genre de vie peu stable de leurs habitans, ils étoient un excellent canal pour toutes les nations guerrières de harceler l'Egypte. Les Assyriens, les Syriens, les Juifs,

Juifs, les Iduméens, les Chaldéens, les Perses en profitèrent tour à tour. Les rois pasteurs, dès qu'ils étoient maîtres de l'Egypte, sentirent cet inconvénient de sa situation, et laissant des garnisons dans les lieux convenables, ils firent fortifier surtout la partie orientale, prévoyant qu'il prendroit en envie aux Assyriens de l'attaquer de ce côté-là : (1) "Φρουραν εν τοις επι τηδειατατοις καταλειπων τοποις, μαλιστα δε καιτα προς την Ανατολην ησφαλισατο, προορωμενος αθυριων ποτε μειζον ισχυοντων εσομενην επιθυμιαν της αυτης βασιλειας Εφοδον." Quelques siècles après Sesostris fit tirer un canal et bâtir un mur pour défendre l'Egypte des Arabes et des Syriens. (2) En un mot cette partie a toujours été tellement envisagée comme l'endroit foible que c'étoit la désigner suffisamment de dire, Quàque pharetratæ vicinia Persidis urget. Restent seulement à prouver deux choses : Que les écrivains du siècle d'Auguste appelloient les Parthes, alors maîtres de l'orient, du nom de Perses, et que ces mêmes Perses faisoient quelquefois des incursions jusqu'au Nil et en Ægypte.

(1) Joseph. contra Apion. l. i. p. 1039.

(2) Diod. Sicul l. i. p. 51.

I. Le premier point saute aux yeux à quiconque a quelque lecture des auteurs de ce beau siècle. Tous les passages d'Horace, (3) où il parle des Perses comme d'un ennemi formidable à l'empire qu'il les compte avec les Bretons, &c. ne peuvent s'entendre que des Parthes, dont l'empire avoit pris la place de celui des Perses éteint depuis Alexandre. Les véritables Persans du tems d'Auguste, bien loin d'être conquérans, étoient esclaves. Rétrécis

(3) Horat. Od. l. i. Od. 2. l. i. Od. v. 22. v. 15. l. iv. Od. 15. v. 23.

trécis dans leurs anciennes limites ils avoient bien conservé une espèce de roi, mais ce roi n'étoit au fonds qu'un satrape tributaire et sujet du grand roi des Parthes. (1) Cette méprise étoit facile à faire; les mœurs, le gouvernement, la religion des deux peuples avoient beaucoup de rapport, et un empereur Romain, qui avoit eu des avantages sur les vainqueurs de Crassus, étoit charmé, qu'on les appellât Perses, pour pouvoir lui-même être comparé à Alexandre que plusieurs empereurs admiroient et copioient particulièrement. (2) Ce n'est donc faire aucune violence aux paroles de Virgile, de les entendre des Parthes. L'épithète *phare-tratæ* nous y conduit naturellement. Personne n'ignore l'habileté des Parthes à se servir de l'arc.

(1) Strab. l. xv. p. 501.

(2) Les Césars de Julien, traduits par M. de Spanheim. p. 126. Rem. 404. Sueton. in Jul. c. 7. Idem, in August. c. 18.

II. Mais faisoient-ils quelquefois des incursions jusqu'en Egypte? Souvent après la mort de Crassus, vingt-cinq ans avant Virgile, ils passèrent l'Euphrate, ravagèrent toute la Syrie, (3) mirent le siège devant Antioche, et n'épargnèrent pas vraisemblablement les frontières de l'Egypte qui étoient sans défence, et qui se remettoit à peine de ses guerres civiles. (4) Une douzaine d'années après, le roi Orodes envoya son fils Pacore * en deça de l'Euphrate avec une grande armée, lui ordonnant de porter la guerre en Syrie et jusqu'aux portes d'Alexandrie. (5) Pacore exécuta ses ordres, conquit la Syrie, et ne

(3) V. le xv. Livres des Epîtres de Cicéron ad Familiares, Justin. l. xlii. c.

(4) V. Prideaux à l'an 55.

(5) Appian in Bell. Parth. p. 156. Justin. ubi supra.

* Jam bis Monæses, et Pacori manus
Non auspicatos contudit impetus
Nostros, et adjecisse prædam
Torquibus exiguis renidet.
HORAT. *Od.* l. iii. Od. 6. c. 9.

s'en tint pas là, car après avoir ravagé la Palestine, (1) " Emanabat latius malum, "dit Florus. (2) L'Egypte devoit assez se ressentir de ces maux pour que la désignation du poëte ne renfermât point d'obscurité.

(1) Joseph. Antiq. Jud. l. xiv. c. 24. p. 494.
(2) Flor. l. iv. c. 9.

Voici mon idée sur ce passage, peut-être est-elle aussi défectueuse qu'aucune de celles que j'ai examinés. Mais dans ces sortes de recherches ce n'est qu'en tout tentant, qu'on parvient à quelque chose d'un peu assuré.

CRITI-

CRITICAL OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

DESIGN

OF THE

SIXTH BOOK OF THE ÆNEID.

THE allegorical interpretation which the Bishop of Gloucester has given of the sixth book of the Æneid, seems to have been very favourably received by the public. Many writers, both at home and abroad, have mentioned it with approbation, or at least with esteem; and I have more than once heard it alleged, in the conversation of scholars, as an ingenious improvement on the plain and obvious sense of Virgil. As such, it is not undeserving of the notice of a candid critic; nor can the inquiry be void of entertainment, whilst Virgil is our constant theme. Whatever may be the fortune of the chace, we are sure it will lead us through pleasant prospects and a fine country.

That I may escape the imputation as well as the danger of misrepresenting his lordship's hypothesis, I shall expose it in his own words. "The purpose of this discourse is to shew that Æneas's adventure to the INFERNAL SHADES, is no other than a figurative description of his INITIATION

INTO THE MYSTERIES; and particularly a very exact one of the SPECTACLES of the ELEUSINIAN."* This general notion is supported with singular ingenuity, dressed up with an easy yet pompous display of learning, and delivered in a style much fitter for the Hierophant of Eleusis, than for a modern critic, who is observing a remote object through the medium of a glimmering and doubtful light:

Ibant obscuri, solâ sub nocte, per umbram.

His lordship naturally enough pursues two different methods, which unite, as he apprehends, in the same conclusion. From general principles peculiar to himself, he infers the propriety and even necessity of such a description of the mysteries; and from a comparison of particular circumstances, he labours to prove that Virgil has actually introduced it into the Æneid. Each of these methods shall be considered separately.

As the learned Prelate's opinions branch themselves out into luxuriant systems, it is not easy to resume them in a few words. I shall, however, attempt to give a short idea of those general principles, which occupy, I know not how, so great a share of the *Divine Legation of Moses demonstrated.*

"The whole system of Paganism, of which the mysteries were an essential part, was instituted by

* See Warburton's Dissertation, &c. in the third volume of Mr. Warton's Virgil. I shall quote indifferently that Dissertation or the Divine Legation itself.

the

the ancient lawgivers for the support and benefit of society. The mysteries themselves were a school of morality and religion, in which the vanity of Polytheism,* and the unity of the First Cause, were revealed to the initiated. Virgil, who intended his immortal poem for a republic in action, as those of Plato and Tully were in precept, could not avoid displaying this first and noblest art of government. His perfect lawgiver must be initiated, as the ancient founders of states had been before him; and as Augustus himself was many ages afterwards."

What a crowd of natural reflections must occur to an unbiassed mind! Was the civil magistrate the mover of the whole machine; the sole contriver, or at least the sole support of religion? Were ancient laws ALWAYS designed for the benefit of the people, and NEVER for the private interest of the lawgiver? Could the first fathers of rude societies instruct their new-made subjects in philosophy as well as in agriculture? Did they all agree, in Britain as in Egypt, in Persia as in Greece, to found these secret schools on the same common principle; which subsisted nearly eighteen hundred years at Eleusis† in its primæval purity? Can these things be? Yes, replies the learned Prelate, they are: "Egypt was the mys-

* At least of the vulgar polytheism, by revealing that the *dii majorum gentium* had been mere mortals.

† From their institution, 1399 years before the Christian æra, (Marm. Arundel. Ep. 14.) till their suppression, towards the end of the fourth century.

terious mother of Religion and Policy; and the arts of Egypt were diffused with her colonies over the ancient world. Inachus carried the mysteries into Greece, Zoroaster into Persia,* &c. &c."—I retire from so wide a field, in which it would be easy for me to lose both myself and my adversary. The ANCIENT WORLD, EIGHTEEN CENTURIES, and FOUR HUNDRED AUTHORS GENUINE AND APOCRYPHAL,† would, under tolerable management, fur-

* Though I hate to be positive, yet I would almost venture to affirm, that Zoroaster's connection with Egypt is no where to be found, except in the *D. L.*

† 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 admired 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.*

nish

nish some volumes of controversy; and since I have perused the two thousand and fourteen pages of the unfinished *Legation*, I have less inclination than ever to spin out volumes of laborious trifles.

I shall, however, venture to point out a fact, not very agreeable to the favourite notion, that Paganism was entirely the religion of the magistrate. The oracles were not less ancient, nor less venerable than the mysteries. Every difficulty, religious or civil, was submitted to the decision of those infallible tribunals. During several ages no war could be undertaken, no colony founded, without the sanction of the Delphic oracle; the first and most celebrated among several hundred others.* Here then we might expect to perceive the directing hand of the magistrate. Yet when we study their history with attention, instead of the alliance between church and state, we can discover only the ancient alliance between the avarice of the priest and the credulity of the people.

For my own part, I am very apt to consider the mysteries in the same light as the oracles. An intimate connection subsisted between them:†

* 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.

† 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."

Both were preceded and accompanied with fasts, sacrifices, and lustrations; with mystic sights and preternatural sounds: But the most essential preparation for the ASPIRANT, was a general confession of his past life, which was exacted of him by the priest. In return for this implicit confidence, the Hierophant conferred on the initiated a sacred character; and promised them a peculiar place of happiness in the Elysian fields, whilst the souls of the profane (however virtuous they had been) were wallowing in the mire.* Nor did the priests of the mysteries neglect to recommend to the brethren a spirit of friendship, and the love of virtue; so pleasing even to the most corrupt minds, and so requisite to render any society respectable in its own eyes. Of all these religious societies, that of Eleusis was the most illustrious. From being peculiar to the inhabitants of Attica, it became at last common to the whole Pagan world. Indeed, I should suspect that it was much indebted to the genius of the Athenian writers, who bestowed fame and dignity on whatever had the least connection with their country; nor am I surprised that Cicero and Atticus, who were both initiated, should express themselves with enthusiasm, when they speak of the sacred rites of their beloved Athens.

But our curiosity is yet unsatisfied; we would press forwards into the sanctuary; and are eager to learn WHAT was the SECRET which was revealed

* See Diogen. Laert. vi. 39. and Menag. ad loc.

to

to the initiated, and to them alone. Many of the profane, possessed of leisure and ingenuity, have tried to guess, what has been so religiously concealed. The SECRET of each is curious and philosophical; for as soon as we attempt this inquiry, the honour of the mysteries becomes our own.* I too could frame an hypothesis, as plausible perhaps, and as uncertain as any of theirs, did I not feel myself checked by the apprehension of discovering what never existed.† I admire the discretion of the initiated; but the best security for discretion is, the vanity of concealing that we have nothing to reveal.

* 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 cérémonies; et tachoient 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; Mr. 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 de 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.*

† 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.

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The examples of great men, when they cannot serve as models, may serve as warnings to us. I should be very sorry to have discovered, that an ATHEISTICAL HISTORY* was used in the celebration of the mysteries, to prove the unity of the First Cause, and that an ANCIENT HYMN† was sung, for the edification of the devout Athenians, which was most probably a MODERN FORGERY of some Jewish or Christian Impostor. Had I delivered THESE TWO DISCOVERIES, with an air of confidence and triumph, I should be still more mortified.

After all, as I am not apt to give the name of Demonstration to what is mere conjecture, his lordship may take advantage of my scepticism, and still affirm, that his favourite mysteries were schools of theism, instituted by the lawgiver. Yet unless Æneas is the lawgiver of Virgil's republic, he has no more business with the mysteries of

* *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.

† *Orpheus's Hymn to Musæus*, quoted by Justin Martyr, and several other fathers, but rejected as spurious by Cudworth, (Intellectual System, p. 300,) 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 choose to confess, that their objections are unanswerable, will allow that they deserve to be answered.

Athens.

Athens, than with the laws of Sparta. We will, therefore, reflect a moment on the true nature and plan of the Æneid.

An epic fable must be important as well as interesting: great actions, great virtues, and great distresses, are the peculiar province of heroic poetry. This rule seems to have been dictated by nature and experience, and is very different from those chains in which genius has been bound by artificial criticism. The importance I speak of, is not indeed always dependant on the rank or names of the personages. Columbus, exploring a new world with three sloops and ninety sailors, is a hero worthy of the epic muse; yet our imagination would be much more strongly affected by the image of a virtuous prince saved from the ruins of his country, and conducting his faithful followers through unknown seas and through hostile lands. Such is the hero of the Æneid. But his peculiar situation suggested other beauties to the Poet, who had an opportunity of adorning his subject with whatever was most pleasing in Grecian fable, or most illustrious in Roman history. Æneas had fought under the walls of Ilium; and conducted to the banks of the Tiber a colony from which Rome claimed her origin.

The character of the hero is expressed by one of his friends in a few words; and though drawn by a friend, does not seem to be flattered:

> Rex erat Æneas nobis; quo justior alter
> Nec pietate fuit, nec bello major et armis.*

* Æneid, i. 548.

These

These three virtues, of JUSTICE, of PIETY, of VALOUR, are finely supported throughout the poem.*

1. I shall here mention one instance of the hero's justice, which has been less noticed than its singularity seems to deserve.

After Evander had entertained his guests, with a sublime simplicity, he lamented, that his age and want of power made him a very useless ally. However, he points out auxiliaries, and a cause worthy of a hero. The Etruscans, tired out with the repeated tyrannies of Mezentius, had driven that monarch from his throne, and reduced him to implore the protection of Turnus. Unsatisfied with freedom, the Etruscans called loudly for revenge; and in the poet's opinion, revenge was justice.

> Ergo omnis *furiis* surrexit Etruria *justis:*
> *Regem* ad *Supplicium* presenti Marte reposcunt.†

Æneas, with the approbation of gods and men, accepts the command of these brave rebels, and punishes the tyrant with the death he so well deserved. The conduct of Æneas and the Etruscans may, in point of justice, seem doubtful to

* 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*.

† Æneid, viii. 495.

many;

many; the sentiments of the poet cannot appear equivocal to any one. Milton himself, I mean the Milton of the commonwealth, could not have asserted with more energy the daring pretensions of the people, to punish as well as to resist a tyrant. Such opinions, published by a writer whom we are taught to consider as the creature of Augustus, have a right to surprise us; yet they are strongly expressive of the temper of the times; the republic was subverted, but the minds of the Romans were still republican.

2. Æneas's piety has been more generally confessed than admired. St. Evremond laughs at it as unsuitable to his own temper. The Bishop of Gloucester defends it, as agreeable to his own system of the lawgiver's religion. The French wit was too superficial, the English scholar too profound, to attend to the plain narration of the Poet, and the peculiar circumstances of ancient heroes. We believe from faith and reason: THEY believed from the report of their senses. Æneas had seen the Grecian divinities overturning the foundations of fated Troy. He was personally acquainted with his mother Venus, and with his persecutor Juno. Mercury, who commanded him to leave Carthage, was as present to his eyes as Dido, who strove to detain him. Such a knowledge of religion, founded on sense and experience, must insinuate itself into every instant of our lives, and determine every action. All this is, indeed, fiction; but it is fiction in which we choose to acquiesce, and which we justly consider as the charm of poetry. If we allow,

allow, that Æneas lived in an intimate commerce with superior beings, we must likewise allow his love or his fear, his confidence or his gratitude, towards those beings, to display themselves on every proper occasion. Far from thinking Æneas too pious, I am sometimes surprised at his want of faith. Forgetful of the Fates, which had so often and so clearly pointed out the destined shores of Latium, he deliberates whether he shall not sit down quietly in the fields of Sicily. An apparition of his father is necessary to divert him from this impious and ungenerous design.

3. A hero's valour will not bear the rude breath of suspicion; yet has the courage of Æneas suffered from an unguarded expression of the Poet:

> Extemplò Æneæ solvuntur frigore membra;
> Ingemit.*

On every other occasion the Trojan chief is daring without rashness, and prudent without timidity. In that dreadful night, when Troy was delivered up to her hostile gods, he performed every duty of a soldier, a patriot, and a son.

> —— Moriamur, et in media arma ruamus.
> Una salus victis, nullam sperare salutem.†

> Iliaci cineres, et flamma extrema meorum,
> Testor, in occasu vestro, nec tela, nec ullas
> Vitavisse vices Danaûm; et, si fata fuissent
> Ut caderem, meruisse manu.‡

To quote other proofs of the same nature would be to copy the six last books of the Æneid. I can-

* Æneid, i. 96. † Idem, ii. 353. ‡ Idem, ii. 431.

not,

not, however, forbear mentioning the calm and superior intrepidity of the hero, when, after the perfidy of the Rutuli, and his wound, he rushed again to the field, and restored victory by his presence alone.

> Ipse neque aversos dignatur sternere morti;
> Nec pede congressos æquo, nec tela ferentes
> Insequitur: solum densa in caligine Turnum
> Vestigat lustrans, solum in certamina poscit.*

At length, indignant that his victim has escaped, his contempt gives way to fury:

> Jam tandem invadit medios, et Marte secundo
> Terribilis, sævam nullo discrimine cædem
> Suscitat, irarumque omnes effundit habenas.†

The heroic character of Æneas has been understood and admired by every attentive reader. But to discover the LAWGIVER in Æneas, and A SYSTEM OF POLITICS in the Æneid, required the CRITICAL TELESCOPE‡ of the great W——n. The naked eye of common sense cannot reach so far. I revolve

* Æneid, xii. 464. † Idem. xii. 497.

‡ 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 colours 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 worlds of conjecture, and amuse themselves with phantoms in the clouds. *Rambler.*

in

in my memory the harmonious sense of Virgil: Virgil seems as ignorant as myself of his political character. I return to the less pleasing pages of the *Legation:* so far from condescending to proofs, the Author of the *Legation* is even sparing of conjectures.

"Many political instructions may be drawn from the Æneid." And from what book which treats of MAN, and the adventures of human life, may they not be drawn? His Lordship's chemistry (did his hypothesis require it) would extract a SYSTEM OF POLICY from the ARABIAN NIGHTS ENTERTAINMENTS.

"A system of policy delivered in the example of a great prince must show him in every public occurrence of life. Hence, Æneas was of necessity to be found voyaging with Ulysses, and fighting with Achilles."*

There is another public occurrence, at least as much in the character of a LAWGIVER, as either voyaging or fighting; I mean GIVING LAWS. Except in a single line,† Æneas never appears in that occupation. In Sicily, he compliments Acestes with the honour of giving laws to the colony, which he himself had founded:

> Interea Æneas urbem designat aratro,
> Sortiturque domos: hoc Ilium, et hæc loca Trojæ
> Esse jubet. Gaudet regno Trojanus Acestes,
> Indicitque forum, et patribus dat jura vocatis.‡

In the solemn treaty, which is to fix the fate of

* D. L. vol. i. p. 212. † Æneid, iii. 137. ‡ Idem, v. 755.

his

his posterity, he disclaims any design of innovating the laws of Latium. On the contrary, he only demands a hospitable seat for his gods and his Trojans; and professes to leave the whole authority to King Latinus:

> Non ego, nec Teucris Italos parere jubebo,
> Nec mihi regna peto: paribus se legibus ambæ
> Invictæ gentes æterna in fœdera mittant.
> Sacra deosque dabo: socer arma Latinus habeto,
> Imperium solemne socer: mihi mœnia Teucri
> Constituent, urbique dabit Lavinia nomen.*

"But, after all, is not the fable of the Æneid the establishment of an empire?" Yes, in one sense, I grant it is. Æneas had many external difficulties to struggle with. When the Latins were defeated, Turnus slain, and Juno appeased, these difficulties were removed. The hero's labour was over, the lawgiver's commenced from that moment; and, as if Virgil had a design against the bishop's system, at that very moment the Æneid ends. Virgil, who corrected with judgment and felt with enthusiasm, thought perhaps, that the sober arts of peace could never interest a reader, whose mind had been so long agitated with scenes of distress and slaughter. He might perhaps say, like the Sylla of Montesquieu, "J'aime à remporter des victoires, à fonder ou détruire des états, à faire des ligues, à punir un usurpateur; mais pour ces minces détails de gouvernement, où les génies médiocres ont tant d'avantages, cette lente

* Æneid, xii. 189.

exécution des loix, cette discipline d'une milice tranquille, mon ame ne sçauroit s'en occuper."*

Had Virgil designed to compose a POLITICAL INSTITUTE, the example of Fenelon, his elegant imitator, may give us some notion of the manner in which he would have proceeded. The preceptor of the Duke of Burgundy professedly designed to educate a prince for the happiness of the people. Every incident in his pleasing romance is subservient to that great end. The goddess of wisdom, in a human shape, conducts her pupil through a varied series of instructive adventure; and every adventure is a lesson or a warning for Telemachus. The pride of Sesostris, the tyranny of Pygmalion, the perfidy of Adrastus, and the imprudence of Idomeneus, are displayed in their true light. The innocence of the inhabitants of Bœtica, the commerce of Tyre, and the wise laws of Crete and Salentum, instructed the prince of the various means by which a people may be made happy. From the Telemachus of Fenelon, I could pass with pleasure to the Cyropœdia of Xenophon. But I should be led too far from my subject, were I to attempt to lay open the true nature and design of that philosophical history. We must return from Fenelon and Xenophon to the Bishop of Gloucester.

His Lordship props the legislative character of Æneas with an additional support: "Augustus, who was shadowed in the person of Æneas, was

* Oeuvres de Montesquieu, tom. iii. p. 555.

initiated

initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries.* *Ergo, &c.*" This doctrine of types and shadows, though true in general, has on this, as well as on graver occasions, produced a great abuse of reason, or at least of reasoning. To confine myself to Virgil, I shall only say, that he was too judicious to compliment the emperor at the expense of good sense and probability. Every age has its manners; and the poet must suit his hero to the age, and not the age to his hero. It is easy to give instances of this truth. Marc Antony, when defeated and besieged in Alexandria, challenged his competitor to decide their quarrel by a single combat. This was rejected by Augustus with contempt and derision, as the last effort of a desperate man;† and the world applauded the prudence of Augustus, who preferred the part of a general to that of a gladiator. The temper and good sense of Virgil must have made him view things in the same light; yet, when Virgil introduces Æneas in similar circumstances, he gives him a quite different conduct. The hero wishes to spare the innocent people, provokes Turnus to a single combat, and, even after the perfidy and last defeat of the Rutuli, is still ready to risk his person and victory, against the unhappy life and desperate fortunes of his rival. The laws of honour are different in different ages; and a behaviour which in Augustus was decent, would have covered Æneas with infamy.

* D. L. vol. i. p. 228.

† Plutarch, in Vit. M. Anton. tom. i. 950. edit. Wechel.

We may apply this observation to the very case of the Eleusinian mysteries. Augustus was initiated into them, at a time when Eleusis was become the COMMON TEMPLE OF THE UNIVERSE. The Trojan hero could not, with the smallest propriety, set him that example; as the Trojan hero lived in an age when those rites were confined to the natives of Greece, and even of Attica.*

I have now wandered through the scientific maze in which the Bishop of Gloucester has concealed his first and general argument. It appears (when resumed) to amount to this irrefragable demonstration, "THAT IF THE MYSTERIES WERE INSTITUTED BY LEGISLATORS, (which they probably were not,) ÆNEAS (who was no legislator) MUST OF COURSE BE INITIATED INTO THEM BY THE POET."

And here I shall mention a collateral reason assigned by his Lordship, which might engage Virgil to introduce a description of the mysteries: the PRACTICE OF OTHER POETS. This proof is so exceedingly brittle, that I fear to handle it; and shall report it faithfully in the words of our ingenious critic:†

"Had the old poem under the name of Orpheus been now extant, it would perhaps have shewn us, that no more was meant than Orpheus's initia-

* 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.

† D. L. vol. i. p. 233.

tion;

tion; and that the hint of this Sixth Book was taken from thence."

As nothing now remains of that old poem, except the title, it is not altogether so easy to guess what it would or would not have shewn us.

" But farther, it was customary for the poets of the Augustan age to exercise themselves on the subject of the mysteries, as appears from Cicero, who desires Atticus, then at Athens, and initiated, to send to Chilius, a poet of eminence, on account of the Eleusinian mysteries; in order, as it should seem, to insert them in some poem he was then writing."

The Eleusinian mysteries are not mentioned in the original passage. Cicero using the obscure brevity of familiar letters, desires that Atticus would send their friend Chilius, ΕΥΜΟΛΠΙΔΩΝ ΠΑΤΡΙΑ,* which may signify twenty different things, relative either to the worship of Ceres in particular, or to the Athenian institutions in general; but which can hardly be applied to the Eleusinian mysteries.†

* Chilius te rogat, et ego ejus rogatû, *ευμολπιδων πατρια. Cicero ad Attic*, i. 9.

† As the Bishop of Gloucester alleges 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 intelligentur 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."

"Thus it appears that both the ancient and modern poets afforded Virgil a pattern for thi famous episode."

How does this appear? From an old poem, of whose contents the critic is totally ignorant, and from an obscure passage, the meaning of which he has most probably mistaken.

Instead of conjecturing what Virgil might or ought to do, it would seem far more natural to examine what he has done. The Bishop of Gloucester attempts to prove, that the descent to hell is properly an initiation; since the Sixth Book of the Æneid really contains the secret doctrine as well as the ceremonies of the Eleusinian mysteries.

What was this SECRET DOCTRINE? As I profess my ignorance, we must consult the oracle. "The secret doctrine of the mysteries revealed to the initiated, that JUPITER . . . . AND THE WHOLE RABBLE OF LICENTIOUS DEITIES WERE ONLY DEAD MORTALS."* Is any thing like this laid open in the Sixth Book of Virgil? Not the remotest hint of it can be discovered throughout the whole book; and thus, to use his Lordship's own words, SOMETHING (I had almost written EVERY THING) is still wanting "to complete the IDENTIFICATION."†

Notwithstanding this disappointment, which is cautiously concealed from the reader, the learned Bishop still courses round the Elysian Fields in

* D. L. vol. i. p. 154. † Idem, p. 277.

quest

quest of a secret. Once he is so lucky as to find Æneas talking with the poet Musæus, whom tradition has reckoned among the founders of the Eleusinian mysteries. The critic listens to their conversation; but, alas! Æneas is only inquiring, in what part of the garden he may find his father's shade; to which Musæus returns a very polite answer. Anchises himself is our last hope. As that venerable shade explains to his son some mysterious doctrines, concerning the universal mind and the transmigration of souls, his Lordship is pleased to assure us, that these are THE HIDDEN DOCTRINES OF PERFECTION revealed only to the initiated. Let us for a moment lay aside hypothesis, and read Virgil.

It is observable, that the three great poets of Rome were all addicted to the Epicurean philosophy; a system, however, the least suited to a poet; since it banishes all the genial and active powers of nature, to substitute in their room a dreary void, blind atoms, and indolent gods. A description of the infernal shades was incompatible with the ideas of a philosopher whose disciples boasted, that he had rescued the captive world from the tyranny of religion, and the fear of a future state. These ideas Virgil was obliged to reject: but he does still more; he abandons not only the CHANCE of Epicurus, but even these gods, whom he so nobly employs in the rest of his poem, that he may offer to the reader's imagination a far more specious and splendid set of ideas:

Principio cœlum, ac terras, camposque liquentes,
Lucentemque globum lunæ, Titaniaque astra
Spiritus intus alit, totamque infusa per artus
Mens agitat molem, et magno se corpore miscet.*

The more we examine these lines, the more we shall feel the sublime poetry of them. But they have likewise an air of philosophy, and even of religion, which goes off on a nearer approach. The mind which is INFUSED† into the several parts of matter, and which MINGLES ITSELF with the mighty mass, scarcely retains any property of a spiritual substance; and bears too near an affinity to the principles, which the impious Spinoza revived rather than invented.

I am not insensible, that we should be slow to suspect, and still slower to condemn. The poverty of human language, and the obscurity of human ideas, make it difficult to speak worthily of THE GREAT FIRST CAUSE. Our most religious poets, in striving to express the presence and energy of the Deity, in every part of the universe, deviate unwarily into images, which are scarcely distinguished from materialism. Thus our Ethic Poet:

All are but parts of one stupendous whole,
Whose body Nature is, and God the soul;‡

and several passages of Thomson require a like favourable

* Æneid, vi. 724.

† Quomodo porro Deus iste si nihil esset nisi animus, aut infixus aut *infusus* esset in mundo. *Cicero de Naturâ Deor.* L. i. c. 11.

‡ Pope's Essay on Man, Epist. i. ver. 367.

vourable construction. But these writers deserve that favour, by the sublime manner in which they celebrate the great Father of the Universe, and by those effusions of love and gratitude, which are inconsistent with the materialist's system. Virgil has no such claim to our indulgence. THE MIND of the UNIVERSE is rather a metaphysical than a theological being. His intellectual qualities are faintly distinguished from the powers of matter, and his moral attributes, the source of all religious worship, form no part of Virgil's creed.

Yet is this creed approved* by our orthodox prelate, as free from any mixture of Spinozism. I congratulate his Lordship on his indulgent and moderate temper. His brethren (I mean those of former times) had much sharper eyes for spying out a latent heresy. Yet I cannot easily persuade myself, that Virgil's notions were ever the creed of a religious society, like that of the mysteries. Luckily, indeed, I have no occasion to persuade myself of it; unless I should prefer his Lordship's mere authority to the voice of antiquity, which assures me, that this system was either invented or imported into Greece by Pythagoras; from the writings of whose disciples Virgil might so very naturally borrow it.

Anchises then proceeds to inform his son, that the souls both of men and of animals were of celestial origin, and (as I understand him) parts of the universal mind; but that by their union with

* D. L. vol. i. p. 278.

earthly bodies they contracted such impurities as even death could not purge away. Many expiations, continues the venerable shade, are requisite, before the soul, restored to its original simplicity, is capable of a place in Elysium. The far greater part are obliged to revisit the upper world, in other characters and in other bodies; and thus, by gradual steps, to reascend towards their first perfection.

This moral transmigration was undoubtedly taught in the mysteries. As the Bishop asserts this from the best authority, we are surprised at a sort of diffidence, unusual to his Lordship, when he advances things from his own intuitive knowledge. In one place, this transmigration is part of the hidden doctrine of perfection;* in another, it is one of those principles which were promiscuously communicated to all.† The truth seems to be, that his Lordship was afraid to rank among the secrets of the mysteries, what was professed and believed by so many nations and philosophers. The pre-existence of the human soul is a very natural idea; and from that idea speculations and fables of its successive revolution through various bodies will arise. From Japan to Egypt, the transmigration has been part of the popular and religious creed.‡ Pythagoras § and Plato ‖ have endeavoured

* D. L. vol. i. p. 279. † Idem, p. 142.

‡ See our modern relations of Japan, China, India, &c. and for Egypt, Herodotus, L. ii.

§ Ovid. Metamorph. xv. 69, &c. 158, &c.

‖ Plato in Phædro and in Republic. L. x.

to

to demonstrate the truth of it, by facts, as well as by arguments.

Of all these visions (which should have been confined to the poets) none is more pleasing and sublime, than that which Virgil has invented. Æneas sees before him his posterity, the heroes of ancient Rome; a long series of airy forms

Demanding life, impatient for the skies,

and prepared to assume, with their new bodies, the little passions and transient glories of their destined lives.

Having * thus revealed the secret doctrine of the mysteries, the learned Prelate examines the ceremonies. With the assistance of Meursius,† he pours out a torrent of erudition to convince us, that the scenes through which Æneas passed in his descent to the shades, were the same as were represented to the aspirants in the celebration of the Eleusinian mysteries. From thence his Lordship draws his great conclusion, that the descent is no more than an emblem of the hero's initiation.

A staunch polemic will feed a dispute, by dwelling on every accessary circumstance, whilst a candid critic will confine himself to the more essential points of it. I shall, therefore, readily allow, what I believe may in general be true, that the mysteries exhibited a theatrical representation of all that

* I shall mention here, once for all, that I do not always confine myself to the ORDER of his Lordship's PROOFS.

† Meursii Eleusinia, sive de Cereris Eleusinæ sacro.

was

was believed or imagined of the lower world; that the aspirant was conducted through the mimic scenes of Erebus, Tartarus, and Elysium; and that a warm enthusiast in describing these awful spectacles, might express himself as if he had actually visited the infernal regions.* All this I can allow, and yet allow nothing to the Bishop of Gloucester's hypothesis. It is not surprising that the COPY was like the ORIGINAL; but it still remains undetermined, WHETHER VIRGIL INTENDED TO DESCRIBE THE ORIGINAL OR THE COPY.

Lear and Garrick, when on the stage, are the same; nor is it possible to distinguish the player from the monarch. In the green-room, or after the representation, we easily perceive, what the warmth of fancy and the justness of imitation had concealed from us. In the same manner it is from extrinsical circumstances, that we may expect the discovery of Virgil's allegory. Every one of those circumstances persuades me, that Virgil described a real, not a mimic world, and that the scene lay in the infernal shades, and not in the temple of Ceres.

The singularity of the Cumæan shores must be present to every traveller who has once seen them. To a superstitious mind, the thin crust, vast cavities, sulphureous steams, poisonous exhalations, and fiery torrents, may seem to trace out the narrow confines of the two worlds. The lake Avernus was the chief object of religious horror; the black

* See D. L. vol. i. particularly p. 280.

woods

woods which surrounded it, when Virgil first came to Naples, were perfectly suited to feed the superstition of the people.* It was generally believed, that this deadly flood was the entrance of hell;† and an oracle was once established on its banks, which pretended, by magic rites, to call up the departed spirits.‡ Æneas, who revolved a more daring enterprise, addresses himself to the priestess of those dark regions. Their conversation may perhaps inform us, whether an initiation, or a descent to the shades, was the object of this enterprise. She endeavours to deter the hero, by setting before him all the dangers of his rash undertaking:

——— Facilis descensus Averni:
Noctes atque dies patet atri janua Ditis;
Sed revocare gradum, superasque evadere ad auras,
Hoc opus, hic labor est.§

These particulars are absolutely irreconcileable with the idea of initiation, but perfectly agreeable to that of a real descent. That every step, and every instant, may lead us to the grave is a melancholy truth. The mysteries were only open at stated times, a few days at most in the course of the year. The mimic descent of the mysteries was laborious and dangerous, the return to light

* Strabo, L. v. p. 168.
† Silius Italicus, L. xii.
‡ Diod. Sicul. L. iv. p. 267. edit. Wesseling.
§ Æneid, vi. 126.

easy

easy and certain. In real death, this order is inverted:

> ——— Pauci, quos æquus amavit
> Jupiter, aut ardens evexit ad æthera virtus,
> Diis geniti, potuere.*

These heroes, as we learn from the speech of Æneas, were Hercules, Orpheus, Castor and Pollux, Theseus, and Pirithous. Of all these, antiquity believed, that before their death they had seen the habitations of the dead; nor, indeed, will any of the circumstances tally with a supposed initiation. The adventure of Eurydice, the alternate life of the brothers, and the forcible intrusion of Alcides, Theseus, and Pirithous, would mock the endeavours of the most subtle critic, who should try to melt them down into his favourite mysteries. The exploits of Hercules, who triumphed over the king of terrors,

> Tartareum ille manu custodem in vincla petivit,
> Ipsius à solio regis traxitque trementem;†

was a wild imagination of the Greeks.‡ But it was the duty of ancient poets to adopt and embellish these popular traditions; and it is the interest of every man of taste, to acquiesce in THEIR POETICAL FICTIONS.

After this, we may leave ingenious men to search out what, or whether any thing gave rise to those

* Æneid, vi. 129. † Idem, vi. 395.
‡ Homer, Odyss. L. xi. ver. 623. Apoll. Biblioth. L. ii. c. 5.

idle

idle stories. Diodorus Siculus represents Pluto as a kind of undertaker, who made great improvements in the useful art of funerals.* Some have sought for the poetic hell in the mines of Epirus,† and others in the mysteries of Egypt. As this last notion was published in French,‡ six years before it was invented in English,§ the learned author of the *D. L.* has been severely treated by some ungenerous adversaries.‖ Appearances, it must be confessed, wear a very suspicious aspect: but what are appearances, when weighed against his lordship's declaration, "That this is a point of honour in which he is particularly delicate; and that he may venture to boast, that he believes no author was ever more averse to take to himself what belonged to another."¶ Besides, he has enriched this mysterious discovery with many collateral arguments, which would for ever have

* Diodor. Sicul. L. v. p. 386. Edit. Wesseling.

† Leclerc Biblioth. Universelle, tom. vi. p. 55.

‡ By the Abbé Terasson, in his philosophical romance of Sethos, printed 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.

§ See D. L. vol. i. p. 228, &c. The first edition was printed in London, in the year 1738.

‖ Cowper's Life of Socrates, p. 102.

¶ Letter from a late professor of Oxford, &c. p. 133.

escaped

escaped all inferior critics. In the case of Hercules, for instance, he demonstrates, that the initiation and the descent to the shades were the same thing, because an ancient has affirmed that they were different;* and that Alcides was initiated at Eleusis, before he set out for Tænarus, in order to descend to the infernal regions.

There is, however, a single circumstance, in the narration of Virgil, which has justly surprised critics, unacquainted with any but the obvious sense of the poet; I mean the IVORY GATE. The Bishop of Gloucester seizes this, as the secret mark of allegory, and becomes eloquent in the exultation of triumph.† I could, however, represent to him, that in a work which was deprived of the author's last revision, Virgil might too hastily employ what Homer had invented, and at last unwarily slide into an Epicurean idea.‡ Let this be as it may, an obscure expression is a weak basis for an elaborate system; and whatever his lordship may choose to do, I had much rather reproach my favourite poet with want of care in one line, than with want of taste throughout a whole book.§

Virgil

* D. L. vol. iii. p. 277.

† Idem, vol. i. p. 229.

‡ Idem, vol. i. p. 283.

§ 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

Virgil has borrowed, as usual, from Homer his episode of the infernal shades, and, as usual, has infinitely improved what the Grecian had invented. If, among a profusion of beauties, I durst venture to point out the most striking beauties of the Sixth Book, I should perhaps observe, 1. That after accompanying the hero through the silent realms of night and chaos, we see with astonishment and pleasure a new creation bursting upon us; 2. That we examine, with a delight which springs from the love of virtue, the just empire of Minos; in which the apparent irregularities of the present system are corrected; and where the patriot who died for his country is happy, and the tyrant who oppressed it is miserable. 3. As we interest ourselves in the hero's fortunes, we share his feelings: the melancholy Palinurus, the wretched Deiphobus, the indignant Dido; the Grecian kings who tremble at his presence, and the venerable Anchises who embraces his pious son, and displays to his sight the future glories of his race; all these objects affect us with a variety of pleasing sensations.

Let us for a moment obey the mandate of our great critic, and consider these awful scenes as a mimic shew, exhibited in the temple of Ceres, by

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*.

the contrivance of the priest, or, if he pleases, of the legislator. Whatever was animated, (I appeal to every reader of taste,) whatever was terrible, or whatever was pathetic, evaporates into lifeless allegory:

——————— tenuem sine viribus umbram.

Dat inania verba,
Dat sine mente sonum, gressusque effingit euntis.

The end of philosophy is truth; the end of poetry is pleasure. I willingly adopt any interpretation which adds new beauties to the original; I assist in persuading myself, that it is just; and could almost shew the same indulgence to the critic's as to the poet's fiction. But should a grave doctor lay out fourscore pages in explaining away the sense and spirit of Virgil, I should have every inducement to believe, that Virgil's soul was very different from the doctor's.

I have almost exhausted my own, and probably my reader's patience, whilst I have obsequiously waited on his lordship, through the several stages of an intricate hypothesis. He must now permit me to allege two very simple reasons, which persuade me, that Virgil has not revealed the secret of the Eleusinian mysteries; the first is HIS IGNORANCE, and the second HIS DISCRETION.

1. As his lordship has not made the smallest attempt to prove that Virgil was himself initiated, it is plain that he supposed it, as a thing of course. Had he any right to suppose it? By no means: that ceremony might naturally enough finish the education

education of a young Athenian; but a barbarian, a Roman, would most probably pass through life without directing his devotion to the foreign rites of Eleusis.

The philosophical sentiments of Virgil were still more unlikely to inspire him with that kind of devotion. It is well known that he was a determined Epicurean;* and a very natural antipathy subsisted between the Epicureans and the managers of the mysteries. The celebration opened with a solemn excommunication of those atheistical philosophers, who were commanded to retire, and to leave that holy place for pious believers;† the zeal of the people was ready to enforce this admonition. I will not deny, that curiosity might sometimes tempt an Epicurean to pry into these secret rites; and that gratitude, fear, or other motives, might engage the Athenians to admit so irreligious an aspirant. Atticus was initiated at Eleusis; but Atticus was the friend and benefactor of Athens.‡ These extraordinary exceptions may be proved, but must not be supposed.

Nay, more; I am strongly inclined to think that Virgil was never out of Italy till the last year of his life. I am sensible, that it is not easy to prove a negative proposition, more especially when the materials of our knowledge are so very few and so

* See the Life of Virgil by Donatus, the Sixth Eclogue, and Second Georgic, v. 490.

† Lucian in Alexandro, p. 489.

‡ Cornel. Nepos, in Vit. Attici, c. 2, 3, 4.

very defective;* and yet by glancing our eye over the several periods of Virgil's life, we may perhaps attain a sort of probability, which ought to have some weight, since nothing can be thrown into the opposite scale.

Although Virgil's father was hardly of a lower rank than Horace's, yet the peculiar character of the latter afforded his son a much superior education: Virgil did not enjoy the same opportunities of observing mankind on the great theatre of Rome, or of pursuing philosophy, in her favourite shades of the academy.

> Adjecêre bonæ paulò plus artis Athenæ:
> Scilicet ut possem curvo dignoscere rectum,
> Atque inter sylvas academi quærere verum.†

The sphere of Virgil's education did not extend beyond Mantua, Cremona, Milan, and Naples.‡

After the accidents of civil war had introduced Virgil to the knowledge of the great, he passed a few years at Rome, in a state of dependance, the Juvenum Nobilium Cliens.§ It was during that

* 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.

† Horat. L. II. Ep. ii. ver. 43.

‡ Donat. in Virgil.

§ Horat. L. IV. Od. xii.

time

time that he composed his Eclogues, the hasty productions of a muse capable of far greater things.*

By the liberality of Augustus and his courtiers, Virgil soon became possessed of an affluent fortune.† He composed the Georgics and the Æneid in his elegant villas of Campania and Sicily; and seldom quitted those pleasing retreats even to come to Rome.‡

After he had finished the Æneid, he resolved on a journey into Greece and Asia, to employ three years in revising and perfecting that poem, and to devote the remainder of his life to the study of philosophy.§ He was at Athens, with Augustus, in the summer of A.U.C. 735; and whilst Augustus was at Athens, the Eleusinian mysteries were celebrated.‖ It is not impossible, that Virgil might then be initiated, as well as the Indian philosopher;¶ but the Æneid could receive no improvement from his newly acquired knowledge. He was taken ill at Megara. The journey increased

* Donat. in Virgil.

† Prope *Centies Sestertium*, about eighty thousand pounds.

‡ Donat. in Virgil.

§ Id. ibid.

‖ 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.U.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.

¶ Strabo, L. xv. p. 720.

his disorder, and he expired at Brundusium, the twenty-second of September of the same year 735.*

Should it then appear probable, that Virgil had no opportunity of learning the SECRET of the mysteries, it will be something more than probable that he has not revealed what he never knew.

His Lordship will perhaps tell me, that Virgil might be initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries without making a journey to Athens: since those mysteries had been brought to Rome long before.† Here indeed I should be apt to suspect some mistake, or, at least, a want of precision in his Lordship's ideas; as Salmasius‡ and Casaubon,§ men tolerably versed in antiquity, assure me, that indeed some Grecian ceremonies of Ceres had been practised at Rome from the earliest ages; but that the mysteries of Eleusis were never introduced into that capital, either by the emperor Hadrian, or by any other: and I am the more induced to believe, that these rites were not imported in Virgil's time, as the accurate Suetonius speaks of an unsuccessful attempt for that purpose, made by the emperor Claudius, above threescore years after Virgil's death.‖

II. None but the initiated COULD reveal the secret of the mysteries; and THE INITIATED COULD NOT REVEAL IT, WITHOUT VIOLATING THE LAWS,

* Donat. in Virgil. † D. L. vol. i. p. 118.
‡ Salmasius ad Sriptores Hist. August. p. 55.
§ Casaubon ad Scriptor. Hist. August. p. 25.
‖ Sueton. in Claud. c. 25.

AS

AS WELL OF HONOUR AS OF RELIGION. I sincerely acquit the Bishop of Gloucester of any design; yet so unfortunate is his system, that it represents a most virtuous and elegant poet, as equally devoid of taste, and of common honesty.

His Lordship acknowledges, that the initiated were bound to secrecy by the most solemn obligations;* that Virgil was conscious of the imputed impiety of his design; that at Athens he never durst have ventured on it; that even at Rome such a discovery was esteemed not only IMPIOUS but INFAMOUS: and yet his Lordship maintains, that after the compliment of a formal apology,

Sit mihi fas, audita loqui.†

Virgil lays open the whole SECRET of the mysteries under the thin veil of an allegory, which could deceive none but the most careless readers.‡

An apology! an allegory! Such artifices might perhaps have saved him from the sentence of the Areopagus, had some zealous or interested priest denounced him to that court, as guilty of publishing A BLASPHEMOUS POEM. But the laws of honour are more rigid, and yet more liberal than those of civil tribunals. Sense, not words, is considered; and guilt is aggravated, not protected, by artful evasions. Virgil would still have incurred the severe censure of a contemporary, who was himself a man of very little religion.

Vetabo, qui Cereris sacrum
Vulgârit arcanæ, sub iisdem

* D. L. vol. i. p. 147. † Idem, p. 240. ‡ Idem, p. 277.

Sit trabibus, fragilemque mecum
Solvat phaselum.*

Nor can I easily persuade myself, that the ingenuous mind of Virgil could have deserved this excommunication.

These lines belong to an ode of Horace, which has every merit except that of order. That death in our country's cause is pleasant and honourable; that virtue does not depend on the caprice of a popular election; and that the mysteries of Ceres ought not to be disclosed, are ideas which have no apparent connection. The beautiful disorder of lyric poetry, is the usual apology made by professed critics on these occasions:

Son style impétueux, souvent marche au hasard;
Chez elle, un beau désordre est un effet de l'art;†

An insufficient apology for the few, who dare judge from their own feelings. I shall not deny, that the irregular notes of an untutored muse have sometimes delighted me. We can very seldom be displeased with the unconstrained workings of nature. But the liberty of an outlaw is very different from that of a savage. It is a mighty disagreeable sight, to observe a lyric writer of taste and reflexion striving to forget the laws of composition, disjointing the order of his ideas, and working himself up into artificial madness:

Ut cum ratione insaniat.

I had once succeeded (as I thought) in removing this defect, by the help of an hypothesis which

* Horat. L. III. Od. ii. † Boileau, Art Poétique, L. ii. v. 72.

con-

connected the several parts of Horace's ode with each other. My ideas appeared (I mean to myself) most ingeniously conceived. I read the ode once more, and burnt my hypothesis. But to return to our principal subject.

The date of this ode may be of use to us; and the date may be fixed with tolerable certainty, from the mention of the PARTHIANS, who are described as the enemies against whom a brave youth should signalize his valour.

Parthos feroces
Vexet eques metuendus hastâ, &c.

Those who are used to the LABOURED HAPPINESS of all Horace's expressions* will readily allow, that if the Parthians are mentioned rather than the Britons or Cantabrians, the Gauls or the Dalmatians, it could be only at a time when the PARTHIAN WAR engaged the public attention. This reflection confines us between the years of Rome 729 and 735. Of these six years, that of 734 has a superior claim to the composition of the ode.

Julius Cæsar was prevented by death from revenging the defeat of Crassus.† This glorious task, unsuccessfully attempted by Marc Antony,‡

* *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 labour.

† Sueton: in Cæsar, c. 44.

‡ Plut. in Vit. Anton. Julian in Cæsar, p. 324. edit. Spanheim.

seemed

seemed to be reserved for the prudence and felicity of Augustus; who became sole master of the Roman world in the year 724; but it was not till the year 729, that, having changed the civil administration and pacified the Western provinces, he had leisure to turn his views towards the East. From that time, Horace, in compliance with the public wish, began to animate both prince and people to revenge the manes of Crassus.* The cautious policy of Augustus, still averse to war, was at length roused in the year 734, by some disturbances in Armenia. He passed over into Asia, and sent the young Tiberius with an army beyond the Euphrates. Every appearance promised a glorious war. But the Parthian monarch, Phrahates, alarmed at the approach of the Roman legions, and diffident of the fidelity of his subjects, diverted the storm, by a timely and humble submission:

——— Jus, imperiumque Phrahates
Cæsaris accepit genibus minor.†

Cæsar returned in triumph to Rome, with the Parthian hostages, and the Roman ensigns, which had been taken from Crassus.

These busy scenes, which engage the attention of contemporaries, are far less interesting to posterity, than the silent labours, or even amusements of a man of genius.

* Horat. L. I. Od. ii. L. III. Od. v. L. II. Serm. i. v. 15, &c.

† 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. v. c. v. Ovid. Fast. v. ver. 551. &c.

Cæsar

——— Cæsar dum magnus ad altum
Fulminat Euphraten bello, victorque volentes
Per populos dat jura, viamque adfectat Olympo.
Illo Virgilium me tempore dulcis alebat
Parthenope, studiis florentem ignobilis otî.

Whilst Cæsar humbled the Parthians, Virgil was composing the Æneid. It is well known, that this noble poem occupied the author, without being able to satisfy him, during the last twelve years of his life, from the year 723 to the year 735.* The public expectation was soon raised, and the modest Virgil was sometimes obliged to gratify the impatient curiosity of his friends. Soon after the death of young Marcellus,† he recited the second, fourth, and SIXTH books of the Æneid, in the presence of Augustus and Octavia.‡ He even sometimes read parts of his work to more numerous companies; with a desire of obtaining their judgment, rather than their applause. In this manner, Propertius seems to have heard the SHIELD OF ÆNEAS, and from that specimen he ventures to foretell the approaching birth of a poem which will surpass the Iliad.

Actia Virgilium custodis litora Phœbi,
Cæsaris et fortes dicere posse rates.
Qui nunc Æneæ Trojani suscitat arma,
Jactaque Lavinis mœnia litoribus.

* Donat. in Virgil.

† Marcellus died in the latter end of the year 731. *Usserii Annales*, p. 555.

‡ Donat. in Virgil.

Cedite

Cedite Romani scriptores, cedite Graii,
Nescio quid majus nascitur Iliade.*

As a friend and as a critic, Horace was entitled to all Virgil's confidence, and was probably acquainted with the whole progress of the Æneid, from the first rude sketch, which Virgil drew up in prose, to that harmonious poetry, which the author alone thought unworthy of posterity.

To resume my idea, which depended on this long deduction of circumstances; when Horace composed the second ode of his third book, the Æneid, and particularly the sixth book, were already known to the public. The detestation of the wretch who reveals the mysteries of Ceres, though expressed in general terms, must be applied by all Rome to the author of the sixth book of the Æneid. Can we seriously suppose, THAT HORACE WOULD HAVE BRANDED WITH SUCH WANTON INFAMY, ONE OF THE MEN IN THE WORLD WHOM HE LOVED AND HONOURED THE MOST?†

Nothing remains to say, except that Horace was himself ignorant of his friend's allegorical meaning, which the Bishop of Gloucester has since revealed to the world. It may be so; yet, for my own part, I should be very well satisfied with understanding Virgil no better than Horace did.

It is perhaps some such foolish fondness for antiquity which inclines me to doubt, whether the BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER has really united the se-

* Propert. L. ii. El. xxv. v. 66.

† Horat. L. i. Od. iii. L. i. Serm. v. ver. 39, &c.

vere

vere sense of ARISTOTLE with the sublime imagination of LONGINUS. Yet a judicious critic (who is now, I believe, ARCHDEACON OF GLOUCESTER) assures the public, that his patron's mere amusements have done much more than the joint labours of the two Grecians. I shall conclude these Observations with a remarkable passage from the Archdeacon's Dedication:* "It was not enough, in YOUR ENLARGED VIEW OF THINGS, to restore either of these models (ARISTOTLE or LONGINUS) to their original splendour. They were both to be revived; or rather A NEW ORIGINAL PLAN OF CRITICISM to be struck out, WHICH SHOULD UNITE THE VIRTUES OF EACH OF THEM. This experiment was made on the two greatest of our own poets, (Shakspeare and Pope,) and by reflecting all the LIGHTS OF THE IMAGINATION ON THE SEVEREST REASON, every thing was effected which the warmest admirer of ancient art could promise himself from such a union. BUT YOU WENT FARTHER: by joining to these powers A PERFECT INSIGHT INTO HUMAN NATURE; and so ennobling the exercise of literary, by the justest moral censure, YOU HAVE NOW AT LENGTH ADVANCED CRITICISM TO ITS FULL GLORY."

* See the Dedication of Horace's Epistle to Augustus, with an English commentary and notes.

POST-

POSTSCRIPT.

I was not ignorant, that several years since, the Rev. Dr. Jortin had favoured the Public with a Dissertation on the State of the Dead, as described by Homer and Virgil:* but the book is now grown so scarce, that I was not able to procure a sight of it till after these papers had been already sent to the press. I found Dr. Jortin's performance, as I expected, moderate, learned, and critical. Among a variety of ingenious observations, there are two or three which are very closely connected with my present subject.

I had passed over in silence one argument of the Bishop of Gloucester, or rather of Scarron and the Bishop of Gloucester; since the former found the remark, and the latter furnished the inference.

Discite justitiam moniti, et non temnere divos,

cries the unfortunate Phlegyas. In the midst of his torments, he preaches justice and piety, like Ixion in Pindar. A very useful piece of advice, says the French buffoon, for those who were already damned to all eternity:

Cette sentence est bonne et belle:
Mais en enfer, de quoi sert-elle?

From this judicious piece of criticism his lordship argues, that Phlegyas was preaching not to

* Six Dissertations on different Subjects, published in a volume in octavo, in the year 1755. It is the Sixth Dissertation, p. 207—324.

the

the dead, but to the living; and that Virgil is only describing the mimic Tartarus, which was exhibited at Eleusis for the instruction of the initiated.

I shall transcribe one or two of the reasons, which Dr. Jortin condescends to oppose to Scarron's criticism.

"To preach to the damned, says he, is labour in vain. And what if it is? It might be part of his punishment, to exhort himself and others, when exhortations were too late. This admonition as far as it relates to himself and his companions in misery, is to be looked upon not so much as an admonition to mend, but as a bitter sarcasm, and reproaching of past iniquities.

"It is labour in vain. But in the poetical system, it seems to have been the occupation of the damned to labour in vain, to catch at meat and drink that fled from them, &c.

"His instruction, like that of Ixion in Pindar, might be for the use of the living. You will say, *how can that be?* Surely nothing is more easy and intelligible. The Muses hear him—The Muses reveal it to the poet, and the inspired poet reveals it to mankind. And so much for Phlegyas and Monsieur Scarron."

It is prettily observed by Dr. Jortin, "That Virgil, after having shone out with full splendour through the sixth book, sets at last in a cloud." The IVORY GATE puzzles every commentator, and grieves every lover of Virgil: yet it affords no advantages to the Bishop of Gloucester. The objection presses as hard on the notion of an initiation,

tion, as on that of a real descent to the shades. "The troublesome conclusion still remains as it was; and from the manner in which the hero is dismissed after the ceremonies, we learn, that in those initiations, the machinery, and the whole show, was (in the Poet's opinion) a representation of things, which had no truth or reality.

Altera candenti perfecta nitens elephanto:
Sed FALSA ad cœlum mittunt INSOMNIA manes.

"Dreams in general may be called *vain* and *deceitful*, *somnia vana*, or *somnia falsa*, if you will, as they are opposed to the *real* objects which present themselves to us when we are awake. But when *false* dreams are opposed to *true* ones, there the epithet *falsa* has another meaning. True dreams represent what is real, and shew what is true; false dreams represent things which are not, or which are not true. Thus Homer and Virgil, and many other poets, and indeed the nature of the thing, distinguish them."

Dr. Jortin, though with reluctance, acquiesces in the common opinion, that by six unlucky lines, Virgil is destroying the beautiful system, which it has cost him eight hundred to raise. He explains too this preposterous conduct, by the usual expedient of the Poet's epicurism. I only differ from him in attributing to haste and indiscretion, what he considers as the result of design.

Another reason, both new and ingenious, is assigned by Dr. Jortin, for Virgil explaining away his hero's descent into an idle dream. "All communication with the dead, the infernal powers, &c.

&c. belonged to the art of magic, and magic was held in abomination by the Romans. Yet if it was held in ABOMINATION, it was supposed to be real. A writer would not have made his court to James the First, by representing the stories of witchcraft as the phantoms of an over-heated imagination.

Whilst I am writing, a sudden thought occurs to me, which, rude and imperfect as it is, I shall venture to throw out to the public. It is this. After Virgil, in imitation of Homer, had described the two gates of sleep, the horn, and the ivory, he again takes up the first in a different sense:

—— QUA VERIS FACILIS DATUR EXITUS UMBRIS.

The TRUE SHADES, VERÆ UMBRÆ, were those airy forms which were continually sent to animate new bodies, such light and almost immaterial natures as could without difficulty pass through a thin transparent substance. In this new sense, Æneas and the Sybil, who were still encumbered with a load of flesh, could not pretend to the prerogative of TRUE SHADES. In their passage over the Styx, they had almost sunk Charon's boat.

——— Gemuit sub pondere cymba
Sutilis, et multam accepit rimosa paludem.

Some other expedient was requisite for their return; and since the horn gate would not afford them an easy dismission, the other passage, which was adorned with polished ivory, was the only one that remained either for them, or for the poet.

By this explanation, we save Virgil's judgment and religion, though I must own, at the expense of an uncommon harshness and ambiguity of expression. Let it only be remembered, that those, who in desperate cases conjecture with modesty, have a right to be heard with indulgence.*

* It appears from the Memoirs that this work was sent to the press early in 1770.

A VIN-

A

VINDICATION

OF

SOME PASSAGES IN THE XVTH AND XVITH CHAPTERS

OF THE

HISTORY OF THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

PERHAPS it may be necessary to inform the public, that not long since an Examination of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Chapters of the History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire was published by Mr. Davis. He styles himself a Bachelor of Arts, and a Member of Baliol College in the university of Oxford. His title-page is a declaration of war; and in the prosecution of his religious crusade, he assumes a privilege of disregarding the ordinary laws which are respected in the most hostile transactions between civilized men or civilized nations. Some of the harshest epithets in the English language are repeatedly applied to the historian, a part of whose work Mr. Davis has chosen for the object of his criticism. To this author Mr. Davis imputes the crime of

 betraying

betraying the confidence and seducing the faith of those readers, who may heedlessly stray in the flowery paths of his diction, without perceiving the poisonous snake that lurks concealed in the grass—*Latet anguis in herbâ.* The Examiner has assumed the province of reminding them of " the unfair proceedings of such an insidious friend, who offers the deadly draught in a golden cup, that they may be less sensible of the danger.* In order to which Mr. Davis has selected several of the more notorious instances of his misrepresentations and errors; reducing them to their respective heads, and subjoining a long list of almost incredible inaccuracies: and such striking proofs of servile plagiarism, as the world will be surprised to meet with in an author who puts in so bold a claim to originality and extensive reading."† Mr. Davis prosecutes this attack through an octavo volume of not less than two hundred and eighty-four pages with the same implacable spirit; perpetually charges his adversary with perverting the ancients, and transcribing the moderns; and, inconsistently enough, imputes to him the opposite crimes of art and carelessness, of gross ignorance and of wilful falsehood. The Examiner closes his work‡ with a severe reproof of those feeble critics who have allowed any share of knowledge to an odious antagonist. He presumes to pity and to condemn the first historian of the present age, for

* Davis, Preface, p. ii. † Idem, Preface, p. iii.
‡ Idem, p. 282, 283.

the

the generous approbation which he had bestowed on a writer, who is content that Mr. Davis should be his enemy, whilst he has a right to name Dr. Robertson for his friend.

When I delivered to the world the First Volume of an important History, in which I had been obliged to connect the progress of Christianity with the civil state and revolutions of the Roman Empire, I could not be ignorant that the result of my inquiries might offend the interest of some and the opinions of others. If the whole work was favourably received by the public, I had the more reason to expect that this obnoxious part would provoke the zeal of those who consider themselves as the Watchmen of the Holy City. These expectations were not disappointed; and a fruitful crop of Answers, Apologies, Remarks, Examinations, &c. sprung up with all convenient speed. As soon as I saw the advertisement, I generally sent for them; for I have never affected, indeed I have never understood, the stoical apathy, the proud contempt of criticism, which some authors have publicly professed. Fame is the motive, it is the reward, of our labours; nor can I easily comprehend how it is possible that we should remain cold and indifferent with regard to the attempts which are made to deprive us of the most valuable object of our possessions, or at least of our hopes. Besides this strong and natural impulse of curiosity, I was prompted by the more laudable desire of applying to my own, and the public benefit, the well-grounded censures of a

learned adversary; and of correcting those faults which the indulgence of vanity and friendship had suffered to escape without observation. I read with attention several criticisms which were published against the two last chapters of my History, and unless I much deceived myself, I weighed them in my own mind without prejudice and without resentment. After I was clearly satisfied that their principal objections were founded on misrepresentation or mistake, I declined, with sincere and disinterested reluctance, the odious task of controversy, and almost formed a tacit resolution of committing my intentions, my writings, and my adversaries to the judgment of the public, of whose favourable disposition I had received the most flattering proofs.

The reasons which justified my silence were obvious and forcible: the respectable nature of the subject itself, which ought not to be rashly violated by the rude hand of controversy; the inevitable tendency of dispute, which soon degenerates into minute and personal altercation; the indifference of the public for the discussion of such questions as neither relate to the business nor the amusement of the present age. I calculated the possible loss of temper and the certain loss of time, and considered, that while I was laboriously engaged in a humiliating task, which could add nothing to my own reputation, or to the entertainment of my readers, I must interrupt the prosecution of a work which claimed my whole attention, and which the public, or at least my friends, seemed to require with

with some impatience at my hands. The judicious lines of Dr. Young sometimes offered themselves to my memory, and I felt the truth of his observation, That every author lives or dies by his own pen, and that the unerring sentence of Time assigns its proper rank to every composition and to every criticism, which it preserves from oblivion.

I should have consulted my own ease, and perhaps I should have acted in stricter conformity to the rules of prudence, if I had still persevered in patient silence. But Mr. Davis may, if he pleases, assume the merit of extorting from me the notice which I had refused to more honourable foes. I had declined the consideration of their *literary Objections;* but he has compelled me to give an answer to his *criminal Accusations.* Had he confined himself to the ordinary, and indeed obsolete charges of impious principles, and mischievous intentions, I should have acknowledged with readiness and pleasure that the religion of Mr. Davis appeared to be very different from mine. Had he contented himself with the use of that style which decency and politeness have banished from the more liberal part of mankind, I should have smiled, perhaps with some contempt, but without the least mixture of anger or resentment. Every animal employs the note, or cry, or howl, which is peculiar to its species; every man expresses himself in the dialect the most congenial to his temper and inclination, the most familiar to the company in which he has lived, and to the authors with whom he is conversant; and while I was disposed to allow that

Mr. Davis had made some proficiency in ecclesiastical studies, I should have considered the difference of our language and manners as an unsurmountable bar of separation between us. Mr. Davis has overleaped that bar, and forces me to contend with him on the very dirty ground which he has chosen for the scene of our combat. He has judged, I know not with how much propriety, that the support of a cause, which would disclaim such unworthy assistance, depended on the ruin of my moral and literary character. The different misrepresentations, of which he has drawn out the ignominious catalogue, would materially affect my credit as an historian, my reputation as a scholar and even my honour and veracity as a gentleman. If I am indeed incapable of understanding what I read, I can no longer claim a place among those writers who merit the esteem and confidence of the public. If I am capable of wilfully perverting what I understand, I no longer deserve to live in the society of those men, who consider a strict and inviolable adherence to truth as the foundation of every thing that is virtuous or honourable in human nature. At the same time, I am not insensible that his mode of attack has given a transient pleasure to my enemies, and a transient uneasiness to my friends. The size of his volume, the boldness of his assertions, the acrimony of his style, are contrived with tolerable skill to confound the ignorance and candour of his readers. There are few who will examine the truth or justice of his accusations; and of those persons who have been directed by their education to the study of ecclesiastical

astical antiquity, many will believe, or will affect to believe, that the success of their champion has been equal to his zeal, and that the *serpent* pierced with an hundred wounds lies expiring at his feet. Mr. Davis's book *will* cease to be read (perhaps the grammarians may already reproach me for the use of an improper tense); but the oblivion towards which it seems to be hastening, will afford the more ample scope for the artful practices of those, who may not scruple to affirm, or rather to insinuate, that Mr. Gibbon was publicly convicted of falsehood and misrepresentation; that the evidence produced against him was unanswerable; and that his silence was the effect and the proof of conscious guilt. Under the hands of a malicious surgeon, the sting of a wasp may continue to fester and inflame, long after the vexatious little insect has left its venom and its life in the wound.

The defence of my honour is undoubtedly the first and prevailing motive which urges me to repel with vigour an unjust and unprovoked attack; and to undertake a tedious vindication, which, after the perpetual repetition of the vainest and most disgusting of the pronouns, will only prove that *I* am innocent, and that Mr. Davis, in his charge, has very frequently subscribed his own condemnation. And yet I may presume to affirm, that the public have some interest in this controversy. They have some interest to know, whether the writer whom they have honoured with their favour is deserving of their confidence; whether they must content themselves with reading the History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire as a

tale

tale amusing enough, or whether they may venture to receive it as a fair and authentic history. The general persuasion of mankind, that where *much* has been positively asserted, *something* must be true, may contribute to encourage a secret suspicion, which would naturally diffuse itself over the whole body of the work. Some of those friends who may now tax me with imprudence for taking this public notice of Mr. Davis's book, have perhaps already condemned me for silently acquiescing under the weight of such serious, such direct, and such circumstantial imputations.

Mr. Davis, who in the last page of his work* appears to have recollected that modesty is an amiable and useful qualification, affirms, that his plan required only that he should consult the authors to whom he was directed by my references; and that the judgment of riper years was not so necessary to enable him to execute with success the pious labour to which he had devoted his pen. Perhaps, before we separate, a moment to which I most fervently aspire, Mr. Davis may find that a mature judgment is indispensably requisite for the successful execution of *any* work of literature, and more especially of criticism. Perhaps he will discover, that a young student, who hastily consults an unknown author, on a subject with which he is unacquainted, cannot always be guided by the most accurate reference to the knowledge of the sense, as well as to the sight of the passage which has been quoted by his adversary. Abundant

* Davis, p. 284.

proofs

proofs of these maxims will hereafter be suggested. For the present, I shall only remark, that it is my intention to pursue, in my defence, the order, or rather the course, which Mr. Davis has marked out in his Examination; and that I have numbered the several articles of my impeachment according to the most natural division of the subject. And now let me proceed on this hostile march over a dreary and barren desert, where thirst, hunger, and intolerable weariness, are much more to be dreaded than the arrows of the enemy.

I.

QUOTATIONS IN GENERAL.

"The remarkable mode of quotation which Mr. Gibbon adopts, must immediately strike every one who turns to his notes. He sometimes only mentions the author, perhaps the book; and often leaves the reader the toil of finding out, or rather guessing at the passage. The policy, however, is not without its design and use. By endeavouring to deprive us of the means of comparing him with the authorities he cites, he flattered himself, no doubt, that he might safely have recourse to *misrepresentation*."* Such is the style of Mr. Davis; who in another place† mentions this mode of quotation "as a good artifice to escape detection;" and applauds, with an agreeable irony, his own labours in turning over a few pages of the Theodosian code.

I shall not descend to animadvert on the rude and illiberal strain of this passage, and I will

* Davis, Preface, p. ii. † Id. p. 230.

frankly

frankly own that my indignation is lost in astonishment. The Fifteenth and Sixteenth Chapters of my History are illustrated by three hundred and eighty-three Notes; and the nakedness of a few Notes, which are not accompanied by any quotation, is amply compensated by a much greater number, which contain two, three, or perhaps four distinct references; so that upon the whole my stock of quotations, which support and justify my facts, cannot amount to less than eight hundred or a thousand. As I had often felt the inconvenience of the loose and general method of quoting which is so falsely imputed to me, I have carefully distinguished the *books*, the *chapters*, the *sections*, the *pages* of the authors to whom I referred, with a degree of accuracy and attention, which might claim some gratitude, as it has seldom been so regularly practised by any historical writers. And here I must confess some obligation to Mr. Davis, who, by staking my credit and his own on a circumstance so obvious and palpable, has given me this early opportunity of submitting the merits of our cause, or at least of our characters, to the judgment of the public. Hereafter, when I am summoned to defend myself against the imputation of misquoting the text, or misrepresenting the sense of a Greek or Latin author, it will not be in my power to communicate the knowledge of the languages, or the possession of the books, to those readers who may be destitute either of one or of the other; and the part which *they* are obliged to take between assertions equally strong and peremptory,

tory, may sometimes be attended with doubt and hesitation. But, in the present instance, every reader who will give himself the trouble of consulting the first volume of my History, is a competent judge of the question. I exhort, I solicit him to run his eye down the columns of Notes, and to count *how many* of the quotations are minute and particular, *how few* are vague and general. When he has satisfied himself by this easy computation, there *is* a word which may naturally suggest itself; an epithet, which I should be sorry either to deserve or use; the boldness of Mr. Davis's assertion, and the confidence of my appeal, will tempt, nay, perhaps, will force him to apply that epithet either to one or to the other of the adverse parties.

I have confessed that a critical eye may discover *some* loose and general references; but as they bear a very *inconsiderable* proportion to the whole mass, they cannot support, or even excuse, a false and ungenerous accusation, which must reflect dishonour either on the object or on the author of it. If the examples in which I have occasionally deviated from my ordinary practice were specified and examined, I am persuaded that they might always be fairly attributed to one of the following reasons. 1. In some *rare* instances, which I have never attempted to conceal, I have been obliged to adopt quotations, which were expressed with less accuracy than I could have wished. 2. I may have accidentally recollected the sense of a passage which I had formerly read, without being able to find the place, or even to transcribe from memory the precise words. 3. The whole tract (as in a remarkable

markable instance of the second apology of Justin Martyr) was so short, that a more particular description was not required. 4. The form of the composition supplied the want of a local reference; the preceding mention of the *year* fixed the passage of the annalist; and the reader was guided to the proper spot in the commentaries of Grotius, Valesius, or Godefroy, by the more accurate citation of their original author. 5. The idea which I was desirous of communicating to the reader, was sometimes the general result of the author or treatise that I had quoted; nor was it possible to confine, within the narrow limits of a particular reference, the sense or spirit which was mingled with the whole mass. These motives are either laudable, or at least innocent. In two of these exceptions, my ordinary mode of citation was superfluous; in the other three, it was impracticable.

In quoting a comparison which Tertullian had used to express the rapid increase of the Marcionites, I expressly declared that I was obliged to quote it from memory.* If I have been guilty of comparing them to *bees* instead of *wasps*, I can however most sincerely disclaim the sagacious suspicion of Mr. Davis,† who imagines that I was tempted to amend the simile of Tertullian, from an improper partiality for those odious heretics.

A rescript of Diocletian, which declared *the* old law (not *an* old law‡) had been alleged by me on

* Gibbon's History, p. 551. I shall usually refer to the third edition, unless there are any various readings.

† Davis, p. 144. ‡ Gibbon, p. 593.

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the respectable authority of Fra-Paolo. The Examiner, who thinks that he has turned over the pages of the Theodosian code, informs * his reader that it may be found, l. vi. tit. xxiv. leg. 8.; he will be surprised to learn that this rescript could not be *found* in a code where it does not exist, but that it may distinctly be read in the same number, the same title, and the same book of the CODE of JUSTINIAN. He who is severe should at least be just: yet I should probably have disdained this minute animadversion, unless it had served to display the general ignorance of the critic in the history of the Roman jurisprudence. If Mr. Davis had not been an absolute stranger, the most treacherous guide could not have persuaded him that a rescript of Diocletian was to be found in the Theodosian code, which was designed only to preserve the laws of Constantine and his successors. "Compendiosam (says Theodosius himself) Divalium Constitutionum scientiam, ex D. Constantini temporibus roboramus." (Novell. ad calcem Cod. Theod. L. i. tit. i. leg. 1.)

ERRORS OF THE PRESS.

II. Few objects are below the notice of Mr. Davis, and his criticism is never so formidable as when it is directed against the guilty corrector of the press, who on some occasions has shewn himself negligent of my fame and of his own. Some errors have arisen from the omission of letters; from the confusion of ciphers, which perhaps were not very distinctly marked in the original manuscript. The *two* of the Roman, and the *eleven* of

* Davis, p. 230.

the

the Arabic numerals, have been unfortunately mistaken for each other; the similar forms of a 2 and a 3, a 5 and a 6, a 3 and an 8, have improperly been transposed; A*n*tolycus for A*u*tolycus, Idolatria for Ido*lo*latria, Holste*r*ius for Holste*n*ius, had escaped my own observation, as well as the diligence of the person who was employed to revise the sheets of my History. These important errors, from the indulgence of a deluded public, have been multiplied in the numerous impressions of three different editions; and for the present I can only lament my own defects, while I deprecate the wrath of Mr. Davis, who seems ready to infer that I cannot either read or write. I sincerely admire his patient industry, which I despair of being able to imitate; but if a future edition should ever be required, I could wish to obtain on any reasonable terms, the services of so useful a corrector.

DIFFERENCE OF EDITIONS.

III. Mr. Davis had been directed by my references to several passages of Optatus Milevitanus,* and of the Bibliothèque Ecclésiastique of M. Dupin.† He eagerly consults those places, is unsuccessful, and is happy. Sometimes the place which I have quoted does not offer any of the circumstances which I had alleged, sometimes only a few; and sometimes the same passages exhibit a sense totally adverse and repugnant to mine. These shameful misrepresentations incline Mr. Davis to suspect that I have never consulted the original, (not even of a common French book!) and he as-

* Davis, p. 73. † Id. p. 132—136.

serts

serts his right to censure my presumption. These important charges form two distinct articles in the list of *misrepresentations*; but Mr. Davis has amused himself with adding to the slips of the pen or of the press, some complaints of his ill success, when he attempted to verify my quotations from Cyprian and from Shaw's Travels.*

The success of Mr. Davis would indeed have been somewhat extraordinary, unless he had consulted the same *editions*, as well as the same places. I shall content myself with mentioning the editions which I have used, and with assuring him, that if he renews his search, he will not, or rather that he will, be disappointed.

Mr. Gibbon's Editions.	Mr. Davis's Editions.
Optatus Milevitanus, by Dupin, fol. Paris, 1700.	Fol. Antwerp, 1702.
Dupin. Bibliothèque Ecclésiastique, 4to. Paris, 1690.	8vo. Paris, 1687.
Cypriani Opera, Edit. Fell. fol. Amsterdam, 1700.	Most probably Oxon, 1682.
Shaw's Travels, 4to. London, 1757.	The folio Edition.

IV. The nature of my subject had led me to mention, not the real origin of the Jews, but their first *appearance* to the eyes of other nations; and I cannot avoid transcribing the short passage in which I had introduced them. "The Jews, who under the Assyrian and Persian monarchies had languished for many ages the most despised por- JEWISH HISTORY, TACITUS.

* Davis, p. 151—155.

tion of their slaves, emerged from their obscurity under the successors of Alexander. And as they multiplied to a surprising degree in the east, and afterwards in the west, they soon excited the curiosity and wonder of other nations."* This simple abridgment seems in its turn to have excited the wonder of Mr. Davis, whose surprise almost renders him eloquent. "What a strange assemblage," says he, "is here? It is like Milton's chaos, without bound, without dimension, where time and place are lost. In short, what does this display afford us, but a deal of boyish colouring to the prejudice of much good history?"† If I rightly understand Mr. Davis's language, he censures, as a piece of confused declamation, the passage which he has produced from my History; and if I collect the angry criticisms which he has scattered over twenty pages of controversy,‡ I think I can discover that there is hardly a period, or even a word, in this unfortunate passage, which has obtained the approbation of the Examiner.

As nothing can escape his vigilance, he censures me for including the twelve tribes of Israel under the common appellation of JEWS,§ and for extending the name of ASSYRIANS to the subjects of the kings of Babylon;‖ and again censures me, because some facts which are affirmed or insinuated in my text, do not agree with the strict and proper limits which he has assigned to those national

* Gibbon, p. 537.
† Davis, p. 5.
‡ Davis, p. 2—23.
§ Id. p. 3.
‖ Id. p. 2.

deno-

denominations. The name of *Jews* has indeed been established by the sceptre of the tribe of *Judah*, and, in the times which precede the captivity, it is used in the more general sense with some sort of impropriety; but surely I am not peculiarly charged with a fault which has been consecrated with the consent of twenty centuries, the practice of the best writers, ancient as well as modern, (see Josephus and Prideaux, even in the titles of their respective works,) and by the usage of modern languages, of the Latin, the Greek, and if I may credit Reland, of the Hebrew itself (see Palestin, L. i. c. 6). With regard to the other word, that of Assyrians, most assuredly I will not lose myself in the labyrinth of the Asiatic monarchies before the age of Cyrus; nor indeed is any more required for my justification, than to prove that Babylon was considered as the capital and royal seat of Assyria. If Mr. Davis were a man of learning, I might be morose enough to censure his ignorance of ancient geography, and to overwhelm him under a load of quotations, which might be collected and transcribed with very little trouble: but as I *must* suppose that he has received a classical education, I might have expected him to have read the first book of Herodotus, where that historian describes, in the clearest and most elegant terms, the situation and greatness of Babylon: Της δε Ασσυριης τα μεν κου και αλλα πολισματα μεγαλα πολλα, το δε ονομαστοτατον και ισχυροτατον και ενθα σφι, Νινου αναστατου γενομενης, τα βασιληια κατεστηκες, ην Βαβυλων. (Clio. c. 178.) I may be surprised that he should

be so little conversant with the Cyropædia of Xenophon, in the whole course of which the king of Babylon, the adversary of the Medes and Persians, is repeatedly mentioned by the style and title of THE ASSYRIAN, Ὁ δὲ Ασσυριος, ὁ Βαβυλωνα τε εχων και την αλλην Ασσυριαν. (L. ii. p. 102, 103, edit. Hutchinson.) But there remains something more: and Mr. Davis must apply the same reproaches of *inaccuracy, if not ignorance,* to the prophet Isaiah, who, in the name of Jehovah, announcing the downfall of Babylon and the deliverance of Israel, declares with an oath, "And as I have purposed the thing shall stand: to crush the ASSYRIAN in my land, and to trample him on my mountains. Then shall his yoke depart from off them; and his burthen shall be removed from off their shoulders." (Isaiah, xiv. 24, 25. Lowth's new translation. See likewise the Bishop's note, p. 98.). Our old translation expresses, with less elegance, the same meaning; but I mention with pleasure the labours of a respectable prelate, who in this, as well as in a former work, has very happily united the most critical judgment, with the taste and spirit of poetry.

The jealousy which Mr. Davis affects for the honour of the Jewish people will not suffer him to allow that they were *slaves* to the conquerors of the East: and while he acknowledges that they were tributary and dependant, he seems desirous of introducing, or even inventing, some milder expression of the state of vassalage and *subservience;** from whence Tacitus assumed the words

* Davis, p. 6.

of

of *despectissima pars servientium.* Has Mr. Davis never heard of the distinction of civil and political slavery? Is he ignorant that even the natural and victorious subjects of an Asiatic despot have been deservedly marked with the opprobrious epithet of slaves by every writer acquainted with the name and advantage of freedom? Does he not know that, under such a government, the yoke is imposed with double weight on the necks of the vanquished, as the rigour of tyranny is aggravated by the abuse of conquest? From the first invasion of Judæa by the arms of the Assyrians, to the subversion of the Persian monarchy by Alexander, there elapsed a period of above four hundred years, which included about twelve ages or generations of the human race. As long as the Jews asserted their independence, they repeatedly suffered every calamity which the rage and insolence of a victorious enemy could inflict: the throne of David was overturned, the temple and city were reduced to ashes, and the whole land, a circumstance perhaps unparalleled in history, remained threescore and ten years without inhabitants, and without cultivation. (2 Chronicles, xxxvi. 21.) According to an institution which has long prevailed in Asia, and particularly in the Turkish government, the most beautiful and ingenious youths were carefully educated in the palace, where superior merit sometimes introduced these fortunate *slaves* to the favour of the conqueror, and to the honours of the state. (See the book and example of Daniel.) The rest of the unhappy Jews experienced the hard

ships of captivity and exile in distant lands; and while individuals were oppressed, the nation seemed to be dissolved or annihilated. The gracious edict of Cyrus was offered to all those who worshipped the God of Israel in the temple of Jerusalem; but it was accepted by no more than forty-two thousand persons of either sex and of every age, and of these about thirty thousand derived their origin from the tribes of Judah, of Benjamin, and of Levi. (See Ezra, i. Nehemiah, vii. and Prideaux's Connections, vol. i. p. 107, fol. edit. London, 1718.) The inconsiderable band of exiles, who returned to inhabit the land of their fathers, cannot be computed as the hundred and fiftieth part of the mighty people that had been numbered by the impious rashness of David. After a survey, which did not comprehend the tribes of Levi and Benjamin, the monarch was assured that he reigned over *one million five hundred and seventy thousand men* that drew sword, (1 Chronicles, xxi. 1—6), and the country of Judæa must have contained near seven millions of free inhabitants. The progress of restoration is always less rapid than that of destruction; Jerusalem, which had been ruined in a few months, was rebuilt by the slow and interrupted labours of a whole century; and the Jews, who gradually multiplied in their native seats, enjoyed a servile and precarious existence, which depended on the capricious will of their master. The books of Ezra and Nehemiah do not afford a very pleasing view of their situation under the Persian empire; and the book of Esther exhibits

a most

a most extraordinary instance of the degree of estimation in which they were held at the court of Susa. A minister addressed his king in the following words, which may be considered as a commentary on the *despectissima pars servientium* of the Roman historian: "And Haman said to King Ahasuerus, There is a certain people scattered abroad, and dispersed among the people in all the provinces of thy kingdom; and their laws are diverse from all people, neither keep they the King's laws; therefore it is not for the King's profit to suffer them. If it please the King, let it be written that they may be destroyed; and I will pay ten thousand talents of silver to the hands of those that have the charge of the business, to bring it to the King's treasuries. And the King took his ring from his hand, and gave it to Haman, the son of Hammedatha the Agagite, the Jews' enemy. And the King said unto Haman, The silver is given unto thee; the people also, to do with them as it seemeth good to thee." (Esther, iii. 8—11.) This trifling favour was asked by the Minister, and granted by the Monarch, with an easy indifference, which expressed their contempt for the lives and fortunes of the Jews; the business passed without difficulty through the forms of office; and had Esther been less lovely, or less beloved, a single day would have consummated the universal slaughter of a submissive people, to whom no legal defence was allowed, and from whom no resistance seems to have been dreaded. I am a stranger to Mr. Davis's political principles; but I should think

that the epithet of *slaves*, and of *despised* slaves, may, without injustice, be applied to a captive nation, over whose head the sword of tyranny was suspended by so slender a thread.

The policy of the Macedonians was very different from that of the Persians; and yet Mr. Davis, who reluctantly confesses that the Jews were oppressed by the former, does not understand how long they were favoured and protected by the latter.* In the shock of those revolutions which divided the empire of Alexander, Judæa, like the other provinces, experienced the transient ravages of an advancing or retreating enemy, who led away a multitude of captives. But, in the age of Josephus, the Jews still enjoyed the privileges granted by the kings of Asia and Egypt, who had fixed numerous colonies of that nation in the new cities of Alexandria, Antioch, &c. and placed them in the same honourable condition (ισοπολιτας, ισοτιμους) as the Greeks and Macedonians themselves. (Joseph. Antiquitat. l. xii. c. 1. 3. p. 585. 596. vol. i. edit. Havercamp.) Had they been treated with less indulgence, their settlement in those celebrated cities, the seats of commerce and learning, was enough to introduce them to the knowledge of the world, and to justify my *absurd* proposition, that they emerged from obscurity under the successors of Alexander.

The Jews remained and flourished under the mild dominion of the Macedonian princes, till they

* Davis, page 4.

were

were compelled to assert their civil and religious rights against Antiochus Epiphanes, who had adopted new maxims of tyranny; and the age of the Maccabees is perhaps the most glorious period of the Hebrew annals. Mr. Davis, who on this occasion is bewildered by the subtlety of Tacitus, does not comprehend why the historian should ascribe the independence of the Jews to three *negative* causes, "Macedonibus invalidis, Parthis nondum adultis, et Romani procul aberant." To the understanding of the critic, Tacitus might as well have observed, that the Jews were not destroyed by a plague, a famine, or an earthquake; and Mr. Davis cannot see, for his own part, any reason why they may not have elected kings of their own two or three hundred years before.* Such indeed was not the reason of Tacitus; he probably considered that every nation, depressed by the weight of a foreign power, naturally rises towards the surface, as soon as the pressure is removed; and he might think that, in a short and rapid history of the independence of the Jews, it was sufficient for him to shew that the obstacles did not exist, which, in an earlier or in a later period, would have checked their efforts. The curious reader, who has leisure to study the Jewish and Syrian history, will discover, that the throne of the Asmonæan princes was confirmed by the two great victories of the Parthians over Demetrius Nicator, and Antiochus Sidetes (see Joseph.

* Davis, page 8.

Antiquitat.

Antiquitat. Jud. l. xiii. c. 5, 6. 8, 9. Justin, xxxvi. 1. xxxviii. 10. with Usher and Prideaux, before Christ 141 and 130;) and the expression of Tacitus, the more closely it is examined, will be the more rationally admired.

My quotations* are the object of Mr. Davis's criticism,† as well as the text of this short, but obnoxious passage. He corrects the error of my memory, which had suggested *servitutis* instead of *servientium;* and so natural is the alliance between truth and moderation, that on this occasion he forgets his character, and candidly acquits me of any malicious design to misrepresent the words of Tacitus. The other references, which are contained in the first and second Notes of my Fifteenth Chapter are connected with each other, and can only be mistaken after they have been forcibly separated. The silence of Herodotus is a fair evidence of the obscurity of the Jews, who had escaped the eyes of so curious a traveller. The Jews are first mentioned by Justin, when he relates the siege of Jerusalem by Antiochus Sidetes; and the conquest of Judæa, by the arms of Pompey, engaged Diodorus and Dion to introduce that singular nation to the acquaintance of their readers. These epochs, which are within seventy years of each other, mark the age in which the Jewish people, emerging from their obscurity, began to act a part in the society of nations, and to excite the curiosity of the Greek and Roman historians.

* Gibbon, p. 537. Note 1, 2. † Davis, p. 10, 11. 20.

For

For that purpose only, I had appealed to the authority of Diodorus Siculus, of Justin, or rather of Trogus Pompeius, and of Dion Cassius. If I had designed to investigate the Jewish antiquities, reason, as well as faith, must have directed my inquiries to the Sacred Books, which, even as human productions, would deserve to be studied as one of the most curious and original monuments of the East.

I stand accused, though not indeed by Mr. Davis, for profanely depreciating the *promised* Land, as well as the *chosen* People. The Gentleman without a name has placed this charge in the front of his battle,* and if my memory does not deceive me, it is one of the few remarks in Mr. Apthorpe's book, which have any immediate relation to my History. They seem to consider in the light of a reproach, and of an unjust reproach, the idea which I had given of Palestine, as of a territory scarcely superior to Wales in extent and fertility;† and they strangely convert a geographical observation into a theological error. When I recollect that the imputation of a similar error was employed by the implacable Calvin, to precipitate and to justify the execution of Servetus, I must applaud the felicity of this country, and of this age, which has disarmed, if it could not mollify, the fierceness of ecclesiastical criticism. (See Dictionnaire Critique de Chauffepie, tom. iv. p. 223.)

As I had compared the narrow extent of Phœni-

* Remarks, p. 1. † Gibbon, p. 30.

cia

cia and Palestine with the important blessings which those celebrated countries had diffused over the rest of the earth, their minute size became an object not of censure but of praise.

Ingentes animos angusto in pectore versant.

The precise measure of Palestine was taken from Templeman's Survey of the Globe; he allows to Wales 7011 square English miles, to the Morea or Peloponnesus 7220, to the Seven United Provinces 7546, and to Judæa or Palestine 7600. The difference is not very considerable, and if any of these countries has been magnified beyond its real size, Asia is more liable than Europe to have been affected by the inaccuracy of Mr. Templeman's maps. To the authority of this modern survey, I shall only add the ancient and weighty testimony of Jerom, who passed in Palestine above thirty years of his life. From Dan to Bershebah, the two fixed and proverbial boundaries of the Holy Land, he reckons no more than one hundred and sixty miles (Hieronym. ad Dardanum. tom. iii. p. 66), and the breadth of Palestine cannot by any expedient be stretched to one half of its length. (See Reland, Palestin. L. ii. c. 5. p. 421.)

The degrees and limits of fertility cannot be ascertained with the strict simplicity of geographical measures. Whenever we speak of the productions of the earth, in different climates, our ideas must be relative, our expressions vague and doubtful; nor can we always distinguish between the gifts of Nature and the rewards of industry. The emperor Frederick II., the enemy and the victim of the

the clergy, is accused of saying, after his return from his Crusade, that the God of the Jews would have despised his promised land, if he had once seen the fruitful realms of Sicily and Naples. (See Giannone Istoria Civile del Regno di Napoli, tom. ii. p. 245.) This raillery, which malice has perhaps falsely imputed to Frederick, is inconsistent with truth and piety; yet it must be confessed, that the soil of Palestine does not contain that inexhaustible, and as it were spontaneous principle of fecundity, which, under the most unfavourable circumstances, has covered with rich harvests the banks of the Nile, the fields of Sicily, or the plains of Poland. The Jordan is the only navigable river of Palestine: a considerable part of the narrow space is occupied, or rather lost, in the *Dead Sea*, whose horrid aspect inspires every sensation of disgust, and countenances every tale of horror. The districts which border on Arabia partake of the sandy quality of the adjacent desert. The face of the country, except the sea-coast and the valley of the Jordan, is covered with mountains, which appear for the most part as naked and barren rocks; and in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem there is a real scarcity of the two elements of earth and water. (See Maundrel's Travels, p. 65, and Reland Palestin. tom. i. p. 238—395.) These disadvantages, which now operate in their fullest extent, were formerly corrected by the labours of a numerous people, and the active protection of a wise government. The hills were clothed with rich beds of artificial mould, the rain was collected in

in vast cisterns, a supply of fresh water was conveyed by pipes and aqueducts to the dry lands, the breed of cattle was encouraged in those parts which were not adapted for tillage, and almost every spot was compelled to yield some production for the use of the inhabitants. (See the same testimonies and observations of Maundrel and Reland.)

——————— Pater ipse colendi
Haud facilem esse viam voluit, primusque per artem
Movit agros; curis acuens mortalia corda
Nec torpere gravi passus SUA REGNA veterno.

Such are the useful victories which have been achieved by MAN on the lofty mountains of Switzerland, along the rocky coast of Genoa, and upon the barren hills of Palestine; and since Wales has flourished under the influence of English freedom, that rugged country has surely acquired some share of the same industrious merit and the same artificial fertility. Those critics who interpret the comparison of Palestine and Wales as a tacit libel on the former, are themselves guilty of an unjust satire against the latter of those countries. Such is the injustice of Mr. Apthorpe and of the anonymous *Gentleman:* but if Mr. Davis (as we may suspect from his name) is himself of Cambrian origin, his patriotism on this occasion has protected me from his zeal.

V. I shall begin this article by the confession of an error which candour might perhaps excuse, but which my Adversary magnifies by a pathetic interrogation. "When he tells us, that he has carefully

fully examined all the original materials, are we to believe him? or is it his design to try how far the credulity and easy disposition of the age will suffer him to proceed unsuspected and undiscovered?"* *Quousque tandem abuteris Catilina patientiâ nostrâ?*

In speaking of the danger of idolatry, I had quoted the picturesque expression of Tertullian, "Recogita sylvam et quantæ latitant spinæ," and finding it marked c. 10. in my Notes, I hastily, though naturally, added *de Idololatria*, instead of *de Corona Militis*, and referred to one Treatise of Tertullian instead of another.† And now let me ask in my turn, whether Mr. Davis had any real knowledge of the passage which I had misplaced, or whether he made an ungenerous use of his advantage, to insinuate that I had invented or perverted the words of Tertullian? Ignorance is less criminal than malice, and I shall be satisfied if he will plead guilty to the milder charge.

The same observation may be extended to a passage of Le Clerc, which asserts, in the clearest terms, the ignorance of the more ancient Jews with regard to a future state. Le Clerc lay open before me, but while my eye moved from the book to the paper, I transcribed the reference c. 1. sect. 8. instead of sect. 1. c. 8. from the natural, but erroneous persuasion, that *Chapter* expressed the larger, and *Section* the smaller division:‡ and this

* Davis, p. 25. † Gibbon, p. 553. Note 40.
‡ Gibbon, p. 560. Note 58.

difference,

difference, of such trifling moment and so easily rectified, holds a distinguished place in the list of Misrepresentations which adorn Mr. Davis's Table of Contents.* But to return to Tertullian.

The *infernal* picture, which I had produced† from that vehement writer, which excited the horror of every humane reader, and which even Mr. Davis will not explicitly defend, has furnished him with a few critical cavils.‡ Happy should I think myself, if the materials of my History could be always exposed to the Examination of the Public; and I shall be content with appealing to the impartial Reader, whether my Version of this Passage is not as fair and as faithful, as the more literal translation which Mr. Davis has exhibited in an opposite column. I shall only justify two expressions which have provoked his indignation. 1. I had observed that the zealous African pursues the infernal description in a long variety of affected and unfeeling witticisms; the instances of Gods, of Kings, of Magistrates, of Philosophers, of Poets, of Tragedians, were introduced into my Translation. Those which I had omitted, relate to the Dancers, the Charioteers, and the Wrestlers; and it is almost impossible to express those conceits which are connected with the language and manners of the Romans. But the reader will be *sufficiently* shocked, when he is informed that Tertullian alludes to the improvement which the agility

* Davis, p. 19. † Gibbon, p. 566.
‡ Davis, p. 29—33.

of

of the Dancers, the red livery of the Charioteers, and the attitudes of the Wrestlers, would derive from the effects of fire. "Tunc histriones cognoscendi solutiores multo per ignem; tunc spectandus Auriga in flammea rota totus ruber. Tunc Xystici contemplandi, non in Gymnasiis, sed in igne jaculati." 2. I cannot refuse to answer Mr. Davis's very particular question, Why I appeal to Tertullian for the condemnation of the wisest and most virtuous of the Pagans? *Because* I am inclined to bestow that epithet on Trajan and the Antonines, Homer and Euripides, Plato and Aristotle, who are all manifestly included within the fiery description which I had produced.

I am accused of misquoting Tertullian ad Scapulam,* as an evidence that Martyrdoms were lately introduced into Africa.† Besides Tertullian, I had quoted from Ruinart (Acta Sincera, p. 84.) the Acts of the Scyllitan Martyrs; and a very moderate knowledge of Ecclesiastical History would have informed Mr. Davis, that the two authorities thus connected establish the proposition asserted in my Text. Tertullian, in the above-mentioned Chapter, speaks of one of the Proconsuls of Africa, Vigellius Saturninus, "qui *primus hic* gladium in nos egit;" the Acta Sincera represent the same Magistrate as the Judge of the Scyllitan Martyrs; and Ruinart, with the consent of the best critics, ascribes their sufferings to the persecution of Se-

* Davis, p. 35, 36.

† Gibbon, p. 609. N. 172.

verus. Was it my fault if Mr. Davis was incapable of supplying the intermediate ideas?

Is it likewise necessary that I should justify the frequent use which I have made of Tertullian? His copious writings display a lively and interesting picture of the primitive Church, and the scantiness of original materials scarcely left me the liberty of choice. Yet as I was sensible, that the Montanism of Tertullian is the convenient screen which our orthodox Divines have placed before his errors, I have, with peculiar caution, confined myself to those works which were composed in the more early and sounder part of his life.

As a collateral justification of my frequent appeals to this African presbyter, I had introduced, in the third edition of my History, two passages of Jerom and Prudentius, which prove that Tertullian was the master of Cyprian, and that Cyprian was the master of the Latin Church.* Mr. Davis assures me, however, that I should have done better not to have "added this note,† as I have only accumulated my inaccuracies." One inaccuracy he has indeed detected, an error of the press, Hieronym. de Viris illustribus, c. 53 for 63; but this advantage is dearly purchased by Mr. Davis. Επισος τον διδασκαλον, which he produces as the original words of Cyprian, has a braver and more learned sound, than *Da magistrum;* but the quoting in Greek, a sentence which was pronounced,

* Gibbon, p. 566. N. 72.

† Davis, p. 145.

and

and is recorded, in Latin, seems to bear the mark of the most ridiculous pedantry; unless Mr. Davis, consulting for the first time the Works of Jerom, mistook the Version of Sophronius, which is printed in the opposite column, for the Text of his original Author. My reference to Prudentius, Hymn. xiii. 100. cannot so easily be justified, as I presumptuously believed that my critics would continue to read till they came to a full stop. I shall now place before them, not the first verse only, but the entire period, which they will find full, express, and satisfactory. The Poet says of St. Cyprian, whom he places in Heaven,

> Nec minus involitat terris, nec ab hoc recedit orbe:
> Disserit, eloquitur, tractat, docet, instruit, prophetat;
> Nec *Libyæ populos* tantum reget, exit usque in ortum
> Solis, et usque obitum; *Gallos* fovet, imbuit *Britannos*,
> Presidet *Hesperiæ*, Christum serit ultimis *Hibernis*.

VI. On the subject of the imminent dangers which the Apocalypse has so narrowly escaped,* Mr. Davis accuses me of misrepresenting the sentiments of Sulpicius Severus and Fra-Paolo,† with this difference, however, that I was incapable of reading or understanding the text of the Latin author; but that I wilfully perverted the sense of the Italian historian. These imputations I shall easily wipe away, by shewing that, in the first instance, I am probably in the right; and that, in the second, he is certainly in the wrong.

SULPICIUS SEVERUS AND FRA-PAOLO.

* Gibbon, p. 563, 564. N. 67.
† Davis, p. 40—44.

1. The concise and elegant Sulpicius, who has been justly styled the Christian Sallust, afterm entioning the exile and revelations of St. John in the isle of Patmos, observes (and surely the observation is in the language of complaint,) "Librum sacræ Apocalypsis, qui quidem *a plerisque* aut stulte aut impie non recipitur, conscriptum edidit." I am found guilty of supposing *plerique* to signify *the greater number;* whereas Mr. Davis, with Stephens's Dictionary in his hand, is able to prove that *plerique* has not *always* that extensive meaning, and that a classic of good authority has used the word in a much more limited and qualified sense. Let the Examiner therefore try to apply his exception to this particular case. For my part, *I* stand under the protection of the general usage of the Latin language, and with a strong presumption in favour of the justice of my cause, or at least of the innocence and fairness of my intentions; since I have translated a familiar word, according to its acknowledged and ordinary acceptation.

But, "if I had looked into the passage, and found that Sulpicius Severus, there expressly tells us, that the Apocalypse was the work of St. John, I could not have committed so unfortunate a *blunder*, as to cite this Father as saying, That the greater number of Christians denied its Canonical authority."* Unfortunate indeed would have been my blunder, had I asserted that the same Chris-

* Davis, p. 270.

tians

tians who denied its Canonical authority, admitted it to be the work of an Apostle. Such indeed was the opinion of Severus himself, and his opinion has obtained the sanction of the Church; but the Christians whom he taxes with folly or impiety for rejecting this sacred book, must have supported their error by attributing the Apocalypse to some uninspired writer; to John the Presbyter, or to Cerinthus the Heretic.

If the rules of grammar and of logic authorise, or at least allow me to translate *plerique* by *the greater number*, the Ecclesiastical History of the fourth century illustrates and justifies this obvious interpretation. From a fair comparison of the populousness and learning of the Greek and Latin Churches, may I not conclude that the former contained the *greater number* of Christians qualified to pass sentence on a mysterious prophecy composed in the Greek language? May I not affirm, on the authority of St. Jerom, that the Apocalypse was generally rejected by the Greek Churches? "Quod si eam (the Epistle to the Hebrews) Latinorum consuetudo non recipit inter Scripturas Canonicas; nec Græcorum Ecclesiæ Apocalypsim Johannis eadem libertate suscipiunt. Et tamen nos utramque suscipimus, nequaquam hujus temporis consuetudinem, sed veterum auctoritatem sequentes." Epistol. ad Dardanum, tom. iii. p. 68.

It is not my design to enter any farther into the controverted history of that famous book; but I

am called upon* to defend my Remark that the Apocalypse was tacitly excluded from the sacred canon by the council of Laodicea. (Canon LX.) To defend my Remark, I need only state the fact in a simple but more particular manner. The assembled Bishops of Asia, after enumerating all the books of the Old and New Testament which should be read in churches, omit the Apocalypse, and the Apocalypse alone; at a time when it was rejected or questioned by many pious and learned Christians, who might deduce a very plausible argument from the silence of the Synod.

2. When the Council of Trent resolved to pronounce sentence on the Canon of Scripture, the opinion which prevailed, after some debate, was to declare the Latin Vulgate authentic and *almost* infallible; and this sentence, which was guarded by formidable anathemas, secured all the books of the Old and New Testament which composed that ancient version, "che si dichiarassero tutti in tutte le parte come si trovano nella Biblia Latina, esser di Divina è ugual autorità." (Istoria del Concilio Tridentino, L. ii. p. 147. Helmstadt *(Vicenza)* 1761.) When the merit of that version was discussed, the majority of the theologians urged, with confidence and success, that it was absolutely necessary to receive the Vulgate as authentic and inspired, unless they wished to abandon the victory to the Lutherans, and the honours of the

* By Mr. Davis, p. 41. and by Dr. Chelsum, Remarks, p. 57.

church

church to the Grammarians. "In contrario della maggior parte de' teologi era detto . . . che questi nuovi Grammatici confonderanno ogni cosa, e sarà fargli giudici e arbitri della fede; e in luogo de' teologi e canonisti, converrà tener il pri moconto nell' assumere a Vescovati e Cardinalati de' pedanti." (Istoria del Concilio Tridentino, L. ii. p. 149.) The sagacious historian, who had studied the Council, and the judicious Le Courayer, who had studied his author (Histoire du Concile de Trente, tom. i. p. 245. Londres 1736), consider this *ridiculous* reason as the most powerful argument which influenced the debates of the Council: but Mr. Davis, jealous of the honour of a synod which placed tradition on a level with the Bible, affirms that Fra-Paolo has given another more substantial reason on which these Popish bishops built their determination, That after dividing the books under their consideration into three classes; of those which had been always held for divine; of those whose authenticity had formerly been doubted, but which by use and custom had acquired canonical authority; and of those which had never been properly certified; the Apocalypse was judiciously placed by the Fathers of the Council in the second of these classes.

The Italian passage, which, for that purpose, Mr. Davis has alleged at the bottom of his page, is indeed taken from the text of Fra-Paolo; but the reader, who will give himself the trouble, or rather the pleasure, of perusing that incomparable historian, will discover that Mr. Davis has *only*

mistaken a motion of the opposition, for a measure of the administration. He will find, that this critical division, which is so erroneously ascribed to the public reason of the council, was no more than the ineffectual proposal of a temperate minority, which was soon over-ruled by a majority of artful statesmen, bigotted monks, and dependent bishops.

"We have here an evident proof that Mr. Gibbon is equally expert in misrepresenting a modern as an ancient writer, or that he wilfully conceals the most material reason, with a design, no doubt, to instil into his reader a notion, that the authenticity of the Apocalypse is built on the slightest foundation."*

CLEMENS. VII. I had cautiously observed (for I was apprized of the obscurity of the subject) that the Epistle of Clemens does not lead us to discover any traces of Episcopacy either at Corinth or Rome.† In this observation I particularly alluded to the republican form of salutation, "The church of God inhabiting Rome, to the church of God inhabiting Corinth;" without the least mention of a bishop or president in either of those ecclesiastical assemblies.

Yet the piercing eye of Mr. Davis ‡ can discover not only traces, but evident proofs, of Episcopacy, in this Epistle of Clemens; and he actually quotes two passages, in which he distinguishes by capital

* Davis, p. 44. † Gibbon, p. 592. N. 110.
‡ Davis, p. 44, 45.

letters

letters the word BISHOPS, whose institution Clemens refers to the Apostles themselves. But can Mr. Davis hope to gain credit by such egregious trifling? While we are searching for the origin of bishops, not merely as an ecclesiastical title, but as the peculiar name of an order distinct from that of presbyters, he idly produces a passage, which, by declaring that the apostles established in every place *bishops* and *deacons*, evidently confounds the *presbyters* with one or other of those two ranks. I have neither inclination nor interest to engage in a controversy which I had considered only in an historical light; but I have already said enough to shew, that there are more traces of a disingenuous mind in Mr. Davis, than of an episcopal order in the Epistle of Clemens.

VIII. Perhaps, on some future occasion, I may examine the historical character of Eusebius; perhaps I may inquire, how far it appears from his words and actions, that the learned bishop of Cæsarea was averse to the use of fraud, when it was employed in the service of religion. At present, I am only concerned to defend my own truth and honour, from the reproach of misrepresenting the sense of the ecclesiastical historian. Some of the charges of Mr. Davis on this head are so strong, so pointed, so vehemently urged, that he seems to have staked, on the event of the trial, the merits of our respective characters. If his assertions are true, I deserve the contempt of learned, and the abhorrence of good men. If they are false, * * * * * * * * * *

EUSEBIUS.

1. I had

1. I had remarked, without any malicious intention, that one of the seventeen Christians who suffered at Alexandria was likewise *accused* of robbery.* Mr. Davis † seems enraged because I did not add that he was *falsely* accused, takes some unnecessary pains to convince me that the Greek word εσυκοφαντηθη signifies *falso accusatus*, and "can hardly think that any one who had looked into the original, would dare thus absolutely to contradict the plain testimony of the author he *pretends* to follow." A simple narrative of this fact, in the relation of which Mr. Davis has *really* suppressed several material circumstances, will afford the clearest justification.

Eusebius has preserved an original letter from Dionysius bishop of Alexandria to Fabius bishop of Antioch, in which the former relates the circumstances of the persecution which had lately afflicted the capital of Egypt. He allows a rank among the martyrs to one Nemesion, an Egyptian, who was falsely or maliciously accused as a companion of robbers. Before the centurion he justified himself from this calumny, which did not relate to him; but being charged as a Christian, he was brought in chains before the governor. That unjust magistrate, after inflicting on Nemesion *a*

* Gibbon, p. 654. N. 75.

† 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 candour of a Chelsum. See Remarks, p. 209.

double

double measure of stripes and tortures, gave orders that he should be *burnt with the robbers*. (Dionys. apud Euseb. L. vi. c. 41.)

It is evident that Dionysius represents the religious sufferer as innocent of the criminal accusation which had been falsely brought against him. It is no less evident, that whatever might be the opinion of the Centurion, the supreme magistrate considered Nemesion as guilty, and that he affected to shew, by the measure of his tortures, and by the companions of his execution, that he punished him, not only as a Christian, but as a robber. The evidence against Nemesion, and that which might be produced in his favour, are equally lost; and the question (which fortunately is of little moment) of his guilt or innocence rests solely on the opposite judgments of his ecclesiastical and civil superiors. I could easily perceive that both the bishop and the governor were actuated by different passions and prejudices towards the unhappy sufferer; but it was impossible for me to decide which of the two was most likely to indulge his prejudices and passions at the expense of truth. In this doubtful situation I conceived that I had acted with the most unexceptionable caution, when I contented myself with observing that Nemesion was *accused;* a circumstance of a public and authentic nature, in which both parties were agreed.

Mr. Davis will no longer ask, "What possible evasion then can Mr. Gibbon have recourse to, to convince

convince the world that I have *falsely* accused *him* of a gross misrepresentation of Eusebius?"

2. Mr. Davis* charges me with falsifying (*falsifying* is a very serious word) the testimony of Eusebius; because it suited my purpose to magnify the humanity and even kindness of Maxentius towards the afflicted Christians.† To support this charge, he produces some part of a chapter of Eusebius, the English in his text, the Greek in his notes, and makes the ecclesiastical historian express himself in the following terms: "Although Maxentius at first favoured the Christians with a view of popularity, yet afterwards, being addicted to magic, and every other impiety, HE exerted himself in persecuting the Christians, in a more severe and destructive manner than his predecessors had done before him."

If it were in my power to place the volume and chapter of Eusebius (Hist. Eccles. L. viii. c. 14.) before the eyes of every reader, I should be satisfied and silent. I should not be under the necessity of protesting, that in the passage quoted, or rather abridged, by my adversary, the second member of the period, which alone contradicts my account of Maxentius, has not the most distant reference to that odious tyrant. After distinguishing the mild conduct which *he* affected towards the Christians, Eusebius proceeds to animadvert with becoming severity on the general vices of

* Davis, p. 64, 65. † Gibbon, p. 693. N. 168.

his

his reign; the rapes, the murders, the oppression, the promiscuous massacres, which I had faithfully related in their proper place, and in which the Christians, not in their religious, but in their civil capacity, must occasionally have shared with the rest of his unhappy subjects. The ecclesiastical historian then makes a transition to *another tyrant*, the cruel Maximin, who carried away from his friend and ally Maxentius the prize of superior wickedness; for HE was addicted to magic arts, and was a cruel persecutor of the Christians. The evidence of words and facts, the plain meaning of Eusebius, the concurring testimony of Cæcilius or Lactantius, and the superfluous authority of versions and commentators, establish beyond the reach of doubt or cavil, that Maximin, and not Maxentius, is stigmatized as a persecutor, and that Mr. Davis alone has deserved the reproach of *falsifying* the testimony of Eusebius.

Let him examine the chapter on which he founds his accusation. If in that moment his feelings are not of the most painful and humiliating kind, he must indeed be an object of pity!

3. *A gross blunder* is imputed to me by this polite antagonist,* for quoting, under the name of Jerom, the Chronicle which I ought to have described as the work and property of Eusebius;† and Mr. Davis kindly points out the occasion of my blunder, That it was the consequence of my

* Davis, p. 66. † Gibbon, p. 673. N. 125.

looking

looking no farther than Dodwell for this remark, and of not rightly understanding his reference. Perhaps the Historian of the Roman Empire may be credited, when he affirms that he frequently consulted a Latin Chronicle of the affairs of that empire; and he may the sooner be credited, if he shews that he knows something more of this Chronicle besides the name and the title-page.

Mr. Davis, who talks so familiarly of the Chronicle of Eusebius, will be surprised to hear that the Greek original no longer exists. Some chronological fragments, which had successively passed through the hands of Africanus and Eusebius, are still extant, though in a very corrupt and mutilated state, in the compilations of Syncellus and Cedrenus. They have been collected, and disposed by the labour and ingenuity of Joseph Scaliger; but that proud critic, always ready to applaud his own success, did not flatter himself that he had restored the hundredth part of the genuine Chronicle of Eusebius. "Ex eo *(Syncello)* omnia Eusebiana excerpsimus quæ quidem deprehendere potuimus; quæ, quanquam ne centesima quidem pars eorum esse videtur quæ ab Eusebio relicta sunt, aliquod tamen justum volumen explere possunt."—(Jos. Scaliger. Animadversiones in Græca Eusebii in Thesauro Temporum, p. 401. Amstelod. 1658.) While the Chronicle of Eusebius was perfect and entire, the second book was translated into Latin by Jerom, with the freedom, or rather licence, which that voluminous author, as well as his friend or enemy Rufinus, always assumed. "Plurima in vertendo

vertendo mutat, infulcit, præterit," says Scaliger himself, in the Prolegomena, p. 22. In the persecution of Aurelian, which has so much offended Mr. Davis, we are able to distinguish the work of Eusebius from that of Jerom, by comparing the expressions of the Ecclesiastical History with those of the Chronicle. The former affirms, that towards the end of his reign, Aurelian was moved by some councils to excite a persecution against the Christians; that his design occasioned a great and general rumour; but that when the letters were prepared, and as it were signed, divine justice dismissed him from the world. Ηδη τισι εξελαις ως αν διωγμον καθ' ἡμων εγειρειεν ανεκινειτο. πολυς τε ην ὁ παρα πασι περι τουτε λογος. μελλοντα δε ηδη και σχεδον ειπειν τοις καθ' ἡμων γραμμασιν υποσημειωμενον, θεια μετεισιν δικη. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. L. vii. c. 30. Whereas the Chronicle relates, that Aurelian was killed after he had excited or moved a persecution against the Christians, "cum adversum nos persecutionem movisset."

From this manifest difference I assume a right to assert; first, that the expression of the Chronicle of *Jerom*, which is always proper, became in this instance necessary; and secondly, that the language of the fathers is so ambiguous and incorrect, that we are at a loss to determine how far Aurelian had carried his intention before he was assassinated. I have neither perverted the *fact*, nor have I been guilty of a *gross blunder*.

IX. "The persons accused of Christianity had a con- JUSTIN MARTYR.

a convenient time allowed them to settle their domestic concerns, and to prepare their answer."* This observation had been suggested, partly by a general expression of Cyprian (de Lapsis, p. 88. Edit. Fell. Amstelod. 1700.) and more especially by the second Apology of Justin Martyr, who gives a particular and curious example of this legal delay.

The expressions of Cyprian, " dies negantibus præstitutus, &c." which Mr. Davis most prudently suppresses, are illustrated by Mosheim in the following words: " Primum qui delati erant aut suspecti, illis certum dierum spatium judex definiebat, quo decurrente, secum deliberare poterant, utrum profiteri Christum an negare mallent; *explorandæ fidei præfiniebantur dies*, per hoc tempus liberi manebant in domibus suis; nec impediebat aliquis quod ex consequentibus apparet, ne fugâ sibi consulerent. Satis hoc erat humanum." (De Rebus Christianis ante Constantinum, p. 480.) The practice of Egypt was sometimes more expeditious and severe; but this humane indulgence was still allowed in Africa during the persecution of Decius.

But my appeal to Justin Martyr is encountered by Mr. Davis with the following declaration:† " The reader will observe, that Mr. Gibbon does not make any reference to any section or division of this part of Justin's work; with what view we may shrewdly suspect, when I tell him, that after

* Gibbon, p. 663. † Davis, p. 71, 72.

an

an accurate perusal of the whole second Apology, I can boldly affirm, that the following instance is the only one that bears the most distant similitude to what Mr. Gibbon relates as above on the authority of Justin. What I find in Justin is as follows: "A woman being converted to Christianity, is afraid to associate with her husband, because he is an abandoned reprobate, lest she should partake of his sins. Her husband, not being able to accuse *her*, vents his rage in this manner on one Ptolemæus, a teacher of Christianity, and who had converted her, &c." Mr. Davis then proceeds to relate the severities inflicted on Ptolemæus, who made a frank and instant profession of his faith; and he sternly exclaims, that if I take every opportunity of passing encomiums on the humanity of Roman magistrates, it is incumbent on me to produce better evidence than this.

His demand may be easily satisfied, and I need only for that purpose transcribe and translate the words of Justin, which *immediately* precede the Greek quotation alleged at the bottom of my adversary's page. I am possessed of two editions of Justin Martyr, that of Cambridge, 1768, in 8vo. by Dr. Ashton, who only published the two Apologies; and that of all his works, published in folio, Paris, 1742, by the Benedictines of the Congregation of St. Maar: the following curious passage may be found, p. 164, of the former, and p. 89, of the latter edition: Κατηγοριαν πεποιηται, λεγων αυτην χριστιανην ειναι, και ἡ μεν βιβλιδιον σοι τω αυτοκρατορι αναδεδωκε, προτερον συνχωρηθηναι αυτη διοικησασθαι τα εαυτης

αξιωσα. επειτα απολογησασθαι περι τε κατηγορματος, μετα την των πραγματων αυτης διοικησιν. και συνεχωρησας τουτο.

"He brought an accusation against her, saying, that she was a christian. But she presented a petition to the emperor, praying that she might first be allowed to settle her domestic concerns; and promising, that after she had settled them, she would then put in her answer to the accusation. This you granted."

I disdain to add a single reflection; nor shall I qualify the conduct of my adversary with any of those harsh epithets, which might be interpreted as the expressions of resentment, though I should be constrained to use them as the only words in the English language which could accurately represent my cool and unprejudiced sentiments.

LACTANTIUS. X. In stating the toleration of Christianity during the greatest part of the reign of Diocletian, I had observed,* that the principal officers of the palace, whose names and functions were particularly specified, enjoyed, with their wives and children, the free exercise of the Christian religion. Mr. Davis twice affirms,† in the most deliberate manner, that this pretended fact, which is asserted on the sole authority, is contradicted by the positive evidence, of Lactantius. In both these *affirmations* Mr. Davis is inexcusably mistaken.

1. When the storms of persecution arose, the priests, who were offended by the sign of the

* Gibbon, p. 676. N. 133, 134.

† Davis, p. 75, 76.

Cross,

Cross, obtained an order from the Emperor, that the profane, the Christians, who accompanied him to the Temple, should be compelled to offer sacrifice; and this incident is mentioned by the rhetorician, to whom I shall not at present refuse the name of Lactantius. The act of idolatry, which, at the expiration of eighteen years, was required of the officers of Diocletian, is a manifest proof that their religious freedom had hitherto been inviolate, except in the single instance of waiting on their master to the Temple; a service less criminal than the profane compliance for which the minister of the King of Syria solicited the permission of the prophet of Israel.

2. The reference which I made to Lactantius expressly pointed out this exception to their freedom. But the proof of the toleration was built on a different testimony, which my disingenuous adversary has concealed; an ancient and curious instruction composed by Bishop Theonas, for the use of Lucian, and the other Christian eunuchs of the palace of Diocletian. This authentic piece was published in the Spicilegium of Dom Luc d'Acheri; as I had not the opportunity of consulting the original, I was contented with quoting it on the faith of Tillemont, and the reference to it immediately precedes (ch. xvi. note 133.) the citation of Lactantius (note 134.)

Mr. Davis may now answer his own question, "What apology can be made for thus asserting, on the sole authority of Lactantius, facts which Lactantius so expressly denies?"

Dion Cassius.

XI. "I have already given a curious instance of our author's asserting, on the authority of Dion Cassius, a fact not mentioned by that historian. I shall now produce a very singular proof of his endeavouring to conceal from us a passage really contained in him."* Nothing but the angry vehemence with which these charges are urged, could engage me to take the least notice of them. In themselves they are doubly contemptible; they are trifling, and they are false.

1. Mr. Davis† had imputed to me as a crime, that I had mentioned, on the sole testimony of Dion, (L. lxviii. p. 1145,) the spirit of rebellion which inflamed the Jews, from the reign of Nero to that of Antoninus Pius,‡ whilst the passage of that historian is confined to an insurrection in Cyprus and Cyrene, which broke out within that period. The reader who will cast his eye on the note (ch. xvi. note 1.) which is supported by that quotation from Dion, will discover that it related only to *this* particular fact. The general position, which is indeed too notorious to require any proof, I had carefully justified in the course of the same paragraph; partly by another reference to Dion Cassius, partly by an allusion to the well-known history of Josephus, and partly by *several* quotations from the learned and judicious Basnage, who has explained, in the most satisfactory manner, the principles and conduct of the rebellious Jews.

2. The passage of Dion, which I am accused of

* Davis, p. 83. † Idem, p. 11. ‡ Gibbon, p. 622.

endea-

endeavouring to conceal, might perhaps have remained invisible, even to the piercing eye of Mr. Davis, if *I* had not carefully reported it in its proper place:* and it was in my power to report it, without being guilty of any *inconsiderate contradiction.* I had observed, that, in the large history of Dion Cassius, Xiphilin had not been able to discover the name of *Christians:* yet I afterwards quote a passage, in which Marcia, the favourite concubine of Commodus, is celebrated as the patroness of the *Christians.* Mr. Davis has transcribed my quotation, but *he* has concealed the important words which I now distinguish by Italics. (Ch. xvi. note 106. Dion Cassius *or rather his abbreviator Xiphilin,* L. lxxii. p. 1206.) The reference is fairly made and cautiously qualified: I am already secure from the imputations of fraud or inconsistency; and the opinion which attributes the last-mentioned passage to the abbreviator, rather than to the original historian, may be supported by the most unexceptionable authorities. I shall protect myself by those of Reimar (in his edition of Dion Cassius, tom. ii. p. 1207. note 34) and of Dr. Lardner: and shall only transcribe the words of the latter, in his Collection of Jewish and Heathen Testimonies, vol. iii. p. 57.

"This paragraph I rather think to be Xiphilin's than Dion's. The style at least is Xiphilin's. In the other passages before quoted, Dion speaks of *impiety,* or *atheism,* or *Judaism;* but never useth

* Gibbon, p. 667. N. 107.

the word *Christians*. Another thing that may make us doubt whether this observation be entirely Dion's is the phrase, 'it is related (ἱστορεῖται).' For at the beginning of the reign of Commodus, he says, 'These things, and what follows, I write not from the report of others, but from my own knowledge and observation.' However, the sense may be Dion's; but I wish we had also his style, without any adulteration." For my own part, I must, in my private opinion, ascribe even the sense of this passage to Xiphilin. The *Monk* might eagerly collect and insert an anecdote which related to the domestic history of the church; but the religion of a courtezan must have appeared an object of very little moment in the eyes of a *Roman consul*, who, at least in every other part of his history, disdained or neglected to mention the name of the Christians.

"What shall we say now? Do we not discover the name of Christians in the history of Dion? With what *assurance* then can Mr. Gibbon, after asserting a fact manifestly *untrue*, lay claim to the merits of diligence and accuracy, the indispensable duty of an historian? Or can he expect us to credit his assertion, that he has carefully examined all the original materials?"*

Mr. Gibbon may still maintain the character of an historian; but it is difficult to conceive how Mr. Davis will support his pretensions, if he aspires to that of a gentleman.

* Davis, p. 83.

I almost

I almost hesitate whether I should take any notice of another ridiculous charge which Mr. Davis includes in the article of Dion Cassius. My adversary owns, that I have occasionally produced the several passages of the Augustan History which relate to the Christians; but he fiercely contends that they amount to more than *six lines*.* I really have not measured them: nor did I mean that loose expression as a precise and definite number. If, on a nicer survey, those short hints, when they are brought together, should be found to exceed six of the long lines of my folio edition, I am content that my critical antagonist should substitute eight, or ten, or twelve lines; nor shall I think either my learning or veracity much interested in this important alteration.

XII. After a short description of the unworthy conduct of those Apostates who, in a time of persecution, deserted the Faith of Christ, I produced the evidence of a Pagan Proconsul,† and of two Christian Bishops, Pliny, Dionysius of Alexandria, and Cyprian. And here the unforgiving Critic remarks, "That Pliny has not particularized that difference of conduct (in the different apostates) which Mr. Gibbon here describes: yet his name stands at the head of those authors whom he has cited on the occasion. It is allowed indeed that this distinction is made by the other authors; but as Pliny, the first referred to by Mr. Gibbon, PLINY, &c.

* Gibbon, p. 634. N. 24. † Idem, p. 664. N. 102.

gives him no cause or reason to use *them*," (I cannot help Mr. Davis's bad English,) it is certainly very reprehensible in our author, thus to confound their testimony, and to make a needless and improper reference."*

A criticism of this sort can only tend to expose Mr. Davis's total ignorance of historical composition. The writer who aspires to the name of historian, is obliged to consult a variety of original testimonies, each of which, taken separately, is perhaps imperfect and partial. By a judicious reunion and arrangement of these dispersed materials, he endeavours to form a consistent and interesting narrative. Nothing ought to be inserted which is not proved by some of the witnesses; but their evidence must be so intimately blended together, that as it is unreasonable to expect that each of them should vouch for the whole, so it would be impossible to define the boundaries of their respective property. Neither Pliny, nor Dionysius, nor Cyprian, mention *all* the circumstances and *distinctions* of the conduct of the Christian apostates; but if any of them was withdrawn, the account which I have given would, in some instance, be defective.

Thus much I thought necessary to say, as several of the subsequent *misrepresentations* of Orosius, of Bayle, of Fabricius, of Gregory of Tours, &c.,† which provoked the fury of Mr. Davis, are derived

* Davis, p. 87, 88. † Davis, p. 88. 90. 137.

only

only from the ignorance of this common historical principle.

Another class of misrepresentations, which my adversary urges with the same degree of vehemence, (see in particular those of Justin, Diodorus Siculus, and even Tacitus,) requires the support of another principle, which has not yet been introduced into the art of criticism; *that* when a modern historian appeals to the authority of the ancients for the truth of any particular fact, he makes himself answerable, I know not to what extent, for all the circumjacent errors or inconsistencies of the authors whom he has quoted.

XIII. I am accused of throwing out a false accusation against this Father,* because I had observed† that Ignatius, defending against the Gnostics the resurrection of Christ, employs a vague and doubtful tradition, instead of quoting the certain testimony of the Evangelists: and this observation was justified by a remarkable passage of Ignatius, in his Epistle to the Smyrnæans, which I cited according to the volume and the page of the best edition of the Apostolical Fathers, published at Amsterdam, 1724, in two volumes in folio. The criticism of Mr. Davis is announced by one of those solemn declarations which leave not any refuge, if they are convicted of falsehood. "I cannot find any passage that bears the least affinity to what Mr. Gibbon observes, in the whole Epistle, which I have read over more than once." IGNATIUS.

* Davis, p. 100, 101. † Gibbon, p. 551. N. 35.

I had

I had already marked the *situation*, nor is it in my power to prove the *existence* of this passage, by any other means than by producing the words of the original. Εγω γαρ και μετα την αναστασιν εν σαρκι αυτον οιδα και πιστευω οντα, και οτε προς τους περι Πετρον ηλθεν, εφη αυτοις, λαβετε, ψυλαφησατε με, και ιδετε οτι ουκ' ειμι δαιμονιον ασωματον. και ευθυς αυτω ἡψαντο, και επιστευσαν· "I have known, and I believe, that after his resurrection likewise he existed in the flesh: And when he came to Peter, and to the rest, he said unto them, Take, handle me, and see that I am not an incorporeal dæmon or spirit. And they touched him, and believed." The faith of the Apostles confuted the impious error of the Gnostics, which attributed only the *appearances* of a human body to the Son of God: and it was the great object of Ignatius, in the last moments of his life, to secure the Christians of Asia from the snares of those dangerous Heretics. According to the tradition of the modern Greeks, Ignatius was the child whom Jesus received into his arms (see Tillemont Mem. Eccles. tom. ii. part ii. p. 43.); yet as he could scarcely be old enough to remember the resurrection of the Son of God, he must have derived his knowledge *either* from our present Evangelists, *or* from some apocryphal Gospel, *or* from some unwritten tradition.

1. The Gospels of St. Luke and St. John would undoubtedly have supplied Ignatius with the most invincible proofs of the reality of the body of Christ, when he appeared to the Apostles after his resurrection; but neither of those Gospels contain the

the characteristic words of ἐκ δαιμονίου ἀσωμάτου, and the important circumstance that either Peter, or *those* who were with Peter, touched the body of Christ and believed. Had the saint designed to quote the Evangelist on a very nice subject of controversy, he would not surely have exposed himself, by an inaccurate, or rather by a false, reference, to the just reproaches of the Gnostics. On this occasion, therefore, Ignatius did not employ, as he might have done, against the Heretics, the certain testimony of the Evangelists.

2. Jerom, who cites this remarkable passage from the Epistle of Ignatius to the Smyrnæans (see Catalog. Script. Eccles. in Ignatio, tom. i. p. 273. edit. Erasm. Basil, 1537.), is of opinion that it was taken from the *Gospel* which he himself had lately translated: and *this*, from the comparison of two other passages in the same work (in Jacob. et in Matthæo, p. 264.), appears to have been the Hebrew Gospel, which was used by the Nazarenes of Beræa, as the genuine composition of St. Matthew. Yet Jerom mentions another Copy of this Hebrew Gospel, (so different from the Greek Text,) which was extant in the library formed at Cæsarea, by the care of Pamphilus: whilst the learned Eusebius, the friend of Pamphilus and the Bishop of Cæsarea, very frankly declares (His. Eccles. L. iii. c. 36.), that *he* is ignorant from whence Ignatius borrowed those words, which are the subject of the present inquiry.

3. The doubt which remains, is only whether he took them from an Apocryphal Book, or from *unwritten*

unwritten tradition: and I thought myself safe from every species of critics, when I embraced the rational sentiment of Casaubon and Pearson. I shall produce the words of the Bishop: "Præterea iterum observandum est, quod de hac re scripsit Isaacus Casaubonus, *Quinetiam fortasse verius, non ex Evangelio Hebraico, Ignatium illa verba descripsisse, verum traditionem allegasse non scriptam, quæ postea in literas fuerit relata, et Hebraico Evangelio, quod Matthæo tribuebant, inserta.* Et hoc quidem mihi multo verisimilius videtur." (Pearson. Vindiciæ Ignatianæ, part ii. c. ix. p. 396. in tom. ii. Patr. Apostol.)

I may now submit to the judgment of the Public, whether I have looked into the Epistle which I cite with such a parade of learning, and *how profitably* Mr. Davis has read it over more than once.

Mosheim. XIV. The learning and judgment of Mosheim had been of frequent use in the course of my Historical Inquiry, and I had not been wanting in proper expressions of gratitude. My vexatious adversary is always ready to start from his ambuscade, and to harass my march by a mode of attack which cannot easily be reconciled with the laws of honourable war. The greatest part of the Misrepresentations of Mosheim, which Mr. Davis has imputed to me,* are of such a nature, that I must indeed be humble, if I could persuade myself to bestow a moment of serious attention on them. *Whether* Mosheim could prove that an absolute

* Davis, p. 95—97. 104—107. 114—132.

community

community of goods was not established among the first Christians of Jerusalem; *whether* he suspected the purity of the Epistles of Ignatius; *whether* he censured Dr. Middleton with temper or indignation (in this cause I must challenge Mr. Davis as an incompetent judge); *whether* he corroborates the *whole* of my description of the prophetic office; *whether* he speaks with approbation of the humanity of Pliny; and *whether* he attributed the same sense to the *malefica* of Suetonius, and the *exitiabilis* of Tacitus? These questions, even as Mr. Davis has stated them, lie open to the judgment of every reader, and the superfluous observations which I could make, would be an abuse of their time and of my own. As little shall I think of consuming their patience, by examining whether Le Clerc and Mosheim *labour* in the interpretation of some texts of the Fathers, and particularly of a passage of Irenæus, which seem to favour the pretensions of the Roman Bishop. The material part of the passage of Irenæus consists of about *four lines*; and in order to shew that the interpretations of Le Clerc and Mosheim are not *laboured*, Mr. Davis abridges them as much as possible in the space of *twelve pages*. I know not whether the perusal of my History will justify the suspicion of Mr. Davis, that I am secretly inclined to the interest of the Pope: but I cannot discover how the Protestant cause can be affected, if Irenæus in the second, or Palavicini in the seventeenth century, were tempted, by any private views, to countenance in their writings the system of ecclesiastical

tical dominion, which has been pursued in every age by the aspiring Bishops of the Imperial city. Their conduct was adapted to the revolutions of the Christian Republic, but the same spirit animated the haughty breasts of Victor the First, and of Paul the Fifth.

There still remain one or two of these imputed Misrepresentations, which appear, and indeed only appear, to merit a little more attention. In stating the opinion of Mosheim with regard to the progress of the Gospel, Mr. Davis boldly declares, "that I have *altered the truth* of Mosheim's history, that I might have an opportunity of contradicting the belief and wishes of the Fathers."* In other words, I have been guilty of uttering a malicious falsehood.

I had endeavoured to mitigate the sanguine expression of the Fathers of the second century, who had too hastily diffused the light of Christianity over every part of the globe, by observing, as an undoubted fact, "that the barbarians of Scythia and Germany, who subverted the Roman Monarchy, were involved in the errors of Paganism; and that even the conquest of Iberia, of Armenia, or of Æthiopia, was not attempted with any degree of success, till the sceptre was in the hands of an orthodox Emperor."† I had referred the curious reader to the fourth century of Mosheim's General History of the Church: now Mr. Davis has discovered, and can prove, from that excellent

* Davis, p. 127. † Gibbon, p. 611, 612.

work,

work, "that Christianity, not long after its first rise, had been introduced into the less as well as greater Armenia; that part of the Goths, who inhabited Thracia, Mœsia, and Dacia, had received the Christian religion long before this century; and that Theophilus, their Bishop, was present at the Council of Nice."*

On this occasion, the reference was made to a popular work of Mosheim, for the satisfaction of the reader, that he might obtain the general view of the progress of Christianity in the fourth century, which I had gradually acquired by studying with some care the Ecclesiastical Antiquities of the Nations beyond the limits of the Roman Empire. If I had reasonably supposed that the result of our common inquiries must be the same, should I have deserved a very harsh censure for my unsuspecting confidence? Or if I had declined the invidious task of separating a few immaterial errors, from a just and judicious representation, might not my respect for the name and merit of Mosheim have claimed some indulgence? But I disdain those excuses, which only a candid adversary would allow. I can meet Mr. Davis on the hard ground of controversy, and retort on his own head the charge of concealing a part of the truth. He himself has dared to suppress the words of my text, which immediately followed his quotation. "Before that time the various accidents of war and commerce might indeed diffuse an imperfect

* Davis, p. 126, 127.

knowledge

knowledge of the Gospel among the tribes of Caledonia, and among the borderers of the Rhine, the Danube, and the Euphrates;" and Mr. Davis has likewise suppressed one of the justificatory Notes on this passage, which expressly points out the time and circumstances of the first Gothic conversions. These exceptions, which I had cautiously inserted, and Mr. Davis has cautiously concealed, are superfluous for the provinces of Thrace, Mœsia, and the Lesser Armenia, which were contained within the precincts of the Roman Empire. They allow an ample scope for the more early conversion of some independent districts of Dacia and the Greater Armenia, which bordered on the Danube and Euphrates; and the entire sense of this passage, which Mr. Davis first mutilates and then attacks, is perfectly consistent with the original text of the learned Mosheim.

And yet I will fairly confess that, after a nicer inquiry into the epoch of the Armenian Church, I am not satisfied with the accuracy of my own expression. The assurance that the first Christian King, and the first Archbishop, Tiridates, and St. Gregory the Illuminator, were still alive several years after the death of Constantine, inclined me to believe, that the conversion of Armenia was posterior to the auspicious Revolution, which had given the sceptre of Rome to the hands of an orthodox Emperor. But I had not enough considered the two following circumstances. 1. I might have recollected the dates assigned by Moses of Chorene, who, on this occasion, may be regarded as

as a competent witness. Tiridates ascended the throne of Armenia in the third year of Diocletian, (Hist. Armeniæ, L. ii. c. 79. p. 207,) and St. Gregory, who was invested with the Episcopal character in the seventeenth year of Tiridates, governed almost thirty years the Church of Armenia, and disappeared from the world in the forty-sixth year of the reign of the same Prince. (Hist. Armeniæ, L. ii. c. 88. p. 224, 225.) The consecration of St. Gregory must therefore be placed A. D. 303, and the conversion of the King and kingdom was soon achieved by that successful missionary. 2. The unjust and inglorious war which Maximin undertook against the Armenians, the ancient faithful allies of the Republic, was evidently derived from a motive of superstitious zeal. The historian Eusebius (Hist. Eccles. L. ix. c. 8. p. 448. edit. Cantab.) considers the pious Armenians as a nation of Christians, who bravely defended themselves from the hostile oppression of an idolatrous tyrant. Instead of maintaining "that the conversion of Armenia was not attempted with any degree of success till the sceptre was in the hands of an orthodox Emperor," I ought to have observed, that the seeds of the faith were deeply sown during the season of the last and greatest persecution, that many Roman exiles might assist the labours of Gregory, and that the renowned Tiridates, the hero of the East, may dispute with Constantine the honour of being the first Sovereign who embraced the Christian religion.

In a future edition, I shall rectify an expression

which, in strictness, can only be applied to the kingdoms of Iberia and Æthiopia. Had the error been exposed by Mr. Davis himself, I should not have been ashamed to correct it; but *I am* ashamed at being reduced to contend with an adversary who is unable to discover, or to improve, his own advantages.

But, instead of prosecuting any inquiry from whence the Public might have gained instruction, and himself credit, Mr. Davis chooses to perplex his readers with some angry cavils about the progress of the Gospel in the second century. What does he mean to establish or to refute? Have I denied, that before the end of that period Christianity was very widely diffused both in the East and in the West? Has not Justin Martyr affirmed, without exception or limitation, that it was already preached to *every* nation on the face of the earth? Is that proposition true at present? Could it be true in the time of Justin? Does not Mosheim acknowledge the exaggeration? "Demus, nec enim quæ in oculos incurrunt infitiari audemus, esse in his verbis exaggerationis nonnihil. Certum enim est diu post Justini ætatem, multas orbis terrarum gentes cognitione Christi caruisse." (Mosheim de Rebus Christianis, p. 203.) Does he not expose (p. 205), with becoming scorn and indignation, the falsehood and vanity of the hyperboles of Tertullian? "bonum hominem æstu imaginationis elatum non satis adtendisse ad ea quæ literis consignabat."

The high esteem which Mr. Davis expresses for the

the writings of Mosheim, would alone convince me how little he has read them, since he must have been perpetually offended and disgusted by a train of thinking, the most repugnant to his own. His jealousy, however, for the honour of Mosheim, provokes him to arraign the boldness of Mr. Gibbon, who presumes *falsely* to charge such an eminent man with *unjustifiable assertions*.* I might observe, that my style, which on this occasion was more modest and moderate, has acquired, perhaps undesignedly, an illiberal cast from the rough hand of Mr. Davis. But as my veracity is impeached, I may be less solicitous about my politeness; and though I have repeatedly declined the fairest opportunities of correcting the errors of my predecessors, yet, as long as I have truth on my side, I am not easily daunted by the names of the most eminent men.

The assertion of Mosheim, which did not seem to be justified† by the authority of Lactantius, was, that the wife and daughter of Diocletian, Prisca and *Valeria*, had been privately *baptized*. Mr. Davis is sure that the words of Mosheim, "Christianis sacris clam initiata," need not be confined to the rite of baptism; and he is equally sure, that the reference to Mosheim does not lead us to discover even the name of Valeria. In both these assurances he is grossly mistaken; but it is the misfortune of controversy, that an error may be

* Davis, p. 131. † Gibbon, p. 676. N. 132.

 committed

committed in three or four words, which cannot be rectified in less than thirty or forty lines.

1. The true and the sole meaning of the Christian initiation, one of the familiar and favourite allusions of the Fathers of the fourth century, is clearly explained by the exact and laborious Bingham. "The baptized were also styled οἱ μεμυημενοι, which the Latins call *initiati*, the initiated, that is, admitted to the use of the *sacred* offices, and knowledge of the *sacred* mysteries of the Christian Religion. Hence came that form of speaking so frequently used by St. Chrysostom, and other ancient writers, when they touched upon any doctrines or mysteries which the Catechumens understood not, ισασιν οἱ μεμυημενοι, the initiated know what is spoken. St. Ambrose writes a book to these *initiati*; Isidore of Pelusium and Hesychius call them μυσται and μυσταγωγητοι. Whence the Catechumens have the contrary names, Αμυστοι, Αμυητοι, Αμυσταγωγητοι, the uninitiated or unbaptized." (Antiquities of the Christian Church, L. i. c. 4. No. 2. vol. i. p. 11. fol. edit.) Had I presumed to suppose that Mosheim was capable of employing a technical expression in a loose and equivocal sense, I should indeed have violated the respect which I have always entertained for his learning and abilities.

2. But Mr. Davis cannot discover in the text of Mosheim the name of Valeria. In that case Mosheim would have suffered another slight innaccuracy to drop from his pen, as the passage of Lactantius, "sacrificio pollui coëgit," on which he founds his assertion, includes the names both of Prisca

Prisca and Valeria. But I am not reduced to the necessity of accusing another in my own defence. Mosheim has properly and expressly declared that Valeria imitated the pious example of her mother Prisca, "Gener Diocletiani uxorem habebat *Valeriam* matris exemplum pietate erga Deum imitantem et a cultu fictorum Numinum alienam." (Mosheim, p. 913.) Mr. Davis has a bad habit of greedily snapping at the first words of a reference, without giving himself the trouble of going to the end of the page or paragraph.

These trifling and peevish cavils would, perhaps, have been confounded with some criticisms of the same stamp, on which I had bestowed a slight, though sufficient notice, in the beginning of this article of Mosheim; had not my attention been awakened by a peroration worthy of Tertullian himself, if Tertullian had been devoid of eloquence as well as of moderation—"Much less does the Christian Mosheim give our *infidel Historian* any pretext for inserting that *illiberal malignant insinuation*, 'That Christianity has, in every age, acknowledged its important obligations to FEMALE devotion;' the remark is truly *contemptible*."*

It is not my design to fill whole pages with a tedious enumeration of the many illustrious examples of female Saints, who, in every age, and almost in every country, have promoted the interest of Christianity. Such instances will readily offer themselves to those who have the slightest

* Davis, p. 132.

knowledge of Ecclesiastical History; nor is it necessary that I should remind them how much the charms, the influence, the devotion of Clotilda, and of her great-grand-daughter Bertha, contributed to the conversion of France and England. Religion may accept, without a blush, the services of the purest and most gentle portion of the human species: but there are some advocates who would disgrace Christianity, if Christianity could be disgraced, by the manner in which they defend her cause.

TILLEMONT. XV. As I could not readily procure the works of Gregory of Nyssa, I borrowed* from the accurate and indefatigable Tillemont, a passage in the life of Gregory Thaumaturgus, or the Wonder-worker, which affirmed, that when the Saint took possession of his episcopal see, he found only SEVENTEEN *Christians* in the city of Neo-Cæsarea, and the adjacent country, "Les environs, la campagne, le pays d'alentour." (Mem. Eccles. tom. iv. p. 677. 691. Edit. Brusselles, 1706.) These expressions of Tillemont, to whom I explicitly acknowledged my obligation, appeared synonymous to the word *diocese*, the whole territory entrusted to the pastoral care of the Wonder-worker, and I added the epithet of *extensive;* because I was apprised that Neo-Cæsarea was the capital of the Polemoniac Pontus, and that the whole kingdom of Pontus, which stretched above five hundred miles along the coast of the Euxine, was divided

* Gibbon, p. 605. N. 156.

between

between sixteen or seventeen bishops. (See the Geographia Ecclesiastica of Charles de St. Paul, and Lucas Holstenius, p. 249, 250, 251.) Thus far I may not be thought to have deserved any censure; but the omission of the subsequent part of the same passage, which imports, that at his death the Wonder-worker left no more than *seventeen Pagans*, may seem to wear a partial and suspicious aspect.

Let me therefore first observe, as some evidence of an impartial disposition, that I *easily* admitted, as the cool observation of the philosophic Lucian, the angry and interested complaint of the false prophet Alexander, that Pontus was filled with Christians. This complaint was made under the reigns of Marcus or of Commodus, with whom the impostor so admirably exposed by Lucian was contemporary: and I had contented myself with remarking, that the numbers of Christians must have been very unequally distributed in the several parts of Pontus, since the diocese of Neo-Cæsarea contained, above sixty years afterwards, only seventeen Christians. Such was the inconsiderable flock which Gregory began to feed about the year two hundred and forty; and the real or fabulous conversions ascribed to that Wonder-working Bishop, during a reign of thirty years, are totally foreign to the state of Christianity in the preceding century. This obvious reflection may serve to answer the objection of Mr. Davis,* and of another

* Davis, p. 136, 137.

adversary,* who on this occasion is more liberal than Mr. Davis of those harsh epithets so familiar to the tribe of polemics.

PAGI. XVI. "Mr. Gibbon says,† 'Pliny was sent into Bithynia (according to Pagi) in the year 110.'

"Now that accurate chronologer places it in the year 102. See the fact *recorded* in his Critico-Historico Chronologica in Annales C. Baronii, A. D. 102. p. 99. sæc. 2. § 3."

"I appeal to my reader, whether this anachronism does not plainly prove that our historian never looked into Pagi's Chronology, though he has not hesitated to make a pompous reference to him in his note?"‡

I cannot help observing that either Mr. Davis's dictionary is extremely confined, or that in his philosophy all sins are of equal magnitude. Every error of fact or language, every instance where he does not know how to reconcile the original and the reference, he expresses by the gentle word of *misrepresentation*. An inaccurate appeal to the sentiment of Pagi, on a subject where I must have been perfectly disinterested, might have been styled a lapse of memory, instead of being censured as the effect of vanity and ignorance. Pagi is neither a difficult nor an uncommon writer, nor could I hope to derive much additional fame from

* Dr. Randolph, in Chelsum's Remarks, p. 159, 160.

† Gibbon, p. 605. N. 157.

‡ Davis, p. 140.

a *pom-*

a *pompous* quotation of his writings, which I had never seen.

The words employed by Mr. Davis, of *fact*, of *record*, of *anachronism*, are unskilfully chosen, and so unhappily applied, as to betray a very shameful ignorance, either of the English language, or of the nature of this chronological question. The date of Pliny's government of Bithynia is not a fact recorded by any ancient writer, but an opinion which modern critics have variously formed, from the consideration of presumptive and collateral evidence. Cardinal Baronius placed the consulship of Pliny one year too late; and, as he was persuaded that the old practice of the republic still subsisted, he naturally supposed that Pliny obtained his province immediately after the expiration of his consulship. He therefore sends him into Bithynia in the year which, according to his erroneous computation, coincided with the year one hundred and four (Baron. Annal. Eccles. A. D. 103. No. 1. 104. No. 1.), or, according to the true chronology, with the year one hundred and two, of the Christian æra. This mistake of Baronius, Pagi, with the assistance of his friend Cardinal Noris, undertakes to correct. From an accurate parallel of the Annals of Trajan and the Epistles of Pliny, he deduces his proofs that Pliny remained at Rome several years after his consulship, by his own ingenious, though sometimes fanciful theory, of the imperial Quinquennalia, &c. Pagi at last discovers that Pliny made his entrance into Bithynia in the year one hundred and ten.

" Plinius

"Plinius igitur anno Christi CENTESIMO DECIMO Bithyniam intravit." Pagi, tom. i. p. 100.

I will be more indulgent to my adversary than he has been to me: I will admit that he has *looked into Pagi;* but I must add, that he has only looked into that accurate chronologer. To rectify the errors, which, in the course of a laborious and original work, had escaped the diligence of the Cardinal, was the arduous task which Pagi proposed to execute: and for the sake of perspicuity, he distributes his criticisms according to the particular dates, whether just or faulty, of the Chronology of Baronius himself. Under the year 102, Mr. Davis confusedly saw a long argument about Pliny and Bithynia, and without condescending to read the author whom he *pompously* quotes, this hasty critic imputes to him the opinion which he had so laboriously destroyed.

My readers, if any readers have accompanied me thus far, must be satisfied, and indeed satiated, with the repeated proofs which I have made of the weight and temper of my adversary's weapons. They have, in every assault, fallen dead and lifeless to the ground: they have more than once recoiled, and dangerously wounded the unskilful hand that had presumed to use them. I have now examined all the *misrepresentations* and *inaccuracies*, which even for a moment could perplex the ignorant or deceive the credulous: the *few* imputations which I have neglected are still more palpably false, or still more evidently trifling, and

even

even the friends of Mr. Davis will scarcely continue to ascribe my contempt to my fear.

The first part of his critical volume might admit, though it did not deserve, any particular reply. But the easy, though tedious compilation, which fills the remainder,* and which Mr. Davis has produced as the evidence of my shameful *plagiarisms*, may be set in its true light by three or four short and general reflections. PLAGIARISMS.

I. Mr. Davis has disposed, in two columns, the passages which he thinks proper to select from my two last chapters, and the corresponding passages from Middleton, Barbeyrac, Beausobre, Dodwell, &c. to the most important of which he had been regularly guided by my own quotations. According to the opinion which he has conceived of literary property, to *agree* is to *follow*, and to *follow* is to *steal*. He celebrates his own sagacity with loud and reiterated applause, and declares, with infinite facetiousness, that if he restored to every author the passages which Mr. Gibbon has purloined, *he* would appear as naked as the proud and gaudy daw in the fable, when each bird had plucked away its own plumes. Instead of being angry with Mr. Davis for the parallel which he has extended to so great a length, I am under some obligation to his industry for the copious proofs which he has furnished the reader, that my representation of some of the most important facts of ecclesiastical antiquity is supported by the autho-

* Davis, p. 168—274.

rity

rity or opinion of the most ingenious and learned of the modern writers. The public may not, perhaps, be very eager to assist Mr. Davis in his favourite amusement of *depluming* me. They may think, that if the materials which compose my two last chapters are curious and valuable, it is of little moment to whom they properly belong. If my readers are satisfied with the form, the colours, the new arrangement which I have given to the labours of my predecessors, they may perhaps consider me not as a contemptible thief, but as an honest and industrious manufacturer, who has fairly procured the raw materials, and worked them up with a laudable degree of skill and success.

II. About two hundred years ago, the court of Rome discovered that the system which had been erected by ignorance must be defended and countenanced by the aid, or at least by the abuse, of science. The grosser legends of the middle ages were abandoned to contempt, but the supremacy and infallibility of two hundred Popes, the virtues of many thousand Saints, and the miracles which they either performed or related, have been laboriously consecrated in the Ecclesiastical Annals of Cardinal Baronius. A theological barometer might be formed, of which the Cardinal and our countryman Dr. Middleton should constitute the opposite and remote extremities, as the former sunk to the lowest degree of credulity, which was compatible with learning, and the latter rose to the highest pitch of scepticism, in anywise consistent with religion. The intermediate gradations would be filled

filled by a line of ecclesiastical critics, whose rank has been fixed by the circumstances of their temper and studies, as well as by the spirit of the church or society to which they were attached. It would be amusing enough to calculate the weight of prejudice in the air of Rome, of Oxford, of Paris, and of Holland; and sometimes to observe the irregular tendency of papists towards freedom, sometimes to remark the unnatural gravitation of protestants towards slavery. But it is useful to borrow the assistance of so many learned and ingenious men, who have viewed the first ages of the church in every light, and from every situation. If we skilfully combine the passions and prejudices, the hostile motives and intentions, of the several theologians, we may frequently extract knowledge from credulity, moderation from zeal, and impartial truth from the most disingenuous controversy. It is the right, it is the duty of a critical historian to collect, to weigh, to select the opinions of his predecessors; and the more diligence he has exerted in the search, the more rationally he may hope to add some improvement to the stock of knowledge, the use of which has been common to all.

III. Besides the ideas which may be suggested by the study of the most learned and ingenious of the moderns, the historian may be indebted to them for the occasional communication of some passages of the ancients, which might otherwise have escaped his knowledge or his memory. In the consideration of any extensive subject, none will pretend

tend to have read all that has been written, or to recollect all that they have read; nor is there any disgrace in recurring to the writers who have professedly treated any questions, which, in the course of a long narrative, we are called upon to mention in a slight and incidental manner. If I touch upon the obscure and fanciful theology of the Gnostics, I can accept without a blush the assistance of the candid Beausobre; and when, amidst the fury of contending parties, I trace the progress of ecclesiastical dominion, I am not ashamed to confess myself the grateful disciple of the impartial Mosheim. In the next volume of my history, the reader and the critic must prepare themselves to see me make a still more liberal use of the labours of those indefatigable workmen who have dug deep into the mine of antiquity. The Fathers of the fourth and fifth centuries are far more voluminous than their predecessors; the writings of Jerom, of Augustin, of Chrysostom, &c. cover the walls of our libraries. The smallest part is of the historical kind: yet the treatises which seem the least to invite the curiosity of the reader, frequently conceal very useful hints, or very valuable facts. The polemic, who involves himself and his antagonists in a cloud of argumentation, sometimes relates the origin and progress of the heresy which he confutes; and the preacher who declaims against the luxury, describes the manners of the age; and seasonably introduces the mention of some public calamity, that he may ascribe it to the justice of offended heaven. It would surely be unreasonable to expect

pect that the historian should peruse enormous volumes, with the uncertain hope of extracting a few interesting lines, or that he should sacrifice whole days to the momentary amusement of his reader. Fortunately for us both, the diligence of ecclesiastical critics has facilitated our inquiries: the compilations of Tillemont might alone be considered as an immense repertory of truth and fable, of almost all that the fathers have preserved or invented, or believed; and if we equally avail ourselves of the labours of contending sectaries, we shall often discover, that the same passages which the prudence of one of the disputants would have suppressed or disguised, are placed in the most conspicuous light by the active and interested zeal of his adversary. On these occasions, what is the duty of a faithful historian, who derives from some modern writer the knowledge of some ancient testimony, which he is desirous of introducing into his own narrative? It is his duty, and it has been my invariable practice, to consult the original; to study with attention the words, the design, the spirit, the context, the situation of the passage to which I had been referred; and before I appropriated it to my own use, to justify my own declaration, "that I had carefully examined all the original materials that could illustrate the subject which I had undertaken to treat." If this important obligation has sometimes been imperfectly fulfilled, I have only omitted what it would have been impracticable for me to perform. The greatest city in the world is still destitute of that useful institution,

tion, a public library; and the writer who has undertaken to treat any large historical subject, is reduced to the necessity of purchasing, for his private use, a numerous and valuable collection of the books which must form the basis of his work. The diligence of his booksellers will not always prove successful; and the candour of his readers will not always expect, that, for the sake of verifying an accidental quotation of ten lines, he should load himself with an useless and expensive series of ten volumes. In a very few instances, where I had not the opportunity of consulting the originals, I have adopted their testimony on the faith of modern guides, of whose fidelity I was satisfied; but on these occasions,* instead of decking myself with the borrowed plumes of Tillemont or Lardner, I have been most scrupulously exact in marking the extent of my reading, and the source of my information. This distinction, which a sense of truth and modesty had engaged me to express, is ungenerously abused by Mr. Davis, who seems happy to inform his readers, that "in ONE instance (chap. xvi. 164, or in the first edition, 163) I have, by an unaccountable oversight, unfortunately for myself, forgot to drop the modern, and that I modestly disclaim all knowledge of Athanasius, but what I had picked up from Tillemont."† Without animadverting on the decency of these expressions, which are now grown familiar to me, I shall con-

* Gibbon, p. 605, N. 156; p. 606, N. 161; p. 690, N. 164; p. 699, N. 178.

† Davis, p. 273.

tent

tent myself with observing, that as I had frequently quoted Eusebius, or Cyprian, or Tertullian, *because* I had read them; so, in this instance, I only made my reference to Tillemont, *because* I had not read, and did not possess the works of Athanasius. The progress of my undertaking has since directed me to peruse the Historical Apologies of the Archbishop of Alexandria, whose life is a very interesting part of the age in which he lived; and if Mr. Davis should have the curiosity to look into my Second Volume, he will find that I make a free and frequent appeal to the writings of Athanasius. Whatever may be the opinion or practice of my adversary, this I apprehend to be the dealing of a fair and honourable man.

IV. The historical monuments of the three first centuries of ecclesiastical antiquities are neither very numerous nor very prolix. From the end of the Acts of the Apostles, to the time when the first apology of Justin Martyr was presented, there intervened a dark and doubtful period of fourscore years; and, even if the Epistles of Ignatius should be approved by the critic, they could not be very serviceable to the historian. From the middle of the second to the beginning of the fourth century, we gain our knowledge of the state and progress of Christianity, from the successive apologies which were occasionally composed by Justin, Athenagoras, Tertullian, Origen, &c. from the Epistles of Cyprian; from a few *sincere* acts of the Martyrs; from some moral or controversial tracts, which indirectly explain the events and manners of the times; from

the rare and accidental notice which profane writers have taken of the Christian sect; from the declamatory narrative which celebrates the deaths of the persecutors; and from the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius, who has preserved some valuable fragments of more early writers. Since the revival of letters, these original materials have been the common fund of critics and historians; nor has it ever been imagined, that the absolute and exclusive property of a passage in Eusebius or Tertullian was acquired by the first who had an opportunity of quoting it. The learned work of Mosheim, *de Rebus Christianis ante Constantinum*, was printed in the year 1753; and if I were possessed of the patience and disingenuity of Mr. Davis, I would engage to find all the ancient testimonies that he has alleged, in the writings of Dodwell or Tillemont, which were published before the end of the last century. But if I were animated by any malevolent intentions against Dodwell or Tillemont, I could as easily, and as unfairly, fix on *them* the guilt of plagiarism, by producing the same passages transcribed or translated at full length in the Annals of Cardinal Baronius. Let not criticism be any longer disgraced by the practice of such unworthy arts. Instead of admitting suspicions as false as they are ungenerous, candour will acknowledge, that Mosheim or Dodwell, Tillemont or Baronius, enjoyed the same right, and often were under the same obligation, of quoting the passages which they had read, and which were indispensably requisite to confirm the

the truth and substance of their similar narratives. Mr. Davis is so far from allowing me the benefit of this common indulgence, or rather of this common right, that he stigmatises with the name of *plagiarism* a close and literal agreement with Dodwell in the account of some parts of the persecution of Diocletian, where a few chapters of Eusebius and Lactantius, perhaps of Lactantius alone, are the sole materials from whence our knowledge could be derived, and where, if I had not transcribed, I must have invented. He is even bold enough (*bold* is not the *proper* word) to conceive some hopes of persuading his readers, that an historian who has employed several years of his life, and several hundred pages, on the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, had never read Orosius, or the Augustin History; and that he was forced to borrow, at second-hand, his quotations from the Theodosian code. I cannot profess myself very desirous of Mr. Davis's acquaintance; but if he will take the trouble of calling at my house any afternoon when I am *not* at home, my servant shall shew him my library, which he will find tolerably well furnished with the useful authors, ancient as well as modern, ecclesiastical as well as profane, who have *directly* supplied me with the materials of my History.

The peculiar reasons, and they are not of the most flattering kind, which urged me to repel the furious and feeble attack of Mr. Davis, have been already mentioned. But since I am drawn thus reluctantly into the lists of controversy, I shall not retire till I have saluted, either with stern defiance

or gentle courtesy, the theological champions who have signalized their ardour to break a lance against the shield of a *Pagan* adversary. The Fifteenth and Sixteenth Chapters have been honoured with the notice of several writers, whose names and characters seemed to promise more maturity of judgment and learning than could reasonably be expected from the unfinished studies of a Bachelor of Arts. The Reverend Mr. Apthorpe, Dr. Watson, the Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge, Dr. Chelsum of Christ Church, and his associate Dr. Randolph, President of Corpus Christi College, and the Lady Margaret's Professor of Divinity in the University of Oxford, have given me a fair right, which, however, I shall not abuse, of freely declaring my opinion on the subject of their respective criticisms.

Mr. Apthorpe.

If I am not mistaken, Mr. Apthorpe was the first who announced to the public his intention of examining the interesting subject which I had treated in the Two last Chapters of my History. The multitude of collateral and accessary ideas which presented themselves to the author, insensibly swelled the bulk of his papers to the size of a large volume in octavo; the publication was delayed many months beyond the time of the first advertisement; and when Mr. Apthorpe's Letters appeared, I was surprised to find, that I had *scarcely* any interest or concern in their contents. They are filled with general observations on the Study of History, with a large and useful catalogue

logue of Historians, and with a variety of reflexions, moral and religious, all preparatory to the direct and formal consideration of my Two last Chapters, which Mr. Apthorpe seems to reserve for the subject of a Second Volume. I sincerely respect the learning, the piety, and the candour of this gentleman, and must consider it as a mark of his esteem, that he has thought proper to begin his approaches at so great a distance from the fortifications which he designed to attack.

When Dr. Watson gave to the public his Apology for Christianity, in a Series of Letters, he addressed them to the Author of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, with a just confidence that he had considered this important object in a manner not unworthy of his antagonist or of himself. Dr. Watson's mode of thinking bears a liberal and a philosophic cast; his thoughts are expressed with spirit, and that spirit is always tempered by politeness and moderation. Such is the man whom I should be happy to call my friend, and whom I should not blush to call my antagonist. But the same motives which might tempt me to accept, or even to solicit, a private and amicable conference, dissuaded me from entering into a public controversy with a writer of so respectable a character; and I embraced the earliest opportunity of expressing to Dr. Watson himself, how sincerely I agreed with him in thinking, "That as the world is now possessed of the opinion of us both upon the subject in question, it may be per- DR. WATSON.

haps as proper for us both to leave it in this state."* The nature of the ingenious Professor's Apology contributed to strengthen the insuperable reluctance to engage in hostile altercation which was common to us both, by convincing me, that such an altercation was unnecessary as well as unpleasant. He very justly and politely declares, that a considerable part, near seventy pages, of his small volume are not directed to me,† but to a set of men whom he places in an odious and contemptible light. He leaves to other hands the defence of the leading Ecclesiastics, even of the primitive church; and without being *very* anxious, either to soften their vices and indiscretion, or to aggravate the cruelty of the Heathen persecutors, he passes over in silence the greatest part of my Sixteenth Chapter. It is not so much the purpose of the Apologist to examine the facts which have been advanced by the Historian, as to remove the impressions which may have been formed by many of his readers; and the Remarks of Dr. Watson consist more properly of general argumentation than of particular criticism. He fairly owns, that I have expressly allowed the full and irresistible weight of the *first* great cause of the success of Christianity;‡ and he is too candid to deny that the five *secondary* causes, which I had attempted to explain, operated with *some* degree of active

* Watson's Apology for Christianity, p. 200.
† Id. p. 202—268. ‡ Id. p. 5.

energy

energy towards the accomplishment of that great event. The only question which remains between us, relates to the *degree* of the weight and effect of those secondary causes; and as I am persuaded that our philosophy is not of the dogmatic kind, we should soon acknowledge that this precise degree cannot be ascertained by reasoning, nor perhaps be expressed by words. In the course of this inquiry, some incidental difficulties have arisen, which I had stated with impartiality, and which Dr. Watson resolves with ingenuity and temper. If in some instances he seems to have misapprehended my sentiments, I may hesitate whether I should impute the fault to my own want of clearness or to his want of attention, but I can never entertain a suspicion that Dr. Watson would descend to employ the disingenuous arts of vulgar controversy.

There is, however, one passage, and one passage only, which must not pass without some explanation; and I shall the more eagerly embrace this occasion to illustrate what I had said, as the misconstruction of my true meaning seems to have made an involuntary, but unfavourable impression on the liberal mind of Dr. Watson. As I endeavour *not* to palliate the severity, but to discover the motives, of the Roman magistrates, I had remarked, "it was in vain that the oppressed believer asserted the unalienable rights of conscience and private judgment. Though his situation might excite the pity, his arguments could never reach the understanding, either of the philosophic or of

the believing part of the Pagan world."* The humanity of Dr. Watson takes fire on the supposed provocation, and he asks me with unusual quickness, "How, Sir, are the arguments for liberty of conscience so exceedingly inconclusive, that you think them incapable of reaching the understanding even of philosophers?"† He continues to observe, that a captious adversary would embrace with avidity the opportunity this passage *affords*, of blotting my character with the odious stain of being a persecutor; a stain which no learning can wipe out, which no genius or ability can render amiable; and though he himself does not entertain such an opinion of my principles, his ingenuity tries in vain to provide me with the means of escape.

I must lament that I have not been successful in the explanation of a very simple notion of the spirit both of Philosophy and of Polytheism, which I have repeatedly inculcated. The arguments which assert the rights of conscience are not inconclusive in themselves, but the understanding of the Greeks and Romans was fortified against their evidence by an invincible prejudice. When we listen to the voice of Bayle, of Locke, and of genuine reason, in favour of religious toleration, we shall easily perceive that our most forcible appeal is made to our mutual feelings. If the Jew were allowed to argue with the Inquisitor, he would request that for a moment they might ex-

* Gibbon, p. 625. † Watson, p. 185.

change

change their different situations, and might safely ask his Catholic Tyrant, whether the fear of death would compel *him* to enter the synagogue, to receive the mark of circumcision, and to partake of the paschal lamb. As soon as the case of persecution was brought home to the breast of the Inquisitor, he must have found some difficulty in suppressing the dictates of natural equity, which would insinuate to his conscience, that he could have no right to inflict those punishments which under similar circumstances, he would esteem it as his duty to encounter. But this argument could not reach the understanding of a Polytheist, or of an ancient Philosopher. The former was ready, whenever he was summoned, or indeed without being summoned, to fall prostrate before the altars of any Gods who were adored in any part of the world, and to admit a vague persuasion of the *truth* and divinity of the most different modes of religion. The philosopher, who considered them, at least in their literal sense, as equally *false* and absurd, was not ashamed to disguise his sentiments, and to frame his actions according to the laws of his country, which imposed the same obligation on the philosophers and the people. When Pliny declared, that whatever was the opinion of the Christians, their obstinacy deserved punishment, the absurd cruelty of Pliny was excused in his own eye, by the consciousness that, in the situation of the Christians, he would not have refused the religious compliance which he exacted. I shall not repeat, that the Pagan worship was a matter, not

of

of *opinion*, but of *custom;* that the toleration of the Romans was confined to nations or families who followed the practice of their ancestors; and that in the first ages of Christianity their persecution of the individuals who departed from the established religion was neither moderated by pure reason, nor inflamed by exclusive zeal. But I only desire to appeal, from the hasty apprehension, to the more deliberate judgment, of Dr. Watson himself. Should there still remain any difference of opinion between us, I shall be satisfied, if he will consider me as a sincere though perhaps unsuccessful lover of truth and as a firm friend to civil and ecclesiastical freedom.

Dr. Chelsum and Dr. Randolph.

Far be it from me, or from any faithful historian, to impute to respectable societies the faults of some individual members. Our two Universities most undoubtedly contain the same mixture, and most probably the same proportions, of zeal and moderation, of reason and superstition. Yet there is much less difference between the smoothness of the Ionic, and the roughness of the Doric dialect, than may be found between the polished style of Dr. Watson, and the coarse language of Mr. Davis, Dr. Chelsum, or Dr. Randolph. The second of these critics, Dr. Chelsum of Christ Church, is unwilling that the world should forget that *he* was the first who sounded to arms, that *he* was the first who furnished the antidote to the poison, and who, as early as the month of October of the year 1776, published his *Strictures* on the two last Chapters of Mr. Gibbon's History. The success of a pamphlet, which

which he modestly styles imperfect and ill-digested, encouraged him to resume the controversy. In the beginning of the present year, his Remarks made their second appearance, with some alteration of form, and a large increase of bulk; and the author who seems to fight under the protection of two episcopal banners, has prefixed, in the front of his volume, his name and titles, which in the former edition he had less honourably suppressed. His confidence is fortified by the alliance and communications of a *distinguished* writer, Dr. Randolph, *&c.* who, on a proper occasion, would, no doubt, be ready to bear as honourable testimony to the merit and reputation of Dr. Chelsum. The two friends are indeed so happily united by art and nature, that if the author of the Remarks had not pointed out the valuable communications of the Margaret Professor, it would have been impossible to separate their respective property. Writers who possess any freedom of mind, may be known from each other by the peculiar character of their style and sentiments; but the champions who are inlisted in the service of Authority, commonly wear the uniform of the regiment. Oppressed with the same yoke, covered with the same trappings, they heavily move along, perhaps not with an equal pace, in the same beaten track of prejudice and preferment. Yet I should expose my own injustice, were I absolutely to confound with Mr. Davis the two Doctors in Divinity, who are joined in one volume. The three critics appear to be animated by the same implacable resentment against

against the historian of the Roman Empire; they are alike disposed to support the same opinions by the same arts; and if in the language of the two latter, the disregard of politeness is somewhat less gross and indecent, the difference is not of such a magnitude as to excite in my breast any lively sensations of gratitude. It was the misfortune of Mr. Davis that he undertook to *write* before he had *read*. He set out with the stock of authorities which he found in my quotations, and boldly ventured to play his reputation against mine. Perhaps he may now repent of a loss which is not easily recovered; but if I had not surmounted my almost insuperable reluctance to a public dispute, many a reader might still be dazzled by the vehemence of his assertions, and might still believe that Mr. Davis had detected several wilful and important misrepresentations in my two last chapters. But the confederate doctors appear to be scholars of a higher form and longer experience; they enjoy a certain rank in their academical world; and as their zeal is enlightened by some rays of knowledge, so their desire to ruin the credit of their adversary is occasionally checked by the apprehension of injuring their own. These restraints, to which Mr. Davis was a stranger, have confined them to a very narrow and humble path of historical criticism; and if I were to correct, according to their wishes, all the particular facts against which they have advanced any objections, these corrections, admitted in their fullest extent, would

would hardly furnish materials for a decent list of *errata*.

The *dogmatical* part of their work, which in every sense of the word deserves that appellation, is ill adapted to engage my attention. I had declined the consideration of theological arguments, when they were managed by a candid and liberal adversary; and it would be inconsistent enough, if I should have refused to draw my sword in honourable combat against the keen and well-tempered weapon of Dr. Watson, for the sole purpose of encountering the rustic cudgel of two staunch and sturdy polemics.

I shall not enter any farther into the character and conduct of Cyprian, as I am sensible that, if the opinion of Le Clerc, Mosheim, and myself, is reprobated by Dr. Chelsum and his ally, the difference must subsist, till we shall entertain the same notions of moral virtue and ecclesiastical power.* If Dr. Randolph will allow that the primitive clergy received, managed, and distributed the tithes, and other charitable donations of the faithful, the dispute between *us* will be a dispute of words.† I shall not amuse myself with proving that the learned Origen must have derived from the *inspired* authority of the church his knowledge, not indeed of the *authenticity*, but of the *inspiration* of the *four* Evangelists, *two* of whom are not in the rank of the Apostles.‡ I

* Gibbon, p. 558, 559. Chelsum, p. 132—139.

† Gibbon, p. 592. Randolph in Chelsum, p. 122.

‡ Gibbon, p. 551, N. 33. Chelsum, p. 39.

shall

shall submit to the judgment of the public, whether the Athanasian Creed is not read and received in the Church of England, and whether the wisest and most virtuous of the Pagans* believed the Catholic faith, which is declared in the Athanasian Creed to be absolutely necessary for salvation. As little shall I think myself interested in the elaborate disquisitions with which the author of the Remarks has filled a great number of pages, concerning the famous testimony of Josephus, the passages of Irenæus and Theophilus, which relate to the gift of miracles, and the origin of circumcision in Palestine or in Egypt.† If I have rejected, and rejected with some contempt, the *interpolation* which pious fraud has very aukwardly inserted in the text of Josephus, I may deem myself secure behind the shield of learned and pious critics (see in particular Le Clerc, in his Ars Critica, part iii. sect. i. c. 15. and Lardner's Testimonies, vol. i. p. 150, &c.), who have condemned this passage: and I think it very natural that Dr. Chelsum should embrace the contrary opinion, which is not destitute of able advocates. The passages of Irenæus and Theophilus were thoroughly sifted in the controversy about the duration of miracles; and as the works of Dr. Middleton may be found in every library, so it is not impossible that a diligent search may still discover some remains of the writings of his adversaries. In mentioning the

* Gibbon, p. 563, N. 70. Chelsum, p. 66.

† Chelsum's Remarks, p. 13—19. 67—91. 180—185.

confession

confession of the Syrians of Palestine, that they had received from Egypt the rite of circumcision, I had simply alleged the testimony of Herodotus, without expressly adopting the sentiment of Marsham. But I had always imagined, that in these doubtful and indifferent questions, which have been solemnly argued before the tribunal of the public, every scholar was at liberty to choose his side, without assigning his reasons; nor can I yet persuade myself, that either Dr. Chelsum, or myself, are likely to enforce, by any new arguments, the opinions which we have respectively followed. The only novelty for which I can perceive myself indebted to Dr. Chelsum, is the very extraordinary scepticism which he insinuates concerning the time of Herodotus, who, according to the chronology of some, flourished during the time of the Jewish captivity.* Can it be necessary to inform a divine, that the captivity which lasted seventy years, according to the prophecy of Jeremiah, was terminated in the year 536 before Christ, by the edict which Cyrus published in the first year of his reign? (Jeremiah, xxv. 11, 12, xxix. 10. Ezra, i. 1. &c. Usher and Prideaux, under the years 606 and 536.) Can it be necessary to inform a man of letters, that Herodotus was fifty-three years old at the commencement of the Peloponnesian war (Aulus Gellius, Noct. Attic. xv. 23. from the commentaries of Pamphila), and consequently that he was born in the year before

* Chelsum, p. 15.

Christ

Christ 484, fifty-two years after the end of the Jewish captivity? As this well attested fact is not exposed to the slightest doubt or difficulty, I am somewhat curious to learn the names of those unknown authors, whose chronology Dr. Chelsum has allowed as the specious foundation of a probable hypothesis. The author of the Remarks does not seem indeed to have cultivated, with much care or success, the province of literary history; as a very moderate acquaintance with that useful branch of knowledge would have saved him from a positive mistake, much less excusable than the doubt which he entertains about the time of Herodotus. He styles Suidas "a *Heathen* writer, who lived about the end of the *tenth* century."* I admit the period which he assigns to Suidas; and which is well ascertained by Dr. Bentley. (See his Reply to Boyle, p. 22, 23.) We are led to fix this epoch, by the chronology which this *Heathen* writer has deduced from Adam, to the death of the emperor John Zimisces, A. D. 975: and a crowd of passages might be produced, as the unanswerable evidence of his Christianity. But the most unanswerable of all is the very date, which is not disputed between us. The philosophers who flourished under Justinian (see Agathias, L. ii. p. 65, 66.) appear to have been the last of the Heathen writers: and the ancient religion of the Greeks was annihilated almost four hundred years before the birth of Suidas.

* Chelsum, p. 73.

After

After this animadversion, which is not intended either to insult the failings of my Adversary, or to provide a convenient excuse for my own errors, I shall proceed to select *two* important parts of Dr. Chelsum's Remarks, from which the candid reader may form some opinion of the whole. They relate to the military service of the first Christians, and to the historical character of Eusebius, and I shall review them with the less reluctance, as it may not be impossible to pick up something curious and useful even in the barren waste of controversy.

MILITARY SERVICE OF THE FIRST CHRISTIANS.

I. In representing the errors of the primitive Christians, which flowed from an excess of virtue, I had observed, *that* they exposed themselves to the reproaches of the Pagans, by their obstinate refusal to take an active part in the civil administration, or military defence of the empire; *that* the objections of Celsus appear to have been mutilated by his adversary Origen; and *that* the Apologists, to whom the public dangers were urged, returned obscure and ambiguous answers, as they were unwilling to disclose the true ground of their security, their opinion of the approaching end of the world.* In another place I had related, from the acts of Ruinart, the action and punishment of the Centurion Marcellus, who was put to death for renouncing the service in a public and seditious manner.†

On this occasion Dr. Chelsum is extremely

* Gibbon, p. 580, 581. † Idem, p. 680.

alert. He denies my facts, controverts my opinions, and, with a politeness worthy of Mr. Davis himself, insinuates that I borrowed the story of Marcellus, not from Ruinart, but from Voltaire. My learned adversary thinks it highly improbable that Origen should dare to *mutilate* the objections of Celsus, "whose work was, in all probability, extant at the time he made this reply. In such case, had he even been inclined to treat his adversary unfairly, he must yet surely have been withheld from the attempt, through the fear of detection."* The experience both of ancient and modern controversy has indeed convinced me that this reasoning, just and natural as it may seem, is totally inconclusive, and that the generality of disputants, especially in religious contests, are of a much more daring and intrepid spirit. For the truth of this remark, I shall content myself with producing a recent and very singular example, in which Dr. Chelsum himself is personally interested. He charges† me with passing over in "silence the important and unsuspected testimony of a heathen historian (Dion Cassius) to the persecution of Domitian; and he affirms, that I have produced that testimony so far only as it relates to Clemens and Domitilla; yet in the very same passage follows immediately, that on a like accusation MANY OTHERS were also condemned. Some of them were put to death, others suffered the confiscation of their goods."‡ Al-

* Chelsum, p. 118, 119. † Id. p. 188. ‡ Gibbon, p. 645.

though

though I should not be ashamed to undertake the apology of Nero or Domitian, if I thought them innocent of any particular crime with which zeal or malice had unjustly branded their memory; yet I should indeed blush, if, in favour of tyranny, or even in favour of virtue, I had suppressed the truth and evidence of historical facts. But the Reader will feel some surprise, when he has convinced himself that, in the three editions of my First Volume, after relating the death of Clemens, and the exile of Domitilla, I continue to allege the ENTIRE TESTIMONY of Dion, in the following words: "and sentences either of death, or of confiscation, were pronounced against a GREAT NUMBER OF PERSONS who were involved in the same accusation. The guilt imputed to their charge, was that of Atheism and Jewish manners; a singular association of ideas which cannot with any propriety be applied except to the Christians, as they were obscurely and imperfectly viewed by the magistrates and writers of that period." Dr. Chelsum has not been deterred by the fear of detection, from this scandalous mutilation of the popular work of a living adversary. But Celsus had been dead above fifty years before Origen published his Apology; and the copies of an ancient work, instead of being instantaneously multiplied by the operation of the press, were separately and slowly transcribed by the labour of the hand.

If any modern divine should still maintain that the fidelity of Origen was secured by motives more honourable than the fear of detection, he

may learn from Jerom the difference of the *gymnastic* and *dogmatic* styles. Truth is the object of the one, victory of the other; and the same arts which would disgrace the sincerity of the teacher, serve only to display the skill of the disputant. After justifying his own practice by that of the orators and philosophers, Jerom defends himself by the more respectable authority of Christian apologists. "How many thousand lines, says he, have been composed against *Celsus* and Porphyry, by *Origen*, Methodius, Eusebius, Apollinaris? Consider with what arguments, with what slippery problems, they elude the inventions of the Devil; and how, in their controversy with the Gentiles, they are sometimes obliged to speak, not what they really think, but what is most advantageous for the cause they defend." "Origenes, &c. multis versuum millibus scribunt adversus Celsum et Porphyrium. Considerate quibus argumentis et quam lubricis problematibus diaboli spiritu contexta subvertunt: et quia interdum coguntur loqui, non quod sentiunt, sed quod necesse est dicunt adversus ea quæ dicunt Gentiles." (Pro Libris advers. Jovinian. Apolog. tom. ii. p. 135.)

Yet Dr. Chelsum may still ask, and he has a right to ask, why in this particular instance I suspect the pious Origen of mutilating the objections of his adversary. From a very obvious, and, in my opinion, a very decisive circumstance. Celsus was a Greek philosopher, the friend of Lucian; and I thought that, although he might support error by sophistry, he would not write nonsense

in

in his own language. I renounce my suspicion, if the most attentive reader is able to understand the design and purport of a passage which is given as a formal quotation from Celsus, and which begins with the following words: "Ου μην αδε εκεινο ανεκτον σε λεγοντος, ως, &c. (Origen contr. Celsum, L. viii. p. 425. edit. Spencer, Cantab. 1677.) I have carefully inspected the original, and I have availed myself of the learning of Spencer, and even Bouhereau, (for I shall always disclaim the absurd and affected pedantry of using without scruple a Latin version, but of despising the aid of a French translation,) and the ill success of my efforts has countenanced the suspicion to which I still adhere, with a just mixture of doubt and hesitation. Origen very boldly denies, that any of the Christians have affirmed what is imputed to them by Celsus, in this unintelligible quotation; and it may easily be credited, that none had maintained what none can comprehend. Dr. Chelsum has produced the words of Origen; but on this occasion there is a strange ambiguity in the language of the modern divine,* as if he wished to insinuate what he dared not affirm; and every reader must conclude, from his state of the question, that Origen expressly denied the truth of the *accusation* of Celsus, who had *accused* the Christians of declining to assist their fellow-subjects in the military defence of the empire, assailed on every side by the arms of the Barbarians.

* Chelsum, p. 118.

Will Dr. Chelsum justify to the world, can he justify to his own feelings, the abuse which he has made even of the privileges of the Gymnastic style? Careless and hasty indeed must have been his perusal of Origen, if he did not perceive that the ancient apologist, who makes a stand on some incidental question, admits the accusation of his adversary, that the Christians *refused* to bear arms even at the command of their sovereign. "Και ε συστρατευομεθα μην αυτῳ, καν επειγη." (Origen, L. viii. p. 427.) He endeavours to palliate this undutiful refusal, by representing that the Christians had their peculiar camps, in which they incessantly combated for the safety of the emperor and the empire, by lifting up their right hands—in prayer. The apologist seems to hope that his country will be satisfied with this spiritual aid, and dexterously confounding the colleges of Roman priests with the multitudes which swelled the Catholic church, he claims for his brethren, in all the provinces, the exemption from military service, which was enjoyed by the sacerdotal order. But as this excuse might not readily be allowed, Origen looks forwards with a lively faith to that auspicious revolution, which Celsus had rejected as impossible, when all the nations of the habitable earth, renouncing their passions and their arms, should embrace the pure doctrines of the Gospel, and lead a life of peace and innocence under the immediate protection of Heaven. The faith of Origen seems to be principally founded on the predictions of the Prophet Zephaniah (See iii. 9, 10.;) and he prudently observes,

observes, that the prophets often speak secret things (εν αποῤῥητω λεγεσι p. 426,) which may be understood by those who can understand them; and that if this stupendous change cannot be effected while we retain our bodies, it may be accomplished as soon as we shall be released from them. Such is the reasoning of Origen: though I have not followed the order, I have faithfully preserved the substance of it; which fully justifies the truth and propriety of my observations.

The execution of Marcellus, the Centurion, is naturally connected with the Apology of Origen, as the former declared by his actions, what the latter had affirmed in his writings, that the conscience of a devout Christian would not allow him to bear arms, even at the command of his sovereign. I had represented this religious scruple as *one* of the motives which provoked Marcellus, on the day of a public festival, to throw away the ensigns of his office; and I presumed to observe, that such an act of desertion would have been punished in any government according to martial or even civil law. Dr. Chelsum* very *bluntly* accuses me of misrepresenting the story, and of suppressing those circumstances which would have defended the Centurion from the unjust imputation thrown by me upon his conduct. The dispute between the advocate for Marcellus and myself lies in a very narrow compass; as the whole

* Chelsum, p. 114—117.

evidence is comprised in a short, simple, and, I believe, authentic narrative.

1. In another place I observed, and even pressed the observation, "that the innumerable deities and rites of Polytheism were closely interwoven with every circumstance of business or pleasure, of public or of private life;" and I had particularly specified how much the Roman discipline was connected with the national superstition. A solemn oath of fidelity was repeated every year in the name of the gods and of the genius of the Emperor, public and daily sacrifices were performed at the head of the camp, the legionary was continually tempted or rather compelled, to join in the idolatrous worship of his fellow-soldiers; and had not any scruples been entertained of the lawfulness of war, it is not easy to understand how any serious Christian could enlist under a banner which has been justly termed the *rival of the Cross*. "Vexilla æmula Christi." (Tertullian de Corona Militis, c. xi.) With regard to the soldiers, who before their conversion were already engaged in the military life, fear, habit, ignorance, necessity, might bend them to some acts of occasional conformity; and as long as they abstained from absolute and intentional idolatry, their behaviour was excused by the indulgent, and censured by the more rigid casuists. (See the whole Treatise *de Corona Militis*.) We are ignorant of the adventures and character of the Centurion Marcellus, how long he had conciliated the profession of arms and

and of the Gospel, whether he was only a Catechumen, or whether he was initiated by the sacrament of baptism. We are likewise at a loss to ascertain the particular act of idolatry which so suddenly and so forcibly provoked his pious indignation. As he declared his faith in the midst of a public entertainment given on the birth-day of Galerius, he must have been startled by some of the sacred and convivial rites (Convivia ista profana reputans) of prayers, or vows, or libations, or, perhaps, by the offensive circumstance of eating the meats which had been offered to the idols. But the scruples of Marcellus were not confined to these accidental impurities; they evidently reached the essential duties of his profession; and when, before the tribunal of the magistrates, he avowed his faith at the hazard of his life, the Centurion declared, as his cool and determined persuasion, that it does not become a Christian man, who is the soldier of the Lord Christ, to bear arms for any object of earthly concern. "Non enim decebat Christianum hominem molestiis secularibus militare, qui Christo Domino militat:" a formal declaration, which clearly disengages from each other the different questions of war and idolatry. With regard to both these questions, as they were understood by the primitive Christians, I wish to refer the reader to the sentiments and authorities of Mr. Moyle, a bold and ingenious critic, who read the Fathers as their judge, and not as their slave, and who has refuted, with the most patient candour, all that learned prejudice could suggest

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in favour of the silly story of the Thundering Legion. (See Moyle's Works, Vol. ii. p. 84—88. 111—116. 163—212. 298—302. 327—341.) And here let me add, that the passage of Origen, who in the name of his brethren disclaims the duty of military service, is understood by Mr. Moyle in its true and obvious signification.

2. I know not where Dr. Chelsum has imbibed the principles of logic or morality which teach him to approve the conduct of Marcellus, who threw down his rod, his belt, and his arms, at the head of the legion, and publicly renounced the military service, *at the very time* when he found himself obliged to offer sacrifice. Yet surely this is a very false notion of the condition and duties of a Roman Centurion. Marcellus was bound, by a solemn oath, to serve with fidelity till he should be regularly discharged; and according to the sentiments which Dr. Chelsum ascribes to him, he was not released from his oath by any mistaken opinion of the unlawfulness of war. I would propose it as a case of conscience to any philosopher, or even to any casuist in Europe, Whether a particular order which cannot be reconciled with virtue or piety, dissolves the ties of a general and lawful obligation? And whether, if they had been consulted by the Christian Centurion, they would not have directed him to increase his diligence in the execution of his military functions, to refuse to yield to any act of idolatry, and patiently to expect the consequences of such a refusal? But, instead of obeying the mild and moderate dictates of religion,

religion, instead of distinguishing between the duties of the soldier and of the Christian, Marcellus, with imprudent zeal, rushed forwards to seize the crown of martyrdom. He might have privately confessed himself guilty to the tribune or præfect under whom he served: he chose on the day of a public festival to disturb the order of the camp. He insulted, without necessity, the religion of his sovereign and of his country, by the epithets of contempt which he bestowed on the Roman gods. "Deos vestros ligneos et lapideos adorare contemno, quæ sunt idola surda et muta." Nay more; at the head of the legion, and in the face of the standards, the Centurion Marcellus openly renounced his allegiance to the Emperors. "Ex hoc militare IMPERATORIBUS VESTRIS desisto." From this moment I no longer serve YOUR EMPERORS, are the important words of Marcellus, which his advocate has not thought proper to translate. I again make my appeal to any lawyer, to any military man, Whether, under such circumstances, the pronoun *your* has not a seditious, and even treasonable import? And whether the officer who should make this declaration, and at the same time throw away his sword at the head of the regiment, would not be condemned for mutiny and desertion by any court-martial in Europe? I am the rather disposed to judge favourably of the conduct of the Roman government, as I cannot discover any desire to take advantage of the indiscretion of Marcellus. The commander of the legion seemed to lament that it was not in his power to dissemble this

this rash action. After a delay of more than three months, the Centurion was examined before the Vice-præfect, his superior judge, who offered him the fairest opportunities of explaining or qualifying his seditious expressions, and at last condemned him to lose his head; not simply because he was a Christian, but because he had violated his military oath, thrown away his belt, and publicly blasphemed the Gods and the Emperors. Perhaps the impartial reader will confirm the sentence of the Vice-præfect Agricolanus, "Ita se habent facta Marcelli, ut hæc *disciplinâ* debeant vindicari."

Notwithstanding the plainest evidence, Dr. Chelsum will not believe that either Origen in theory, or Marcellus in practice, could seriously object to the use of arms; "because it is well known, that, far from declining the business of war altogether, whole legions of Christians served in the Imperial armies."* I have not yet discovered, in the author or authors of the Remarks, many traces of a clear and enlightened understanding, yet I cannot suppose them so destitute of every reasoning principle, as to imagine that they here allude to the conduct of the Christians who embraced the profession of arms after their religion had obtained a public establishment. Whole legions of Christians served under the banners of Constantine and Justinian, as whole regiments of Christians are now enlisted in the service of France

* Chelsum, p. 113.

or

or England. The representation which I had given, was confined to the principles and practice of the church of which Origen and Marcellus were members, before the sense of public and private interest had reduced the lofty standard of evangelical perfection to the ordinary level of human nature. In those primitive times, where are the Christian legions that served in the imperial armies? Our ecclesiastical Pompeys may stamp with their foot, but no armed men will arise out of the earth, except the ghosts of the Thundering and the Thebæan legions; the former renowned for a miracle, and the latter for a martyrdom. Either the two Protestant Doctors must acquiesce under some imputations which are better understood than expressed, or they must prepare, in the full light and freedom of the eighteenth century, to undertake the defence of two obsolete legions, the least absurd of which staggered the well-disciplined credulity of a Franciscan Friar. (See Pagi Critic. ad Annal. Baronii, A. D. 174. tom. i. p. 168.) Very different was the spirit and taste of the learned and ingenuous Dr. Jortin, who, after treating the silly story of the Thundering legion with the contempt it deserved, continues in the following words: "Moyle wishes no greater penance to the believers of the Thundering Legion, than that they may also believe the Martyrdom of the Thebæan Legion (Moyle's Works, vol. ii. p. 103.): to which good wish, I say with Le Clerc (Bibliothèque A. et M. tom. xxvii. p. 193.) AMEN.

"Qui

"Qui Bavium non odit, amet tua carmina, Mævi."

(Jortin's Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, vol. i. p. 367. 2d Edition, London, 1767.)

Yet I shall not attempt to conceal a formidable army of Christians and even of Martyrs, which is ready to enlist under the banners of the confederate Doctors, if they will accept their service. As a specimen of the extravagant legends of the middle age, I had produced the instance of ten thousand Christian soldiers supposed to have been crucified on Mount Ararat, by the order either of Trajan or Hadrian.* For the mention and for the confutation of this story, I had appealed to a papist and a protestant, to the learned Tillemont (Mem. Ecclesiast. tom. ii. part ii. p. 438.), and to the diligent Geddes (Miscellanies, vol. ii. p. 203.), and when Tillemont was not afraid to say that there are few histories which appear more fabulous, I was not ashamed of dismissing the *fable* with silent contempt. We may trace the degrees of fiction as well as those of credibility, and the impartial critic will not place on the same level the baptism of Philip and the donation of Constantine. But in considering the crucifixion of the ten thousand Christian soldiers, we are not reduced to the necessity of weighing any internal probabilities, or of disproving any external testimonies. This legend, the absurdity of which must strike every *rational* mind, stands naked and unsupported by

* Gibbon, p. 654. N. 74.

the

the authority of any writer who lived within a thousand years of the age of Trajan, and has not been able to obtain the poor sanction of the uncorrupted martyrologies which were framed in the most credulous period of ecclesiastical history. The two Protestant Doctors will probably reject the unsubstantial present which has been offered them; yet there is one of my adversaries, the *anonymous Gentleman*, who boldly declares himself the votary of the ten thousand martyrs, and challenges me "to discredit a FACT which hitherto by many has been looked upon as well established."* It is pity that a prudent confessor did not whisper in his ear, that, although the martyrdom of these military Saints, like that of the eleven thousand virgins, may contribute to the edification of the faithful, these wonderful tales should not be rashly exposed to the jealous and inquisitive eye of those profane critics, whose examination always precedes, and sometimes checks, their religious assent.

CHARACTER AND CREDIT OF EUSEBIUS.

II. A grave and pathetic complaint is introduced by Dr. Chelsum, into his preface,† that Mr. Gibbon, who has often referred to the Fathers of the Church, seems to have entertained a general distrust of those respectable witnesses. The critic is scandalized at the epithets of scanty and *suspicious*, which are applied to the materials of ecclesiastical history; and if he cannot impeach the truth of the former, he censures in the most angry terms the

* Remarks, p. 65, 66, 67. † P. ii. iii.

injus-

injustice of the latter. He assumes, with peculiar zeal, the defence of Eusebius, the venerable parent of Ecclesiastical History, and labours to rescue his character from the *gross misrepresentation* on which Mr. Gibbon has openly insisted.* He observes, as if he sagaciously foresaw the objection, "That it will not be sufficient here to allege a few instances of apparent credulity in some of the Fathers, in order to fix a general charge of *suspicion* on all." But it *may* be sufficient to allege a clear and fundamental principle of historical as well as legal Criticism, that whenever we are destitute of the means of comparing the testimonies of the opposite parties, the evidence of *any* witness, however illustrious by his rank and titles, is justly to be *suspected* in his own cause. It is unfortunate enough, that I should be engaged with adversaries, whom their habits of study and conversation appear to have left in total ignorance of the principles which universally regulate the opinions and practice of mankind.

As the ancient world was not distracted by the fierce conflicts of hostile sects, the free and eloquent writers of Greece and Rome had few opportunities of indulging their passions, or of exercising their impartiality in the relation of religious events. Since the origin of Theological Factions, some historians, Ammianus Marcellinus, Fra-Paolo, Thuanus, Hume, and perhaps a few others, have deserved the singular praise of holding the balance

* Chelsum and Randolph, p. 220—238.

with

with a steady and equal hand. Independent and unconnected, they contemplated with the same indifference, the opinions and interests of the contending parties; or, if they were seriously attached to a particular system, they were armed with a firm and moderate temper, which enabled them to suppress their affections, and to sacrifice their resentments. In this small, but *venerable* Synod of historians, Eusebius cannot claim a seat. I had acknowledged, and I still think, that his character was less tinctured with credulity than that of most of his contemporaries; but as his enemies must admit, that he was sincere and earnest in the profession of Christianity, so the warmest of his admirers, or at least of his readers, must discern, and will probably applaud, the religious zeal which disgraces or adorns every page of his Ecclesiastical History. This laborious and useful work was published at a time, between the defeat of Licinius and the Council of Nice, when the resentment of the Christians was still warm, and when the Pagans were astonished and dismayed by the recent victory and conversion of the great Constantine. The materials, I shall dare to repeat the invidious epithets of scanty and suspicious, were extracted from the accounts which the Christians themselves had given of their *own* sufferings, and of the cruelty of their enemies. The Pagans had so long and so contemptuously neglected the rising greatness of the Church, that the Bishop of Cæsarea had little either to hope or to fear from the writers of the opposite party; almost all of that *little*

which did exist, has been accidentally lost, or purposely destroyed; and the candid inquirer may vainly wish to compare with the History of Eusebius, some Heathen narrative of the persecutions of Decius and Diocletian. Under these circumstances, it is the duty of an impartial judge to be counsel for the prisoner, who is incapable of making any defence for himself; and it is the first office of a counsel to examine with distrust and *suspicion* the interested evidence of the accuser. Reason justifies the suspicion, and it is confirmed by the constant experience of modern History, in almost every instance where we have an opportunity of comparing the mutual complaints and apologies of the religious factions, who have disturbed each other's happiness in this world, for the sake of securing it in the next.

As we are deprived of the means of contrasting the adverse relations of the Christians and Pagans; it is the more incumbent on us to improve the opportunities of trying the narratives of Eusebius, by the original, and sometimes occasional, testimonies of the more ancient writers of his own party. Dr. Chelsum * has observed, that the celebrated passage of Origen, which has so much thinned the ranks of the army of Martyrs, must be confined to the persecutions that had already happened. I cannot dispute this sagacious remark, but I shall venture to add, that this passage more immediately relates to the religious tempests which had been

* Gibbon, p. 653. Chelsum, p. 204—207.

excited

excited in the time and country of Origen; and still more particularly to the city of Alexandria, and to the persecution of Severus, in which young Origen successfully exhorted his father to sacrifice his life and fortune for the cause of Christ. From such unquestionable evidence, I am authorised to conclude, that the number of holy victims who sealed their faith with their blood, was not, on this occasion, very considerable: but I cannot reconcile this fair conclusion with the positive declaration of Eusebius (L. vi. c. 2. p. 258.), that at Alexandria, in the persecution of Severus, an innumerable, at least an indefinite multitude (μυριοι) of Christians were honoured with the crown of martyrdom. The advocates for Eusebius may exert their critical skill in proving that μυριοι and ολιγοι *many* and *few*, are synonimous and convertible terms, but they will hardly succeed in diminishing so palpable a contradiction, or in removing the suspicion which deeply fixes itself on the historical character of the Bishop of Cæsarea. This unfortunate experiment taught me to read, with becoming caution, the loose and declamatory style which *seems* to magnify the multitude of martyrs and confessors, and to aggravate the nature of their sufferings. From the same motives I selected, with careful observation, the more certain account of the number of persons who actually suffered death in the province of Palestine, during the whole eight years of the last and most rigorous persecution.

Besides the reasonable grounds of suspicion,

which suggest themselves to every liberal mind, against the credibility of the Ecclesiastical Historians, and of Eusebius, their venerable leader, I had taken notice of two very remarkable passages of the Bishop of Cæsarea. He frankly, or at least indirectly, declares, that in treating of the last persecution, "he has related whatever might redound to the glory, and suppressed all that could tend to the disgrace, of Religion."* Dr. Chelsum, who, on this occasion, most lamentably exclaims that we should hear Eusebius, before we utterly condemn him, has provided, with the assistance of his worthy colleague, an elaborate defence for their common patron; and as if he were secretly conscious of the weakness of the cause, he has contrived the resource of intrenching himself in a very muddy soil, behind three several fortifications, which do not exactly support each other. The advocate for the sincerity of Eusebius maintains: 1st, That he never made such a declaration: 2dly, That he had a right to make it: and, 3dly, That he did not observe it. These separate and almost inconsistent apologies, I shall separately consider.

1. Dr. Chelsum is at a loss how to reconcile, ——I beg pardon for weakening the force of his dogmatic style; he declares, that "It was plainly impossible to reconcile the express words of the charge exhibited, with any part of either of the passages appealed to in support of it."† If he means, as I think he must, that the *express words* of

* Gibbon, p. 699. † Chelsum, p. 232.

my

my text cannot be found in that of Eusebius, I congratulate the importance of the discovery. But was it possible? Could it be my design to quote the words of Eusebius, when I reduced into one sentence the spirit and substance of two diffuse and distinct passages? If I have given the true sense and meaning of the Ecclesiastical Historian, I have discharged the duties of a fair Interpreter; nor shall I refuse to rest the proof of my fidelity on the translation of those two passages of Eusebius, which Dr. Chelsum produces in his favour.* "But it is not our part to describe the sad calamities which at last befel them (the *Christians*), since it does not agree with our plan to relate their dissensions and wickedness before the persecution; on which account we have determined to relate nothing more concerning them than may serve to justify the Divine Judgment. We therefore have not been induced to make mention either of those who were tempted in the persecution, or of those who made utter shipwreck of their salvation, and who were sunk of their own accord into the depths of the storm; but shall only add those things to our General History, which may in the first place be profitable to ourselves, and afterwards to posterity." In the other passage, Eusebius, after mentioning the dissensions of the Confessors among themselves, again declares that it is his intention to pass over all these things. "Whatsoever things, (continues the Historian, in the words of the Apostle, who was

* Chelsum, p. 228. 231.

recommending the practice of virtue,) whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are of good report, if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise; these things Eusebius thinks most suitable to a History of Martyrs;" of *wonderful* Martyrs, is the splendid epithet which Dr. Chelsum had not thought proper to translate. I should betray a very mean opinion of the judgment and candour of my readers, if I added a single reflection on the clear and obvious tendency of the two passages of the Ecclesiastical Historian. I shall only observe, that the Bishop of Cæsarea seems to have claimed a privilege of a still more dangerous and extensive nature. In one of the most learned and elaborate works that antiquity has left us, the Thirty-second Chapter of the Twelfth Book of his Evangelical Preparation bears for its title this scandalous Proposition, " How it may be lawful and fitting to use falsehood as a medicine, and for the benefit of those who want to be deceived." Οτι δεησει ποτε τῳ ψευδει αντι φαρμακε χρησθαι επι ωφελεια των δεομενων τε τοιετε τροπε. (P. 356, Edit. Græc. Rob. Stephani, Paris, 1544.) In this chapter he alleges a passage of Plato, which approves the occasional practice of pious and salutary frauds; nor is Eusebius ashamed to justify the sentiments of the Athenian philosopher by the example of the sacred writers of the Old Testament.

2. I had contented myself with observing, that Eusebius had violated one of the fundamental laws of history, *Ne quid veri dicere non audeat;* nor could I imagine, if the *fact* was allowed, that any question

question could possibly arise upon the matter of *right*. I was indeed mistaken; and I now begin to understand why I have given so little satisfaction to Dr. Chelsum, and to other critics of the same complexion, as our ideas of the duties and the privileges of an historian appear to be so widely different. It is alleged, that "every writer has a right to choose his subject, for the particular benefit of his reader; that he has explained his own plan consistently; that he considers himself, according to it, not as a complete historian of the times, but rather as a *didactic* writer, whose main object is to make his work, like the Scriptures themselves, PROFITABLE FOR DOCTRINE; that, as he treats only of the affairs of the Church, the plan is at least excusable, perhaps peculiarly proper; and that he has conformed himself to the principal duty of an historian, while, according to his immediate design, he has not particularly related any of the transactions which could tend to the disgrace of religion."* The historian must indeed be generous, who will conceal, by his own disgrace, that of his country, or of his religion. Whatever subject he has chosen, whatever persons he introduces, he owes to himself, to the present age, and to posterity, a just and perfect delineation of all that may be praised, of all that may be excused, and of all that must be censured. If he fails in the discharge of his important office, he partially violates the sacred obligations of truth,

* Chelsum, p. 229, 230, 231.

and disappoints his readers of the instruction which they might have derived from a fair parallel of the vices and virtues of the most illustrious characters. Herodotus might range without controul in the spacious walks of the Greek and Barbaric domain, and Thucydides might confine his steps to the narrow path of the Peloponnesian war; but those historians would never have deserved the esteem of posterity, if they had designedly suppressed or transiently mentioned those facts which could tend to the disgrace of Greece or of Athens. These unalterable dictates of conscience and reason have been *seldom* questioned, though they have been seldom observed; and we must sincerely join in the honest complaint of Melchior Canus, "that the lives of the philosophers have been composed by Laertius, and those of the Cæsars by Suetonius, with a much stricter and more severe regard for historic truth, than can be found in the lives of saints and martyrs, as they are described by Catholic writers." (See Loci Communes, L. xi. p. 650, apud Clericum. Epistol. Critic. v. p. 136.) And yet the partial representation of truth is of far more pernicious consequence in ecclesiastical, than in civil history. If Laertius had concealed the defects of Plato, or if Suetonius had disguised the vices of Augustus, we should have been deprived of the knowledge of some curious, and perhaps instructive, facts, and our idea of those celebrated men might have been more favourable than they deserved; but I cannot discover any practical inconveniencies which could have been the result of

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our ignorance. But if Eusebius had fairly and circumstantially related the scandalous dissensions of the Confessors; if he had shewn that their virtues were tinctured with pride and obstinacy, and that their lively faith was not exempt from some mixture of enthusiasm; he would have armed his readers against the excessive veneration for those holy men, which imperceptibly degenerated into religious worship. The success of these *didactic* histories, by concealing or palliating every circumstance of human infirmity, was one of the most efficacious means of consecrating the memory, the bones, and the writings of the saints of the prevailing party; and a great part of the errors and corruptions of the Church of Rome may fairly be ascribed to this criminal dissimulation of the ecclesiastical historians. As a Protestant Divine, Dr. Chelsum must abhor these corruptions; but as a Christian, he should be careful lest his apology for the prudent choice of Eusebius should fix an indirect censure on the unreserved sincerity of the four Evangelists. Instead of confining their narrative to those things which are virtuous and of good report, instead of following the plan which is here recommended as *peculiarly proper* for the affairs of the Church, the inspired writers have thought it their duty to relate the most minute circumstances of the fall of St. Peter, without considering whether the behaviour of an Apostle, who thrice denied his Divine Master, might redound to the honour, or to the disgrace of Christianity. If Dr. Chelsum should be frightened by this unexpected

pected consequence, if he should be desirous of saving his faith from *utter shipwreck*, by throwing overboard the useless lumber of memory and reflection, I am not enough his enemy to impede the success of his honest endeavours.

The didactic method of writing history was still more profitably exercised by Eusebius in another work, which he has intitled, The Life of Constantine, his gracious patron and benefactor. Priests and poets have enjoyed in every age a privilege of flattery; but if the actions of Constantine are compared with the perfect idea of a royal saint, which, under his name, has been delineated by the zeal and gratitude of Eusebius, the most indulgent reader will confess, that when I styled him a *courtly Bishop*,* I could only be restrained by my respect for the episcopal character from the use of a much harsher epithet. The other appellation of a *passionate declaimer*, which seems to have sounded still more offensive in the tender ears of Dr. Chelsum,† was not applied by me to Eusebius, but to Lactantius, or rather to the author of the historical declamation, *De Mortibus Persecutorum;* and indeed it is much more properly adapted to the rhetorician, than to the bishop. Each of those authors was alike studious of the glory of Constantine; but each of them directed the torrent of his invectives against the tyrant, whether Maxentius or Licinius, whose recent defeat was the actual theme of popular and Christian applause. This

* Gibbon, p. 704. † Chelsum, p. 234.

simple

simple observation may serve to extinguish a very trifling objection of my critic, That Eusebius has not represented the tyrant Maxentius under the character of a persecutor.

Without scrutinizing the considerations of interest which might support the integrity of Baronius and Tillemont, I may fairly observe, that both those learned Catholics have acknowledged and condemned the dissimulation of Eusebius, which is partly denied, and partly justified, by my adversary. The honourable reflection of Baronius well deserves to be transcribed. "Hæc (the passages already quoted) de suo in conscribendâ persecutionis historia Eusebius; parum explens numeros sui muneris; dum perinde ac si panegyrim scriberet non historiam, triumphos dumtaxat martyrum atque victorias, non autem lapsus jacturamque fidelium posteris scripturæ monumentis curaret." (Baron. Annal. Ecclesiast. A. D. 302, No. 11. See likewise Tillemont, Mem. Eccles. tom. v. p. 62. 156; tom. vii. p. 130). In a former instance, Dr. Chelsum appeared to be more credulous than a Monk: on the present occasion, he has shewn himself less sincere than a Cardinal, and more obstinate than a Jansenist.

3. Yet the advocate for Eusebius has still another expedient in reserve. Perhaps he made the unfortunate declaration of his partial design, perhaps he had a right to make it; but at least his accuser must admit, that he has saved his honour by not keeping his word; since I myself have taken notice of THE CORRUPTION OF MANNERS

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AND PRINCIPLES among the Christians so FORCIBLY LAMENTED by Eusebius.* He has indeed indulged himself in a strain of *loose* and *indefinite* censure, which may generally be just, and which cannot be personally offensive, which is alike incapable of wounding or of correcting, as it seems to have no fixed object or certain aim. Juvenal might have read his satire against women in a circle of Roman ladies, and each of them might have listened with pleasure to the amusing description of the various vices and follies, from which she herself was so perfectly free. The moralist, the preacher, the ecclesiastical historian, enjoy a still more ample latitude of invective; and as long as they abstain from any particular censure, they may securely expose, and even exaggerate, the sins of the multitude. The precepts of Christianity seem to inculcate a style of mortification, of abasement, of self-contempt; and the hypocrite who aspires to the reputation of a saint, often finds it convenient to affect the language of a penitent. I should doubt whether Dr. Chelsum is much acquainted with the comedies of Molière. If he has ever read that inimitable master of human life, he may recollect whether Tartuffe was very much inclined to confess his real guilt, when he exclaimed,

> Oui, mon frère, je suis un méchant, un coupable;
> Un malheureux pécheur, tout plein d'iniquité;
> Le plus grand scélérat qui ait jamais été.

* Chelsum, p. 226, 227.

Chaque

Chaque instant de ma vie est chargé de souillures,
Elle n'est qu'un amas de crimes et d'ordures.
* * * * * * * *
Oui, mon cher fils, parlez, traitez-moi de perfide,
D'infame, de perdu, de voleur, d'homicide;
Accablez-moi de noms encore plus détestés:
Je n'y contredis point, je les ai mérités,
Et j'en veux à genoux souffrir l'ignominie,
Comme une honte due aux crimes de ma vie.

It is not my intention to compare the character of Tartuffe with that of Eusebius; the former pointed his invectives against himself, the latter directed them against the times in which he had lived: but as the prudent Bishop of Cæsarea did not specify any place or person for the object of his censure, he cannot justly be accused, even by his friends, of violating the *profitable* plan of his *didactic* history.

The extreme caution of Eusebius who declines any mention of those who were tempted and who fell during the persecution, has countenanced a suspicion that he himself was one of those unhappy victims, and that his tenderness for the wounded fame of his brethren arose from a just apprehension of his own disgrace. In one of my notes,* I had observed, that he was charged with the guilt of some criminal compliances, in his own presence, and in the Council of Tyre. I am therefore accountable for the reality only, and not for the truth of the accusation: but as the two doctors, who on this occasion unite their forces, are angry

* Gibbon, p. 699. N. 178.

and

and clamorous in asserting the innocence of the Ecclesiastical Historian,* I shall advance one step farther, and shall maintain, that the charge against Eusebius, though not legally proved, is supported by a reasonable share of presumptive evidence.

I have often wondered why our orthodox divines should be so earnest and zealous in the defence of Eusebius; whose moral character cannot be preserved, unless by the sacrifice of a more illustrious, and, as I really believe, of a more innocent victim. Either the Bishop of Cæsarea, on a very important occasion, violated the laws of Christian charity and civil justice, or we must fix a charge of calumny, almost of forgery, on the head of the great Athanasius, the standard-bearer of the Homoousian cause, and the firmest pillar of the Catholic faith. In the Council of Tyre, he was accused of murdering, or at least of mutilating a bishop, whom he produced at Tyre alive and unhurt (Athanas. tom. i. p. 783. 786.); and of sacrilegiously breaking a consecrated chalice, in a village where neither church, nor altar, nor chalice, could possibly have existed. (Athanas. tom. i. p. 731, 732. 802). Notwithstanding the clearest proofs of his innocence, Athanasius was oppressed by the Arian faction; and Eusebius of Cæsarea, the venerable father of Ecclesiastical history, conducted this iniquitous prosecution from a motive of personal enmity. (Athanas. tom. i. p. 728. 795. 797). Four years afterwards, a national council of the Bishops of

* Chelsum and Randolph, p. 236, 237, 238.

Egypt,

Egypt, forty-nine of whom had been present at the Synod of Tyre, addressed an epistle or manifesto in favour of Athanasius to all the bishops of the Christian world. In this epistle they assert, that some of the confessors, who accompanied them to Tyre, had accused Eusebius of Cæsarea of an act relative to idolatrous sacrifice. ȣκ Ευσεϐιος ὁ εν Καισερειᾳ της Παλαιστινης επι θυσιᾳ κατηγορειτο ὑπο των συν ἡμιν ὁμολογητων. (Athanas. tom. i. p. 728). Besides this short and authentic memorial, which escaped the knowledge or the candour of our confederate doctors, a consonant but more circumstantial narrative of the accusation of Eusebius may be found in the writings of Epiphanius (Hæres. lxviii. p. 723, 724.), the learned Bishop of Salamis, who was born about the time of the Synod of Tyre. He relates that, in one of the sessions of the council, Potamon, Bishop of Heraclea in Egypt, addressed Eusebius in the following words: "How now, Eusebius, can this be borne, that you should be seated as a judge, while the innocent Athanasius is left standing as a criminal? Tell me, continued Potamon, were we not in prison together during the persecution? For my own part, I lost an eye for the sake of the truth; but I cannot discern that *you* have lost any one of your members. You bear not any marks of your sufferings for Jesus Christ; but here you are, full of life, and with all the parts of your body sound and entire. How could you contrive to escape from prison, unless you stained your conscience, either by actual guilt or by a criminal promise to our persecutors?"

Eusebius

Eusebius immediately broke up the meeting, and discovered, by his anger, that he was confounded or provoked by the reproaches of the Confessor Potamon.

I should despise myself, if I were capable of magnifying, for a present occasion, the authority of the witness whom I have produced. Potamon was most assuredly actuated by a strong prejudice against the personal enemy of his Primate; and if the transaction to which he alluded had been of a private and doubtful kind, I would not take any ungenerous advantage of the respect which my reverend adversaries must entertain for the character of a confessor. But I cannot distrust the veracity of Potamon, when he confined himself to the assertion of a fact, which lay within the compass of his personal knowledge: and collateral testimony (see Photius, p. 296, 297) attests, that Eusebius was long enough in prison to assist his friend, the Martyr Pamphilus, in composing the first five books of his Apology for Origen. If we admit that Eusebius was imprisoned, he must have been discharged, and his discharge must have been either honourable, or criminal, or innocent. If his patience vanquished the cruelty of the tyrant's ministers, a short relation of his own confession and sufferings would have formed an useful and edifying chapter in his Didactic History of the persecution of Palestine; and the reader would have been satisfied of the veracity of an historian who valued truth above his life. If it had been in his power to justify, or even to excuse,

cuse, the manner of his discharge from prison, it was his interest, it was his duty, to prevent the doubts and suspicions which must arise from his silence under these delicate circumstances. Notwithstanding these urgent reasons, Eusebius has observed a profound, and perhaps a prudent silence: though he frequently celebrates the merit and martyrdom of his friend Pamphilus (p. 371. 394. 419. 427. Edit. Cantab.), he never insinuates that he was his companion in prison; and while he copiously describes the eight years persecution in Palestine, he never represents himself in any other light than that of a spectator. Such a conduct in a writer, who relates with a visible satisfaction the honourable events of his own life, if it be not absolutely considered as an evidence of conscious guilt, must excite, and may justify, the suspicions of the most candid critic.

Yet the firmness of Dr. Randolph is not shaken by these rational suspicions; and he condescends, in a magisterial tone, to inform me, "That it is highly improbable, from the general well-known decision of the Church in such cases, that had his apostacy been known, he would have risen to those high honours which he attained, or been admitted at all indeed to any other than lay-communion." This weighty objection did not surprise me, as I had already seen the substance of it in the Prolegomena of Valesius; but I safely disregarded a difficulty which had not appeared of any moment to the national council of Egypt; and I still think that an hundred bishops, with Athana-

sius at their head, were as competent judges of the discipline of the fourth century, as even the Lady Margaret's Professor of Divinity in the University of Oxford. As a work of supererogation, I have consulted, however, the Antiquities of Bingham (See L. iv. c. iii. s. 6, 7. vol. i. p. 144, &c. fol. edit.) and found, as I expected, that much real learning had made him cautious and modest. After a careful examination of the facts and authorities already known to me, and of those with which I was supplied by the diligent antiquarian, I am persuaded that the theory and the practice of discipline were not invariably the same, that particular examples cannot always be reconciled with general rules, and that the stern laws of justice often yielded to motives of policy and convenience. The temper of Jerom towards those whom he considered as heretics, was fierce and unforgiving; yet the Dialogue of Jerom against the Luciferians, which I have read with infinite pleasure, (tom. ii. p. 135—147. Edit. Basil. 1536,) is the seasonable and dexterous performance of a statesman, who felt the expediency of soothing and reconciling a numerous party of offenders. The most rigid discipline, with regard to the ecclesiastics who had fallen in time of persecution, is expressed in the 10th Canon of the Council of Nice; the most remarkable indulgence was shewn by the Fathers of the same Council to the *lapsed*, the degraded, the schismatic bishop of Lycopolis. Of the penitent sinners, some might escape the shame of a public conviction or confession, and others might be exempted from the rigour

rigour of clerical punishment. If Eusebius incurred the guilt of a sacrilegious promise, (for we are free to accept the milder alternative of Potamon,) the proofs of this criminal transaction might be suppressed by the influence of money or favour; a seasonable journey into Egypt might allow time for the popular rumours to subside. The crime of Eusebius might be protected by the impunity of many Episcopal Apostates (See Philostorg. L. ii. c. 15. p. 21. Edit. Gothofred.); and the governors of the Church very reasonably desired to retain in their service the most learned Christian of the age.

Before I return these sheets to the press, I must not forget an anonymous pamphlet, which, under the title of *A Few Remarks*, &c. was published against my History in the course of the last summer. The unknown writer has thought proper to distinguish himself by the emphatic, yet vague, appellation of A GENTLEMAN: but I must lament that he has not considered, with becoming attention, the duties of that respectable character. I am ignorant of the motives which can urge a man of a liberal mind, and liberal manners, to attack without provocation, and without tenderness, any work which may have contributed to the information, or even to the amusement, of the public. But I am well convinced that the author of such a work, who boldly gives his name and his labours to the world, imposes on his adversaries the fair and honourable obligation of encountering him in open daylight, and of supporting the weight of their assertions by the credit of their names. The

effusions of wit, or the productions of reason, may be accepted from a secret and unknown hand. The critic who attempts to injure the reputation of another, by strong imputations which may possibly be false, should renounce the ungenerous hope of concealing behind a mask the vexation of disappointment, and the guilty blush of detection.

After this remark, which I cannot make without some degree of concern, I shall frankly declare, that it is not my wish or my intention to prosecute with this *Gentleman* a literary altercation. There lies between us a broad and unfathomable gulph; and the heavy mist of prejudice and superstition, which has in a great measure been dispelled by the free inquiries of the present age, still continues to involve the mind of my adversary. He fondly embraces those phantoms (for instance, an imaginary Pilate,*) which can scarcely find a shelter in the gloom of an Italian convent; and the resentment which he points against me, might frequently be extended to the most enlightened of the PROTESTANT, or, in his opinion, of the HERETICAL critics. His observations are divided into a number of unconnected paragraphs, each of which contains some quotation from my History, and the angry, yet commonly trifling, expression of his disapprobation and displeasure. Those sentiments I cannot hope to remove; and as the religious opinions of this *Gentleman* are principally founded on the infallibility of the Church,† they are not cal-

* Remarks, p. 100. † Id. p. 15.

culated

culated to make a very deep impression on the mind of an English reader. The view of *facts* will be materially affected by the contagious influence of *doctrines*. The man who refuses to judge of the conduct of Lewis XIV. and Charles V. towards their Protestant subjects,* declares himself incapable of distinguishing the limits of persecution and toleration. The devout Papist, who has implored on his knees the intercession of St. Cyprian, will seldom presume to examine the actions of the Saint by the rules of historical evidence and of moral propriety. Instead of the homely likeness which I had exhibited of the Bishop of Carthage, my adversary has substituted a life of Cyprian,† full of what the French call *onction*, and the English, *canting* (See Jortin's Remarks, Vol. ii. p. 239.): to which I can only reply, that those who are dissatisfied with the principles of Mosheim and Le Clerc, *must* view with eyes very different from mine, the Ecclesiastical History of the third century.

It would be an *endless* discussion (*endless* in every sense of the word) were I to examine the cavils which start up and expire in every page of this criticism, on the inexhaustible topic of opinions, characters, and intentions. Most of the instances which are here produced are of so brittle a substance, that they fall in pieces as soon as they are touched: and I searched for some time before I was able to discover an example of some moment

* Remarks, p. 111. † Id. p. 72—88.

where

where the *Gentleman* had fairly staked his veracity against some positive fact asserted in the Two last Chapters of my History. At last I perceived that he has absolutely denied * that any thing can be gathered from the Epistles of St. Cyprian, or from his treatise *De Unitate Ecclesiæ*, to which I had referred, to justify my account of the spiritual pride and licentious manners of some of the Confessors.† As the *numbers* of the Epistles are not the same in the edition of Pamelius as in that of Fel, the critic may be excused for mistaking my quotations, if he will acknowledge that he was ignorant of ecclesiastical history, and that he never heard of the troubles excited by the spiritual pride of the Confessors, who usurped the privilege of giving letters of communion to penitent sinners. But my reference to the treatise *De Unitate Ecclesiæ* was clear and direct; the treatise itself contains only ten pages, and the following words might be distinctly read by any person who understood the Latin language. "Nec quisquam miretur, dilectissimi fratres, etiam de confessoribus quosdam ad ista procedere, inde quoque aliquos tam nefanda tam gravia peccare. Neque enim confessio immunem facit ab insidiis diaboli; aut contra tentationes, et pericula, et incursus atque impetus seculares adhuc in seculo positum perpetuâ securitate defendit; ceterum nunquam in confessoribus, *fraudes*, et *stupra*, et *adulteria* postmodum videremus, quæ nunc in quibusdam viden-

* Remarks, p. 90, 91. † Gibbon, p. 661. Note 91.

tes

tes ingemiscimus et dolemus." This formal declaration of Cyprian, which is followed by several long periods of admonition and censure, is alone sufficient to expose the scandalous vices of some of the Confessors, and the disingenuous behaviour of my concealed adversary.

After this example, which I have fairly chosen as one of the most specious and important of his objections, the candid Reader would excuse me, if from this moment I declined *the Gentleman*'s acquaintance. But as two topics have occurred, which are intimately connected with the subject of the preceding sheets, I have inserted each of them in its proper place, as the conclusion of the fourth article of my answers to Mr. Davis, and of the first article of my reply to the confederate Doctors, Chelsum and Randolph.

It is not without some mixture of mortification and regret, that I now look back on the number of hours which I have consumed, and the number of pages which I have filled, in vindicating my literary and moral character from the charge of wilful *misrepresentations*, gross *errors*, and servile *plagiarisms*. I cannot derive any triumph or consolation from the occasional advantages which I may have gained over three adversaries, whom it is impossible for me to consider as objects either of terror or of esteem. The spirit of resentment, and every other lively sensation, have long since been extinguished; and the pen would long since have dropped from my weary hand, had I not been supported in the execution of this ungrateful task, by the

the consciousness, or at least by the opinion, that I was discharging a debt of honour to the public and to myself. I am impatient to dismiss, and to dismiss FOR EVER, this odious controversy, with the success of which I cannot surely be elated; and I have only to request, that, as soon as my readers are convinced of my innocence, they would forget my Vindication.

BENTINCK-STREET,
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MÉMOIRE JUSTIFICATIF

POUR SERVIR DE

*Réponse à l'Exposé des Motifs de la Conduite du Roi de France relativement à l'Angleterre.**

L'AMBITION d'une puissance, toujours ennemie du repos public, a obligé enfin le roi de la Grande Bretagne à employer dans une guerre juste et légitime ces forces que Dieu et son peuple lui ont confiées.—C'est en vain que la France essaye de justifier ou plutôt de déguiser sa politique aux yeux de l'Europe par son dernier manifeste, que l'orgueil et l'artifice semblent avoir dicté, mais qui ne peut se concilier avec la vérité des faits et les droits des nations. L'équité, la modération, l'amour de la paix, qui ont toujours réglé les démarches du roi, l'engagent maintenant à soumettre sa conduite et celle de ses ennemis au jugement du tribunal libre et respectable, qui prononce sans crainte et sans flatterie l'arrêt de l'Europe, du siècle présent et de la posterité. Ce tribunal, composé des hommes éclairés et désintéressés de toutes les nations, ne

* Mentioned in the Memoirs, as written at the request of the Lord Chancellor Thurlow and of Lord Weymouth, then Secretary of State, in 1778.

s'arrête jamais aux professions, et c'est par les actions des princes qu'il doit juger des motifs de leurs procédés et des sentimens de leurs cœurs.

Lorsque le roi monta sur le trône, il jouissoit du succès de ses armes dans les quatre parties du monde. Sa modération rétablit la tranquillité publique, dans le même instant qu'il soutenoit avec fermeté la gloire de sa couronne, et qu'il procuroit à ses sujets les avantages les plus solides. L'expérience lui avoit fait connoître combien les fruits de la victoire même sont tristes et amers; combien les guerres heureuses ou malheureuses épuisent les peuples sans agrandir les princes. Ses actions prouvoient à l'univers, qu'il sentoit tout le prix de la paix, et il étoit au moins à présumer que la raison qui l'avoit éclairé sur les malheurs inévitables de la guerre, et la dangereuse vanité des conquêtes, lui inspireroit la résolution sincère et inébranlable de maintenir la tranquillité publique, dont il étoit lui-même l'auteur et le garant. Ces principes ont servi de base à la conduite invariable de sa majesté pendant les quinze années qui ont suivi la paix conclue à Paris en 1763: époque heureuse de repos et de félicité, dont la mémoire sera long tems conservée par le souvenir et peut-être par les regrets des nations de l'Europe.—Les instructions du roi à tous ses ministres portoient l'empreinte de son caractère et de ses maximes. Il leur recommandoit, comme le plus important de leurs devoirs, d'écouter avec une attention scrupuleuse les plaintes et les représentations des puissances, ses alliés ou ses voisins, de prévenir, dans leur origine, tous les sujets de querelle

relle qui pourroient aigrir ou aliéner les esprits, de détourner le fléau de la guerre par tous les expédiens compatibles avec la dignité du souverain d'une nation respectable, et d'inspirer à tous les peuples une juste confiance dans le système politique d'une cour qui détestoit la guerre sans la craindre, qui n'employoit pour ses moyens que la raison et la bonne foi, et qui n'avoit pour objet que la tranquillité générale. Au milieu de cette tranquillité les premières étincelles de la discorde s'allumèrent en Amérique. Les intrigues d'un petit nombre de chefs audacieux et criminels, qui abusèrent de la simplicité crédule de leurs compatriotes, séduisirent insensiblement la plus grande partie des colonies Angloises à lever l'étendart de la révolte contre la mère-patrie, à qui elles étoient redevables de leur existence et de leur bonheur. La cour de Versailles oublia sans peine la foi des traités, les devoirs des alliés, et les droits des souverains, pour essayer de profiter des circonstances qui paroissoient favorables à ses desseins ambitieux. Elle ne rougit point d'avilir sa dignité par les liaisons secrettes qu'elle forma avec des sujets rebelles, et après avoir épuisé toutes les ressources honteuses de la perfidie et de la dissimulation, elle osa avouer à la face de l'Europe, indignée de sa conduite, le traité solemnel que les ministres du roi très Chrétien avoient signé avec les agens ténébreux des colonies Angloises, qui ne fondoient leur indépendance prétendue que sur la hardiesse de leur révolte. La déclaration offensante que le Marquis de Noailles fut chargé de faire à la cour de Lon-

dres, le 13 Mars de l'année dernière, autorisa sa majesté à repousser par les armes l'insulte inouie qu'on venoit d'offrir à l'honneur de sa couronne; et le roi n'oublia pas dans cette occasion importante ce qu'il devoit à ses sujets et à lui-même. Le même esprit de fausseté et d'ambition régnoit toujours dans les conseils de la France. L'Espagne, qui s'est repentie plus d'une fois d'avoir négligé ses vrais intérêts pour servir aveuglément les projets destructeurs de la branche aînée de la maison de Bourbon, fut engagée à changer le rôle de médiateur pour celui d'ennemi de la Grande Bretagne. Les calamités de la guerre se sont multipliées; mais la cour de Versailles ne doit pas jusqu'à présent se vanter du succès de ses opérations militaires; et l'Europe sait apprécier ces victoires navales, qui n'existent que dans les Gazettes et dans les manifestes des vainqueurs prétendus.

Puisque la guerre et la paix imposent aux nations des devoirs entièrement différens et même opposés, il est indispensable de distinguer ces deux états dans le raisonnement aussi bien que dans la conduite; mais dans le dernier manifeste que la France vient de publier ces deux états sont perpétuellement confondus. Elle prétend justifier sa conduite en faisant valoir tour-à-tour et presqu'au même instant, ces droits qu'il n'est permis qu'à un ennemi de reclamer, et ces maximes qui règlent les obligations et les procédés de l'amitié nationale. L'addresse de la cour de Versailles à brouiller sans cesse deux suppositions qui n'ont rien de commun, est la conséquence naturelle d'une politique fausse et

et insidieuse, incapable de soutenir la lumière du grand jour. Les sentimens et les démarches du roi, qui n'ont point à redouter l'examen le plus sévère, l'invitent au contraire à distinguer clairement ce que ses ennemis ont confondu avec tant d'artifice. Il n'appartient qu'à la justice de parler sans crainte le langage de la raison et de la vérité.

La pleine justification de sa majesté et la condamnation indélébile de la France, se réduit donc à la preuve de deux propositions simples et presqu'évidentes; premièrement, Qu'une paix profonde, permanente, et de la part de l'Angleterre sincère et véritable, subsistoit entre les deux nations, lorsque la France forma des liaisons d'abord secrettes, et ensuite publiques et avouées, avec les colonies révoltées de l'Amérique: secondement, Que suivant les maximes les mieux reconnues du droit des gens, et selon la teneur même des traités actuellement subsistans entre les deux couronnes, ces liaisons pouvoient être regardées comme une infraction de la paix, et que l'aveu public de ces liaisons équivaloit à une déclaration de guerre de la part du roi très Chrétien. C'est peut-être la première fois qu'une nation respectable ait eu besoin de prouver deux vérités aussi incontestables, et la justice de la cause du roi est déjà reconnue par tous les hommes qui jugent sans intérêt et sans prévention.

" Lorsque la Providence appella le roi au trône la France jouissoit de la paix la plus profonde." Telles sont les expressions du dernier manifeste de la cour de Versailles, qui reconnoît sans peine les assurances solemnelles d'une amitié sincère et des

dispositions les plus pacifiques qu'elle reçut dans cette occasion de la part de sa majesté Britannique, et qui furent souvent renouvellées par l'entremise des ambassadeurs aux deux cours, pendant quatre ans, jusqu'au moment fatal et décisif de la déclaration du marquis de Noailles. Il s'agit donc de prouver que dans ces tems heureux de la tranquillité générale, l'Angleterre cachoit une guerre secrette sous les apparences de la paix, et que ses procédés injustes et arbitraires étoient portés au point de légitimer du côté de la France les démarches les plus fortes, et qui ne seroient permises qu'à un ennemi déclaré. Pour remplir cet objet il faudroit porter devant le tribunal de l'Europe des griefs clairement articulés et solidement établis. Ce grand tribunal exigeroit des preuves formelles et peut-être réitérées de l'injure et de la plainte, le refus d'une satisfaction convenable, et la protestation de la partie souffrante qu'elle se tenoit hautement offensée par ce refus, et qu'elle se regardoit désormais comme affranchie des devoirs de l'amitié et du lien des traités. Les nations qui respectent la sainteté des sermens et les avantages de la paix, sont les moins promptes à saisir les occasions qui semblent les dispenser d'une obligation sacrée et solemnelle, et ce n'est qu'en tremblant qu'elles osent renoncer à l'amitié des puissances dont elles ont long tems essuyé l'injustice et les insultes.

Mais la cour de Versailles a ignoré ou a méprisé ces principes sages et salutaires, et au lieu de poser les fondemens d'une guerre juste et légitime, elle se contente de semer dans tous les pages de

son

son manifeste des plaintes vagues et générales, exprimées dans un style de métaphore et d'exagération. Elle remonte plus de soixante ans pour accuser le peu de soin de l'Angleterre à ratifier quelques réglemens de commerce, quelques articles du traité d'Utrecht. Elle se permet de reprocher aux ministres du roi d'employer le langage de la hauteur et de l'ambition, sans s'abaisser jusqu'au devoir de prouver des imputations aussi peu vraisemblables qu'elles sont odieuses. Les suppositions gratuites de la mauvaise foi et de l'ambition de la cour de Londres sont confusément entassées, comme si l'on craignoit de s'y arrêter. L'on insinue d'une manière très obscure les insultes prétendues qu'ont essuyées le commerce, le pavillon et même le territoire François, " et on laisse échapper enfin l'aveu des engagemens que le roi très Chrétien avoit déjà formés avec l'Espagne, pour venger leurs griefs respectifs et pour mettre un terme à l'empire tyrannique que l'Angleterre a usurpé et prétend conserver sur toutes les mers."

Il est difficile de combattre des fantômes, ou de répondre d'une manière nette et précise au langage de la déclamation. La juste confiance du roi desireroit sans doute de se livrer à l'examen le plus approfondi de ces plaintes vagues, de ces griefs prétendus, sur lesquels la cour de Versailles a si prudemment évité de s'expliquer avec la clarté et le détail qui pourroient seuls appuyer ses raisons et faire excuser ses procédés. Pendant une paix de quinze ans les intérêts de deux nations puissantes et peut-être jalouses, qui se touchent par tant

d'endroits différens dans l'ancien et dans le nouveau monde, fournissent inévitablement des sujets de plainte et de discussion, que la modération réciproque sauroit toujours assoupir, mais qui ne sont que trop facilement aigris et empoisonnés par la haine réelle et les soupçons affectés d'un ennemi secret et ambitieux : et les malheurs de l'Amérique étoient très propres à multiplier les espérances, les prétextes et les prétensions injustes de la France. Cependant telle a été la conduite toujours uniforme et toujours pacifique du roi et de ses ministres, qu'elle a souvent réduit ses ennemis au silence, et s'il est permis d'appercevoir le vrai sens de ces accusations vagues et équivoques, dont l'obscurité étudiée décèle les traits de la honte et de l'artifice, s'il est permis de démêler des objets qui n'ont point d'existence, on peut assurer avec la hardiesse de la vérité qu'il est plusieurs de ces griefs prétendus qui sont annoncés pour la première fois dans une déclaration de guerre, sans avoir jamais été proposés à la cour de Londres dans le tems qu'elle auroit pu les écouter avec l'attention sérieuse et favorable de l'amitié. A l'égard des plaintes que l'ambassadeur de sa majesté très Chrétienne communiquoit de tems en tems aux ministres du roi, il seroit aisé de donner ou plutôt de renouveller les réponses satisfaisantes qui prouvèrent aux yeux de la France elle-même la modération du roi, son amour de la justice, et la sincérité de ses dispositions à conserver la tranquillité générale de l'Europe. Ces représentations, dont la cour de Versailles pourroit se dispenser de rappeller le souvenir, étoient rare-

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ment marquées au coin de la raison et de la vérité, et il se trouvoit le plus souvent que les personnes en Europe, en Amérique, ou sur les mers, desquelles elle tenoit son intelligence suspecte et malfondée, n'avoient pas craint d'abuser de sa confiance, pour mieux servir ses intentions secrettes. Si les faits que la France faisoit valoir comme le sujet de ses plaintes étoient appuyés quelquefois sur une base moins fragile, les ministres du roi les éclaircissoient sur le champ par la justification la plus nette et la plus entière des motifs et des droits de leur souverain, qui pouvoit sans blesser le repos public punir la contrebande qui se faisoit sur ses côtes, et à qui les loix des nations accordoient le droit légitime d'arrêter tous les vaisseaux qui portoient des armes et des munitions de guerre à ses ennemis ou à ses sujets rebelles. Les tribunaux étoient toujours ouverts aux particuliers de toutes les nations, et il faut bien peu connoître la constitution Britannique pour supposer que la puissance royale eût été capable de les exclure des moyens d'appel. Dans le théâtre vaste et éloigné des opérations d'une guerre navale, la vigilance la plus active, l'autorité la plus ferme sont incapables de découvrir ou de réprimer tous les désordres ; mais toutes les fois que la cour de Versailles a pu établir des torts réels que ses sujets avoient éprouvés sans la connoissance ou l'approbation du roi, sa majesté a donné les ordres les plus prompts et les plus efficaces pour arrêter les abus qui blessoient sa dignité, autant que les intérêts de ses voisins, qui avoient été enveloppés dans les malheurs de la guerre.

L'objet

L'objet et l'importance de cette guerre suffiroient pour démontrer à l'Europe les principes qui ont dû régler les démarches politiques de l'Angleterre. Dans le tems qu'elle employoit ses forces pour ramener à leur devoir les colonies révoltées de l'Amérique, est-il vraisemblable qu'elle eût choisi ce moment pour irriter par l'injustice ou l'insolence de ses procédés les puissances les plus respectables de l'Europe?—L'équité a toujours prescrit les sentimens et la conduite du roi, mais dans cette occasion importante sa prudence même est le garant de sa sincérité et de sa modération.

Mais pour établir clairement le système pacifique qui subsistoit entre les deux nations, il ne faudroit qu'en appeller au témoignage même de la cour de Versailles. A l'époque où elle ne rougit pas de placer toutes ces infractions prétendues de la tranquillité publique, qui auroient engagé " un prince moins avare du sang de ses sujets, à user sans hésiter de représailles, et à repousser l'insulte par la force de ses armes," les ministres du roi très Chrétien parloient le langage de la confiance et de l'amitié. Au lieu d'annoncer les desseins de la vengeance avec ce ton de hauteur qui épargne du moins à l'injustice les reproches de perfidie et de dissimulation, la cour de Versailles cachoit la conduite la plus insidieuse sous les professions les plus séduisantes; mais ces professions mêmes servent aujourd'hui à démentir ses déclarations, et à rappeller les sentimens qui auroient dû faire la règle de sa conduite.—Si la cour de Versailles ne veut pas s'accuser de la dissimulation la moins digne de

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sa grandeur, elle sera forcée de convenir que jusqu'au moment qu'elle dicta au marquis de Noailles la déclaration qui a été reçue comme le signal de la guerre, elle ne connoissoit pas des sujets de plainte assez réels ou assez importans pour l'autoriser à violer les obligations de la paix, et la foi des traités qu'elle avoit jurés à la face de Dieu et de l'univers, et à se dispenser de l'amitié nationale dont elle avoit réitéré jusqu'au dernier instant les assurances les plus vives et les plus solemnelles.

Lorsqu'un adversaire est incapable de justifier sa violence dans l'opinion publique, ou même à ses propres yeux, par les injures qu'il prétend avoir essuyées, il a recours au danger chimérique auquel sa patience auroit pu l'exposer; et à la place des faits solides dont il est dépourvu, il essaye de substituer un vain tableau qui n'existe que dans son imagination, ou peut-être dans son cœur.—Les ministres du roi très Chrétien, qui paroissent avoir senti la foiblesse des moyens qu'ils ont été réduits à employer, font encore des efforts impuissans pour ajouter à ces moyens l'appui des soupçons les plus odieux, et les plus étranges, " La cour de Londres faisoit dans ses ports des préparatifs et des armemens qui ne pouvoient avoir l'Amérique pour objet: leur but étoit par conséquent trop déterminé pour que le roi pût s'y méprendre, et dès lors il devint un devoir rigoureux de faire des dispositions capables de prévenir les mauvais desseins de son ennemi, &c. Dans cet état des choses le roi sentit qu'il n'y avoit pas un moment à perdre."

Tel

Tel est le langage de la France: nous allons faire entendre celui de la vérité.

Pendant les disputes qui s'allumoient entre la Grande Bretagne et ses colonies, la cour de Versailles s'étoit appliquée avec l'ardeur la plus vive et la plus opiniâtre à l'augmentation de sa marine. Le roi ne prétend pas régner en tyran sur toutes les mers, mais il sait que les forces maritimes ont fait dans tous les siècles la sûreté et la gloire de ses états; et qu'elles ont souvent contribué à protéger la liberté de l'Europe contre la puissance ambitieuse qui a si longtems travaillé à l'asservir.

Le sentiment de sa dignité et la juste connoissance de ses devoirs et de ses intérêts engageoient sa majesté à veiller d'un œil attentif sur les démarches de la France, dont la politique dangereuse, sans motif et sans ennemi, précipitoit dans tous ses ports la construction et l'armement des vaisseaux, et qui détournoit une partie considérable de ses revenus, pour subvenir aux frais de ces préparatifs militaires, dont il étoit impossible d'annoncer la nécessité ou l'objet.—Dans cette conjoncture le roi n'a pu se dispenser de suivre les conseils de sa prudence, et l'exemple de ses voisins; l'augmentation successive de leur marine a servi de règle à la sienne; et sans blesser les égards qu'elle devoit aux puissances amies, sa majesté a publiquement déclaré à son parlement assemblé, qu'il convenoit dans la situation actuelle des affaires, que la défense de l'Angleterre se trouvât dans un état respectable. Les forces navales qu'elle fortifioit avec

avec tant de soin n'étoient destinées qu'à maintenir la tranquillité générale de l'Europe, et pendant que le témoignage de sa conscience disposoit le roi à ajouter foi aux professions de la cour de Versailles, il se préparoit à ne point craindre les desseins perfides de son ambition.—Elle ose maintenant supposer qu'au lieu de se borner aux droits d'une défense légitime, le roi s'étoit livré à l'espérance des conquêtes, et que la "Reconciliation de la Grande Bretagne avec ses colonies annonçoit de sa part un projet formé de les rallier à sa couronne pour les armer contre la France." Puisque la cour de Versailles ne peut excuser ses démarches qu'à la faveur d'une supposition destituée de vérité et de vraisemblance, le roi est en droit de la sommer à la face de l'Europe, de montrer la preuve d'une assertion aussi odieuse qu'elle est hasardeuse, et de développer ces opérations publiques, ou ces intrigues secrettes qui puissent autoriser les soupçons de la France, que la Grande Bretagne après un combat long et pénible n'a offert la paix à ses sujets que dans le dessein d'entreprendre une guerre nouvelle contre une puissance respectable avec laquelle elle conservoit tous les dehors de l'amitié.

Après avoir fidèlement exposé les motifs frivoles et les griefs prétendus de la France, on rappelle, avec une assurance justifiée par la raison et par les faits, cette première proposition si simple et si importante, qu'un état de paix subsistoit entre les deux nations, et que la France étoit liée par toutes les obligations de l'amitié et des traités envers le roi,

roi, qui n'avoit jamais manqué à ses engagemens légitimes.

Le premier article du traité, signé à Paris le 10 Février 1763, entre leurs majestés Britannique, très Chrétienne, Catholique, et très Fidèle, confirme de la manière la plus précise et la plus solemnelle les obligations que le droit naturel impose à toutes les nations, qui se reconnoissent mutuellement pour amies, mais ces obligations sont détaillées et stipulées dans ce traité par des expressions aussi vives qu'elles sont justes.—Après avoir renfermé dans une formule générale tous les états et tous les sujets des hautes parties contractantes, elles annoncent leur résolution non-seulement à ne jamais permettre des hostilités quelconques par terre ou par mer, mais encore à se procurer réciproquement dans toute occasion tout ce qui pourroit contribuer à leur gloire, intérêts, ou avantages mutuels, sans donner aucun secours ou protection directement ou indirectement à ceux qui voudroient porter quelque préjudice à l'une ou à l'autre des hautes parties contractantes.—Tel fut l'engagement sacré que la France contracta avec la Grande Bretagne, et on ne sauroit se dissimuler qu'une semblable promesse doit s'appliquer avec plus de force encore et d'énergie aux rebelles domestiques qu'aux ennemis étrangers des deux couronnes.—La révolte des Américains a mis à l'épreuve la fidélité de la cour de Versailles, et malgré les exemples fréquens que l'Europe a déjà vus de son peu de respect pour la foi des traités, sa conduite dans ces circonstances a étonné et indigné toutes les

les nations, qui ne sont pas aveuglément dévouées aux intérêts et même aux caprices de son ambition. Si la France s'étoit proposée de remplir ses devoirs, il lui étoit impossible de les méconnoître; l'esprit aussi bien que la lettre du traité de Paris lui imposoit l'obligation de fermer ses ports aux vaisseaux des Américains, d'interdire à ses sujets tout commerce avec ce peuple rebelle, et de ne point accorder son secours ni sa protection aux ennemis domestiques d'une couronne à laquelle elle avoit juré une amitié sincère et inviolable. Mais l'expérience avoit trop bien éclairé le roi sur le système politique de ses anciens adversaires pour lui faire espérer qu'ils se conformeroient exactement aux principes justes et raisonnables qui assurent la tranquillité générale.

Aussitôt que les colonies révoltées eurent consommé leurs attentats criminels, par la déclaration ouverte de leur indépendance prétendue, elles songèrent à former des liaisons secrettes avec les puissances les moins favorables aux intérêts de la mère-patrie, et à tirer de l'Europe les secours militaires, sans lesquels il leur auroit été impossible de soutenir la guerre qu'elles avoient entreprise. Leurs agens essayèrent de pénétrer et de se fixer dans les différens états de l'Europe; mais ce ne fut qu'en France qu'ils trouvèrent un asyle, des espérances et des secours. Il ne convient pas à la dignité du roi de vouloir rechercher l'époque ou la nature de la correspondence qu'ils eurent l'addresse de lier avec les ministres de la cour de Versailles, et dont on vit bientôt les effets publics dans la liberté générale, ou plutôt dans la licence effrénée d'un

d'un commerce illégitime. On sait assez que la vigilance des loix ne peut pas toujours prévenir la contrebande habile, qui se reproduit sous mille formes différentes, et à qui l'avidité du gain fait braver tous les dangers, et éluder toutes les précautions; mais la conduite des négocians François, qui faisoient passer en Amérique non-seulement les marchandises utiles ou nécessaires, mais encore le salpêtre, la poudre à canon, les munitions de guerre, les armes, l'artillerie, annonçoit hautement qu'ils étoient assurés non-seulement de l'impunité, mais de la protection même et de la faveur des ministres de la cour de Versailles.

On ne tentoit point une entreprise aussi vaine et aussi difficile que celle de cacher aux yeux de la Grande Bretagne et de l'Europe entière les démarches d'une compagnie de commerce, qui s'étoit associée pour fournir aux Américains tout ce qui pouvoit nourrir et entretenir le feu de la révolte. Le public instruit nommoit le chef de l'entreprise dont la maison étoit établie à Paris: ses correspondans à Dunkerque, à Nantes, à Bordeaux étoient également connus. Les magasins immenses qu'ils formoient et qu'ils renouvelloient tous les jours, furent chargés successivement sur les vaisseaux qu'ils construisoient ou qu'ils achetoient, et dont on essayoit à peine de dissimuler l'objet et la destination. Ces vaisseaux prenoient ordinairement de fausses lettres de mer pour les îles Françoises de l'Amérique, mais les marchandises dont leurs cargaisons étoient composées suffisoient avant le moment de leur départ pour laisser entrevoir la fraude et l'artifice: ces soupçons étoient

étoient bientôt confirmés par la direction du cours de ces vaisseaux; et au bout de quelques semaines l'on apprenoit sans surprise qu'ils étoient tombés entre les mains des officiers du roi qui croisoient dans les mers de l'Amérique, et qui les arrêtoient à la vue même des côtes des colonies révoltées. Cette vigilance n'étoit que trop bien justifiée par la conduite de ceux qui eurent la fortune ou l'addresse de s'y dérober; puisqu'ils n'abordèrent en Amérique que pour livrer aux rebelles les armes et les munitions de guerre dont ils étoient chargés pour leur service.—Les indices de ces faits, qui ne pouvoient être considérés que comme une infraction manifeste de la foi des traités, se multiplioient toujours, et la diligence de l'ambassadeur du roi à communiquer à la cour de Versailles ses plaintes et ses preuves, ne lui laissoit pas même la ressource honteuse et humiliante de paroître ignorer ce qui se passoit et se répétoit continuellement au cœur de ses états. Il indiquoit les noms, le nombre et la qualité des vaisseaux, que les agens du commerce de l'Amérique faisoient équiper dans les ports de la France, pour porter aux rebelles des armes, des munitions de guerre, et même des officiers François qu'on avoit engagés dans les services des colonies révoltées. Les dates, les lieux, les personnes, étoient toujours désignées avec une précision qui offroit aux ministres de sa majesté très Chrétienne les plus grandes facilités pour s'assurer de la vérité de ces rapports, et pour arrêter, pendant qu'il en étoit tems, le progrès de ces armemens illicites. Parmi une foule d'exemples qui accusent le peu d'attention de la cour de Versailles à remplir

les conditions de la paix, ou plutôt son attention constante et soutenue à nourrir la discorde et la guerre, il est impossible de tout dire, et il est très difficile de choisir les objets les plus frappans. Les neuf gros vaisseaux équipés et frétés par le Sieur de Beaumarchais et ses associés, au mois de Janvier de l'an 1777, ne sont point confondus avec le vaisseau l'Amphitrite, qui porta vers le même tems une grande quantité de munitions de guerre, et trente officiers François, qui passèrent impunément au service des rebelles. Chaque mois et presque tous les jours fournissoient de nouveaux sujets de plainte; et une courte notice du mémoire que le Vicomte de Stormont, ambassadeur du roi, communiqua au Comte de Vergennes au mois de Novembre de la même année, donnera une idée juste, mais très imparfaite, de l'espèce de torts que la Grande Bretagne avoit si souvent essuyés. " Il y a à Rochfort un vaisseau de soixante pièces de canon, et à l'Orient un vaisseau des Indes percé pour soixante canons. Ces deux vaisseaux sont destinés pour l'usage des rebelles. Ils seront chargés de différentes marchandises, et frétés par Messieurs Chaumont, Holken, et Sabatier. Le vaisseau l'Heureux est parti de Marseilles, sous un autre nom, le vingt-six de Septembre. Il va en droiture à la Nouvelle Hampshire, quoiqu'il prétend aller aux Iles. On y a permis l'embarquement de trois mille fusils, et de deux mille cinq cens livres de souffre, marchandise aussi nécessaire aux Américains qu'elle est inutile dans les Iles. Ce vaisseau est commandé par M. Lundi, officier François, officier de distinction, ci-devant lieutenant de M. de Bou-

Bougainville.—L'Hippopotame, appartenant au Sieur Beaumarchais, doit avoir à son bord quatorze mille fusils, et beaucoup de munitions de guerre, pour l'usage des rebelles.—Il y a environ cinquante vaisseaux François, qui se préparent à partir pour l'Amérique Septentrionale, chargés de munitions de guerre et de différentes marchandises pour l'usage des rebelles. Ils partiront de Nantes, de l'Orient, de St. Malo, du Havre, de Bordeaux, de Bayonne, et de différens autres ports. Voici les noms de quelques uns des principaux intéressés: M. Chaumont, M. Mention, et ses associés, &c. &c."

Dans un royaume où la volonté du prince ne trouve point d'obstacle, des secours si considérables, si publics, si long tems soutenus, si nécessaires enfin à l'entretien de la guerre en Amérique, annonçoient assez clairement les intentions secrettes des ministres du roi très Chrétien. Mais ils portèrent bien plus loin l'oubli et le mépris des engagemens les plus solemnels, et ce ne fut point sans leur permission qu'une guerre sourde et dangereuse sortoit des ports de la France, sous le masque trompeur de la paix, et le pavillon prétendu des colonies Américaines. L'accueil favorable que leurs agens trouvèrent auprès des ministres de la cour de Versailles, les encouragea bientôt à former et à exécuter le projet audacieux d'établir une place d'armes dans le pays qui leur avoit servi d'asyle. Ils avoient apporté, ou ils sçurent fabriquer, des lettres de marque au nom du Congrès Américain, qui a eu la hardiesse d'usurper tous les droits de la souveraineté. Les associés, dont les vues intéressées se prêtoient sans peine à tous leurs desseins, firent

équiper des vaisseaux qu'ils avoient construits ou achetés. On les arma pour aller en course dans les mers de l'Europe, et même sur les côtes de la Grande Bretagne. Pour sauver les apparences, les capitaines de ces corsaires arboroient le pavillon prétendu de l'Amérique; mais leurs équipages étoient toujours composés d'un grand nombre de François, qu'on enrôloit avec impunité sous les yeux même des gouverneurs, et des officiers des provinces maritimes. Un essaim nombreux de ces corsaires, animé par l'esprit de rapine, sortoit des ports de la France, et après avoir couru les mers Britanniques, ils rentroient, ou ils se réfugioient dans ces mêmes ports. Ils y ramenoient leurs prises, et à la faveur de l'artifice grossier et foible, qu'on daignoit quelquefois employer, la vente de ces prises se faisoit assez publiquement, et assez commodément sous les yeux des officiers royaux, toujours disposés à protéger le commerce de ces négocians qui violoient les loix, pour se conformer aux intentions du ministère François. Les corsaires s'enrichissoient des dépouilles des sujets du roi, et après avoir profité d'une liberté entière de réparer leurs pertes, de pourvoir à leurs besoins, et de se procurer toutes les munitions de guerre, la poudre, les canons, les agrêts qui pouvoient servir à de nouvelles entreprises, ils resortoient librement des mêmes ports, pour se remettre en mer et en course. L'histoire du corsaire le *Reprisal* peut se citer parmi une foule d'exemples, qui montrent au jour la conduite injuste mais à peine artificieuse de la cour de Versailles. Ce vaisseau, qui avoit amené

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en Europe le Sieur Franklin, agent des colonies révoltées, fut reçu avec ses deux prises qu'il avoit faites en route ; il resta dans le port de Nantes aussi long tems qu'il convenoit à ses vues, se remit deux fois en mer pour piller les sujets du roi, et se retira tranquillement à l'Orient avec de nouvelles prises qu'il venoit de faire. Malgré les représentations les plus fortes de l'ambassadeur du roi et les assurances les plus solemnelles des ministres François, on permit au capitaine de ce corsaire de demeurer à l'Orient tout le tems dont il avoit besoin pour radouber son vaisseau, de se pourvoir de cinquante barriques de poudre à canon, et de recevoir sur son bord tous les matelots François qui vouloient bien s'engager avec lui. Muni de ces renforts, le *Reprisal* sortit pour la troisième fois des ports de ses nouveaux alliés, et forma bientôt une petite escadre de pirates, par la jonction concertée du *Lexington* et du *Dolphin*, deux armateurs, dont le premier avoit déjà conduit plus d'une prise à la rivière de Bordeaux, et dont le second, armé à Nantes, et monté par un équipage entièrement François, n'avoit rien d'Américain que le nom et son commandant.—Ces trois vaisseaux, qui jouissoient si publiquement de la protection de la cour de Versailles, s'emparèrent en très peu de tems de quinze navires Anglois, dont la plûpart furent ramenés et secrettement vendus dans les ports de France.—De pareils faits, qu'il seroit aisé de multiplier, tiennent lieu de raisonnemens et de reproches, et l'on peut se dispenser de réclamer dans cette occasion la foi des traités ; et il n'est point nécessaire de démontrer

qu'une puissance alliée, ou même neutre, ne peut jamais permettre la guerre sans violer la paix.—Les principes du droit des gens refuseroient sans doute à l'ambassadeur de la couronne la plus respectable ce privilège d'armer des corsaires, que la cour de Versailles accordoit sourdement aux agens des rebelles dans le sein de la France. Dans ses îles la tranquillité publique fut violée d'une manière encore plus audacieuse, et malgré le changement du gouverneur, les ports de la Martinique servoient toujours d'asyle aux corsaires qui couroient les mers sous un pavillon Américain, mais avec un équipage François. Le Sieur Bingham, agent des rebelles, qui jouissoit de la faveur et de la confiance des deux gouverneurs successifs de la Martinique, dirigeoit l'armement des corsaires, et la vente publique de leurs prises. Deux vaisseaux marchands, le *Lancashire Hero*, et l'*Irish Gimblet*, qui devinrent la proie du *Revenge*, assurent que sur cent vingt-cinq hommes d'équipage il n'y avoit que deux Américains, et que le propriétaire, qui l'étoit en même tems de onze autres corsaires, se reconnoissoit pour habitant de la Martinique, où il étoit respecté comme le favori et l'agent secret du gouverneur lui-même.

Au milieu de tous ces actes d'hostilité, qu'il est impossible de qualifier d'un autre nom, la cour de Versailles continuoit toujours de parler le langage de la paix et de l'amitié, et ses ministres épuisèrent toutes les ressources de l'artifice et de la dissimulation pour assoupir les justes plaintes de la Grande Bretagne, pour tromper ses soupçons et pour

pour arrêter les effets de son ressentiment. Depuis la première époque des troubles de l'Amérique jusqu'au moment de la déclaration de guerre par le marquis de Noailles, les ministres du roi très Chrétien ne cessoient de renouveller les protestations les plus fortes et les plus expresses de leurs dispositions pacifiques; et si la conduite ordinaire de la cour de Versailles étoit propre à inspirer une juste défiance, le cœur de sa majesté lui fournissoit des motifs puissans pour croire que la France avoit enfin adopté un système de modération et de paix, qui perpétueroit le bonheur solide et réciproque des deux nations. Les ministres de la cour de Versailles tachèrent d'excuser l'arrivée et le séjour des agens des rebelles, par l'assurance la plus forte qu'ils ne trouveroient en France qu'un simple asyle sans distinction et sans encouragement.

La liberté du commerce et l'avidité du gain servirent quelquefois de prétexte pour couvrir les entreprises illégitimes des sujets François, et dans le moment qu'on alléguoit vainement l'impuissance des loix, pour prévenir des abus que des états voisins savoient si bien réprimer, on condamna, avec toutes les apparences de la sincérité, le transport des armes et des munitions de guerre, qui se permettoit impunément, pour le service des rebelles. Aux premières représentations de l'ambassadeur du roi, au sujet des corsaires qui s'armoient sous le pavillon de l'Amérique, mais dans les ports de France, les ministres de sa majesté très Chrétienne répondirent par des expressions de surprise et d'indignation, et par la déclaration positive, qu'on

ne souffriroit jamais des entreprises aussi contraires à la foi des traités et à la tranquillité publique. La suite des événemens, dont on a déjà vu un petit nombre, montra bientôt l'inconstance ou plutôt la fausseté de la cour de Versailles; et l'ambassadeur du roi fut chargé de mettre devant les yeux des ministres François les conséquences sérieuses mais inévitables de leur politique. Il remplit sa commission avec tous les égards qui sont dûs à une puissance respectable, dont on desireroit de conserver l'amitié, mais avec la fermeté digne d'un souverain, et d'une nation, peu accoutumés à faire ou à supporter des injustices. La cour de Versailles fut sommée de s'expliquer, sans délai et sans détour, sur sa conduite et sur ses intentions, et le roi lui proposa l'alternative de la paix ou de la guerre.—Elle choisit la paix, mais ce ne fut que pour blesser ses ennemis d'une manière sûre et secrette, sans avoir rien à craindre de leur justice. Elle condamna sévèrement ces secours et ces armemens, que les principes du droit public ne lui permettoient pas de justifier. Elle déclara à l'ambassadeur du roi, qu'elle étoit résolue à faire sortir sur le champ les corsaires Américains de tous les ports de France, pour n'y jamais rentrer, et qu'on prendroit désormais les précautions les plus rigoureuses pour arrêter la vente des prises qu'ils auroient faites sur les sujets de la Grande Bretagne. Les ordres qui furent donnés pour cet effet étonnèrent les partisans des rebelles, et semblèrent arrêter le progrès du mal: mais les sujets de plainte renaissoient tous les jours, et la manière

manière dont ces ordres furent d'abord éludés, violés ensuite, et enfin tout-à-fait oubliés par les négocians, les corsaires, et même par les officiers royaux, n'étoit point excusée par les protestations d'amitié dont la cour de Versailles accompagna ces infractions de la paix, jusqu'à ce moment qu'elle annonça, par son ambassadeur à Londres, le traité d'alliance qu'elle venoit de signer avec les agens des colonies révoltées de l'Amérique.

Si un ennemi étranger, reconnu parmi les puissances de l'Europe, avoit fait la conquête des états du roi dans l'Amérique, et que la France eût confirmé, par un traité solemnel, un acte de violence qui dépouilloit, au milieu d'une paix profonde, le voisin respectable dont elle se disoit l'amie et l'alliée, l'Europe entière se seroit soulevée contre l'injustice d'un procédé qui violoit sans pudeur tout ce qu'il y a de plus saint parmi les hommes. La première découverte, la possession non interrompue de deux cens ans et le consentement de toutes les nations, auroient suffi pour constater les droits de la Grande Bretagne aux terres de l'Amérique Septentrionale, et sa souveraineté sur le peuple qui y avoit formé des établissemens avec la permission et sous le gouvernement des prédécesseurs du roi. Si ce peuple même a osé secouer le joug de l'autorité ou plutôt des loix, s'il a usurpé les provinces et les prérogatives de son souverain, et s'il a recherché l'alliance des étrangers pour appuyer son indépendance prétendue ; ces étrangers ne peuvent accepter son alliance, ratifier ses usurpations, et reconnoître son indépendance, sans supposer

supposer que la révolte a des droits plus étendus que ceux de la guerre, et sans accorder aux sujets rebelles un titre légitime aux conquêtes qu'ils n'avoient pu faire qu'au mépris de la justice et des loix. Les ennemis secrets de la paix, de la Grande Bretagne et peut-être de la France même, eurent cependant l'addresse criminelle de persuader à sa majesté très Chrétienne qu'elle pouvoit, sans violer la foi des traités, déclarer publiquement qu'elle recevoit au nombre de ses alliés les sujets révoltés d'un roi, son voisin et son allié. Les professions d'amitié, dont on accompagna cette déclaration que le marquis de Noailles fut chargé de faire à la cour de Londres, ne servoient qu'à aggraver l'injure par l'insulte, et il étoit réservé pour la France de se vanter de ses dispositions pacifiques dans l'instant même que son ambition lui inspira d'exécuter et d'avouer un acte de perfidie sans exemple dans l'histoire des nations. " Cependant, (tel est le langage que la cour de Versailles ose encore se permettre,) Cependant ce seroit s'abuser de croire que c'est la reconnoissance que le roi a fait de l'indépendance des treize états unis de l'Amérique Septentrionale qui a irrité le roi d'Angleterre: ce prince n'ignore pas sans doute tous les exemples de ce genre que fournissent les annales Britanniques et même son propre règne."— Jamais ces exemples prétendus n'ont existé.—Jamais le roi n'a reconnu l'indépendance d'un peuple qui avoit secoué le joug de son prince légitime; et il est triste, sans doute, que les ministres de sa majesté très Chrétienne aient surpris la religion de leur

leur souverain pour couvrir d'un nom aussi respectable des assertions sans fondement et sans vraisemblance, qui sont démenties par le souvenir de l'Europe entière.

Au commencement des disputes qui s'élevoient entre la Grande Bretagne et ses colonies, la cour de Versailles déclara qu'elle ne prétendoit point être juge de la querelle; et son ignorance des principes de la constitution Britannique, aussi bien que des privilèges et des obligations des colonies, auroit dû l'engager à persister toujours dans une déclaration aussi sage et modeste. Elle se seroit épargné la honte de transcrire les manifestes du Congrès Américain, et de prononcer aujourd'hui, " Que les procédés de la cour de Londres forcèrent ses anciennes colonies de recourir à la voie des armes pour maintenir leurs droits, leurs privilèges et leur liberté." Ces vains prétextes ont déjà été réfutés de la manière la plus convaincante, et les droits de la Grande Bretagne sur ce peuple révolté, ses bienfaits et sa longue patience, ont été déjà prouvés par la raison et par les faits. Il suffit ici de remarquer, que la France ne peut se prévaloir de l'injustice qu'elle reproche à la cour de Londres sans introduire dans la jurisprudence de l'Europe des maximes aussi nouvelles qu'elles seroient fausses et dangereuses; sans supposer que les disputes qui s'élèvent au sein d'un état indépendant et souverain sont soumises à la juridiction d'un prince étranger, et que ce prince peut évoquer à son tribunal ses alliés et leurs sujets révoltés, pour justifier

fier la conduite du peuple qui s'est affranchi des devoirs de l'obéïssance légitime. Les ministres du roi très Chrétienne s'appercevront peut-être un jour que l'ambition les a fait oublier les intérêts et les droits de tous les souverains. L'approbation que la cour de Versailles vient de donner à la révolte des colonies Angloises ne lui permettroit pas de blâmer le soulèvement de ses propres sujets dans le nouveau monde ou de ceux de l'Espagne, qui auroient des motifs bien plus puissans pour suivre le même exemple, s'ils n'en étoient point détournés par la vue des calamités dans lesquelles ces malheureuses colonies se sont précipitées.

Mais la France elle-même paroît sentir la foiblesse, le danger et l'indécence de ces prétensions, et se relâchant dans la déclaration du marquis de Noailles, aussi bien que dans le dernier manifeste, sur le droit de l'indépendance, elle se contente de soutenir que ces colonies révoltées jouissoient dans le fait de cette indépendance qu'elles s'étoient donnée; que l'Angleterre même l'avoit en quelque sorte reconnue elle-même en laissant subsister des actes qui tiennent à la souveraineté, et qu'ainsi la France, sans violer la paix, pouvoit conclure un traité d'amitié et de commerce avec les états unis de l'Amérique Septentrionale.—Voici de quelle manière la Grande Bretagne avoit reconnu cette indépendance également imaginaire dans le droit et dans le fait. Deux ans ne s'étoient pas encore passés depuis le jour que les rebelles avoient déclaré leur résolution criminelle de secouer le joug

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de la mère-patrie, et ce terme avoit été rempli par les événemens d'une guerre sanglante et opiniâtre. Les succès avoient été balancés, mais l'armée du roi, qui occupoit les plus importantes des villes maritimes, continuoit toujours de menacer les provinces intérieures; le pavillon Anglois régnoit sur toutes les mers de l'Amérique; et le rétablissement de sa dépendance légitime étoit posé comme la condition indispensable de la paix que la Grande Bretagne offroit à des sujets révoltés, dont elle respectoit les droits, les intérêts, et même les préjugés. La cour de Versailles qui annonce avec tant " de franchise et de simplicité" le traité signé avec ces prétendus états de l'Amérique, qu'elle trouvoit dans une situation indépendante, avoit seule contribué par ses secours clandestins à nourrir le feu de la révolte, et ce fut la crainte de la paix qui engagea la France à se servir du bruit de cette alliance comme du moyen le plus efficace pour enflammer les esprits des peuples qui commençoient déjà à ouvrir les yeux sur les suites malheureuses de la révolte, la tyrannie de leurs nouveaux chefs, et les dispositions paternelles de leur souverain légitime.

Dans ces circonstances il est impossible de nier sans insulter trop grossièrement à la raison et à la vérité, que la déclaration du marquis de Noailles du 13 Mars de l'année dernière ne dût être reçue comme une véritable déclaration de guerre de la part du roi très Chrétien ; et les assurances " qu'il avoit pris des mesures éventuelles avec les états unis de l'Amérique, pour soutenir la liberté d'un commerce," qui avoit tant de fois excité les plaintes légitimes

légitimes de la Grande Bretagne, autorisoient le roi à considérer dès ce moment la France au nombre de ses ennemis. La cour de Versailles ne peut pas s'empêcher de reconnoître que le roi d'Angleterre après avoir rappellé " son ambassadeur, dénonça à son parlement la démarche de sa majesté comme un acte d'hostilité, comme une aggression formelle et préméditée." Telle fut, il est vrai, la déclaration que l'honneur et la justice exigèrent du roi, et qu'il communiqua sans délai à tous ses ministres dans les différentes cours de l'Europe, pour justifier d'avance les effets d'un ressentiment légitime. Dès lors il est assez inutile de rechercher les ordres qui furent envoyés aux Indes Orientales, de marquer le jour précis auquel les flottes d'Angleterre ou de France sortirent de leurs ports respectifs, ou d'examiner les circonstances du combat avec la *Belle Poule*, et de la prise des deux frégates qui furent effectivement enlevées à la vue même des côtes de la France. Dès lors le reproche qu'on se permet de faire au roi d'avoir si long tems suspendu la déclaration formelle de la guerre, s'évanouit de lui-même. Ces déclarations ne sont que des moyens dont les nations sont réciproquement convenues pour éviter la trahison et la surprise; mais les cérémonies qui annoncent ce changement terrible de la paix à la guerre, les hérauts, les proclamations, les manifestes, ne sont jamais nécessaires, et ne sont pas toujours les mêmes. La déclaration du marquis de Noailles fut le signal de l'infraction publique de la paix: le roi proclama sur le champ à toutes les nations qu'il acceptoit la guerre que la France

France lui offroit; les démarches ultérieures de sa majesté étoient du ressort de sa prudence plutôt que de sa justice, et l'Europe peut juger maintenant si la cour de Londres manquoit de " moyens pour justifier une déclaration de guerre, et si elle n'osoit pas acouser publiquement la France d'être l'aggresseur."

Puisque l'alliance de la France avec les colonies révoltées de l'Amérique avoit été une infraction manifeste de la paix et le motif légitime de la guerre, la cour de Versailles devoit naturellement s'attendre qu'à la première proposition d'un accommodement entre les deux couronnes, le Roi exigeroit de sa part qu'on lui accordât une juste satisfaction sur un objet aussi important, et que la France renonçât à ces liaisons qui avoient forcé sa majesté à prendre les armes. La surprise affectée que les ministres du roi très Chrétien font paroître aujourd'hui de la fermeté de la cour de Londres est assez conforme à l'orgueil qui leur dicta des conditions de paix que les plus grands succès auroient à peine justifiées; et la proposition qu'ils hasardèrent pour engager le roi à retirer ses troupes de l'Amérique, et à reconnoître l'indépendance de ses sujets révoltés, ne pouvoit qu'exciter l'étonnement et l'indignation de sa majesté. Le peu d'ouverture que la cour de Versailles trouva à une espérance aussi vaine, l'obligea bientôt à se replier d'une autre manière; elle a proposé, par l'entremise de la cour de Madrid, un projet d'accommodement moins offensant peut-être dans la forme, mais aussi peu admissible par le fonds. Le roi Catholique, avec

avec le consentement de la France, communiqua aux ministres du roi la proposition d'une trève à longues années, ou bien d'une suspension générale et indéfinie de toutes hostilités, pendant laquelle les colonies révoltées, les prétendus états unis de l'Amérique Septentrionale, seroient traités comme indépendans de fait. La réflexion la plus simple suffit pour découvrir l'artifice de ce projet insidieux, et pour justifier aux yeux de l'Europe le refus du roi. Entre les souverains qui se reconnoissent mais qui se combattent, les trèves à longues années, les suspensions d'hostilités sont les moyens doux et salutaires pour applanir les difficultés qui s'opposent à l'entière conclusion d'une paix qu'on renvoye sans disgrace et sans danger à un moment plus favorable. Mais dans la querelle domestique de la Grande Bretagne et ses colonies, la souveraineté même, l'indépendance de droit ou de fait, est l'objet de la dispute; et la dignité du roi ne lui permettoit point d'accepter ses propositions qui accordoient dès l'entrée de la négociation tout ce qui pouvoit contenter l'ambition des Américains rebelles, pendant qu'elles exigèrent de sa majesté que sans aucune stipulation en sa faveur, elle se désistât pendant un terme long ou indéfini des prétentions les plus légitimes. La cour de Versailles daignoit, il est vrai, consentir que celle de Londres traitât avec le Congrès soit directement, soit par l'entremise du roi d'Espagne. Sa majesté assurément ne s'abaissera point jusqu'à se plaindre de cet orgueil, qui semble lui accorder comme une grace la permission de traiter directement avec ses sujets rebelles.

rebelles. Mais si les Américains eux-mêmes ne sont pas aveuglés par la passion et la prévention, ils verront clairement dans le procédé de la France que leurs nouveaux alliés deviendroient bientôt leurs tyrans; et que cette indépendance prétendue, achetée par tant de malheurs et tant de sang, seroit soumise à la volonté despotique d'une cour étrangère.

Si la France pouvoit vérifier cet empressement qu'elle attribue à la cour de Londres à rechercher la médiation de l'Espagne, un pareil empressement serviroit à prouver la juste confiance du roi dans la bonté de sa cause, et son estime pour une nation généreuse qui a toujours méprisé la fraude et la perfidie. Mais la cour de Londres est forcée à convenir que la médiation lui fut offerte par les ministres du roi Catholique, et qu'elle n'a d'autre mérite que celui d'avoir fait paroître dans toutes les occasions une inclination vive et sincère de délivrer ses sujets et mêmes ses ennemis du fléau de la guerre. La conduite de la cour de Madrid pendant cette négociation fit bientôt connoître au roi qu'un médiateur qui oublioit ses intérêts les plus chers pour se livrer à l'ambition et au ressentiment d'une puissance étrangère, seroit incapable de proposer un accommodement sûr ou honorable. L'expérience confirma ses soupçons: le projet injuste et inadmissible qu'on vient d'exposer fut le seul fruit de la médiation. Et à l'instant même que les ministres du roi Catholique offroient, avec les professions les plus désintéressées, sa capitale, ses bons offices, sa garantie pour faciliter la conclusion du traité, ils laissè-

rent entrevoir dans le fond de l'obscurité, de nouveaux sujets de discussion qui regardoient particulièrement l'Espagne, mais sur lesquels ils refusèrent toujours de s'expliquer. Le refus de sa majesté d'accéder à l'*ultimatum* de la cour de Madrid fut accompagné de tous les ménagemens et de tous les égards convenables; et à moins que cette cour ne s'arrogeât le droit de dicter les conditions de paix à un voisin indépendant et respectable, il ne se passa rien dans cette conjoncture qui dût altérer l'harmonie des deux couronnes. Mais les démarches offensives de l'Espagne, qu'elle n'a jamais pu revêtir des plus foibles apparences de l'équité, montrèrent bientôt que sa résolution étoit déjà prise, et que cette résolution lui avoit été inspirée par le ministère François, qui n'avoit retardé la déclaration de la cour de Madrid que dans l'espérance de porter sous le masque de l'amitié un coup mortel à l'honneur et aux intérêts de la Grande Bretagne.

Tels sont les ennemis injustes et ambitieux qui ont méprisé la foi des traités pour violer la tranquillité publique, et contre lesquels le roi défend maintenant les droits de sa couronne et de son peuple. L'événement est encore dans la main du Tout-puissant; mais sa majesté, qui se confie avec une assurance ferme mais humble dans la protection Divine, se persuade que les vœux de l'Europe appuyeront la justice de sa cause, et applaudiront au succès de ses armes, qui n'ont point d'autre objet que de rétablir le repos des nations sur une base solide et inébranlable.

A DIS-

Lausanne, 1764.

A DISSERTATION ON THE ALLEGORICAL BEINGS FOUND ON THE REVERSES OF MEDALS.

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 genders of their names were 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 Valour, 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 shews 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 srik-

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ing 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 characterised 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.*

> Regumque matres barbarorum, et
> 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 subtle 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

* Dialogues upon Medals, Dial. ii. p. 47.

Romans

Romans by this humiliating measure, than to deprive his discontented subjects of men fit to head their revolt.*

Rome, 29th December, 1764.

AN ACCOUNT OF A MS. BY THE ABBÉ G. V. GRAVINA, *Del Governo Civile di Roma.*

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. The consul of the West preceded the consul of the East.—*Procopius's Secret History.* P. 7.

Mr. Gravina believes in the donations of Pepin and Charlemagne. But, according to him, these P. 8.

* Tacit. Annal. ii. 1.

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.

P. 13, 14. In the insurrection of the Romans against King Hugh and Marozia, they established their ancient government by two annual consuls and tribunes. Young Alberic was one of the first consuls. Gravina cites 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.

P. 21. Mr. Gravina thinks that Otho III. abolished the consulship in 995, 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.

P. 43, 44. Innocent III. received the homage of the prefect of Rome, 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 à Carolo Magno.*

P. 55, 56. 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

they ravaged with fire and sword. At that time were burnt the ancient edifices whose ruins are still visible on the declivity of the Capitoline hill.

A DISSERTATION ON THE SUBJECT OF L'HOMME AU MASQUE DE FER.

The mysterious history of the famous French prisoner, known by the appellation of *l'Homme au Masque de Fer*, is related by M. Voltaire, in the *Siècle de Louis XIV.*, and in the *Questions sur l'Encyclopédie.* That writer, the most sceptical and lively of his age, never attempts either to contest the truth, or to reveal the secret of that wonderful affair. *Je ne connois point de fait ni plus extraordinaire ni mieux constaté* is the just conclusion of his first account. In his subsequent additions, he refutes with force and contempt the idle suppositions that this unknown prisoner was the Duc de Beaufort, the Count de Vermandois, or the Duke of Monmouth. At length, breaking off abruptly, he throws out a dark intimation, *qu'il en sait peut-être plus que le Père Grifet, et qu'il n'en dira pas davantage.*

If we are disposed to exercise our curiosity and conjectures upon this historical anecdote, we must steadily remember, that no hypothesis can deserve the least credit, unless it corresponds with and explains the following circumstances:

1. The prisoner who passed his melancholy life in

in the isles de St. Marguerite and the Bastile was called *Marchiali*. As the name was most assuredly fictitious, this circumstance seems, and indeed is, of small importance. However, in case an Italian was either the author of his birth, or the guardian of his infancy, a name drawn from that language would most naturally present itself.

2. Marchiali was buried secretly and by night, in the parish church of St. Paul's, on the third day of March in the year 1703, as is proved by the journal of the Père Grifet, who was entrusted with the very delicate employment of confessor to the Bastile. A few days before his death, the unknown prisoner told his physician that he believed himself about sixty years of age. If he reckoned with precision, he was born in the spring of the year 1643, about the time of the death of Louis the Thirteenth. But the dreary hours of a prison move slowly, and the infirmities of age are hastened by grief and solitude. Marchiali could speak only from conjecture; nor is it unlikely that he might be somewhat younger than he supposed himself.

3. He was conducted to the Isles de St. Marguerite on the coast of Provence, some months after the death of Cardinal Mazarin; that is to say, about the end of the year 1661, or the beginning of 1662. This is the first among the few events of his life. M. de Voltaire mentions, in one place, a previous confinement at Pignerol; but without being perfectly clear, or even consistent, on that head.

4. Mar-

4. Marchiali, whoever he was, had never acted any distinguished part on the public theatre of the world. The sudden absence of such a person, in any part of Europe, would infallibly have occasioned much wonder and inquiry, some traces of which must have reached our knowledge. But in this instance, using the amplest latitude of time, we cannot even discover any one important *death*, that leaves the minutest opening for our most licentious suspicions.

5. An illustrious birth was therefore the only advantage by which the prisoner could be distinguished; and his birth must indeed have been illustrious, since, when Monsieur de Louvois made him a visit, he spoke to him standing, and *avec une considération qui tenoit du respect.* We must ascend very high ere we can attain a rank which that proud and powerful minister of the French monarchy could think it his duty to *respect.*

6. The most extraordinary precautions were employed, not only to secure, but to conceal, this mysterious captive; and his guards were ordered to kill him, if he made the least attempt to discover himself. That order, as well as the silver plate which he threw out of the prison window, after writing something upon it, and which fell into the hands of an illiterate fisherman, sufficiently prove that he was acquainted with his own name and condition. The mask, which he never was permitted to lay aside, shews the apprehension of the discovery of some very striking resemblance.

7. Pri-

7. Prisoners of such alarming importance are seldom suffered to live. Of all precautions, the dagger or the bowl are undoubtedly the surest. Nothing but the most powerful motives, or, indeed, the tenderest ties, could have stopped the monarch's hand, and induced him rather to risk a discovery, than to spill the blood of this unfortunate man. He was lodged in the best apartment of the Bastille, his table was served in the most delicate manner, he was allowed to play on the guitar, and supplied with the finest laces and linen, of which he was passionately fond. Every kind attention was studiously practised, that could in any wise alleviate the irksomeness of his perpetual imprisonment.

8. When Monsieur de Chamillard, in the year 1721, was on his death-bed, his son-in-law, the Marechal de la Feuillade, begged on his knees, that he would disclose to him that mysterious transaction. The dying minister refused to gratify this unseasonable curiosity. "It was the secret of the state, (he said,) and he had taken an oath never to divulge it." The prisoner had then been dead eighteen years, and Louis the Fourteenth almost six. It must have been a secret of no common magnitude that could still affect the peace and welfare of future generations.

Before we proceed to a probable solution of these strange circumstances, let us try to connect them with some facts of a more public and general nature.

1. The doubtful birth of Louis XIV. often occurs,

curs, in conversation, as the subject of historical scepticism. The first grounds of the suspicion are obvious. He was born after a sterile union of twenty-three years between Louis the Thirteenth and Anne of Austria. But as such an event, however unfrequent, is neither destitute of possibility, nor even of example, the scandalous rumour would long since have died away in oblivion, had it not derived additional strength from the character and situation of the royal pair.

2. Though Louis XIII. wanted not either parts or courage, his character was degraded by a coldness and debility, both of mind and body, which had little affinity with his heroic father. Had his indifference towards the sex been confined to the queen, it might have been considered as the mere effect of personal dislike; but his *chaste* amours with his female favourites betrayed to the laughing court, that the king was less than a man.

3. Without reviving all the obsolete scandal of the *fronde*, we may respectfully insinuate that Anne of Austria's reputation of chastity was never so firmly established as that of her husband. To the coquetry of France, the queen united the warm passions of a Spaniard. Her friends acknowledge that she was gay, indiscreet, vain of her charms, and strongly addicted at least to romantic gallantry. It is well known that she permitted some distinguished favourites to entertain her with soft tales of her beauty, and their love; and thus removed the distant ceremony, which is perhaps the surest defence of royal virtue. Anne of

of Austria passed twenty-eight years with a husband alike incapable of gratifying her tender or her sensual inclinations. At the age of forty-three, she was left an independent widow, mistress of herself, and of the kingdom.

4. The civil wars which raged during the minority of Louis XIV. arose from the blind and unaccountable attachment of the queen to Cardinal Mazarin, whom she obstinately supported against the universal clamour of the French nation. The Austrian pride, perhaps, and the useful merit of the minister, might determine the queen to brave an insolent opposition; but a connection, formed by policy, might very easily terminate in love. The necessity of business would engage that princess in many a secret and midnight conference with an Italian of an agreeable person, vigorous constitution, loose morals, and artful address. The amazing anecdote hinted at in the honest memoirs of La Porte, sufficiently proves that Mazarin was capable of employing every expedient to insinuate himself into *every part* of the royal family.

5. If Anne of Austria yielded to such opportunities, and to so artful a lover; if she became a mother after her husband's death, her weakness, and the consequences of it, would have been carefully screened from the eye of curious malignity. When Louis XIV. succeeded to the possession of the kingdom, and of the fatal secret, he was deeply interested in the guard of his own, and of his mother's honour. Had her frailty been revealed to the world, the living proof would have awakened

and

and confirmed all the latent suspicions, diffused a spirit of distrust and division among the people, and shaken the hereditary claim of the monarch. If the strong grasp of Louis XIV. retained the French sceptre, the doubt and the danger were entailed on future ages. In some feeble, or infant reign, an ambitious Condé might embrace the fair pretence to assert the right to his genuine branch, and to exclude from the succession the spurious posterity of Louis XIII.

In a word, the child of Anne of Austria and of Cardinal Mazarin would have been at once the brother and the most dangerous enemy of his sovereign. The humanity of Louis XIV. might have declined a brother's murder; but pride, policy, and even patriotism, must have compelled that prince to hide his face and his existence with an iron mask and the walls of the Bastille.

It is scarcely necessary to add, that I suppose the unfortunate Marchiali to have been that child. If the several facts which I have drawn together blend themselves, without constraint, into a consistent and natural system, it is surely no weak argument in favour of the truth, or at least of the probability of my opinion.

May 27th, 1774.

ME-

Lausanne, 10 Décembre, 1756.

MÉMOIRES POSTHUMES DE M. DE CHESEAUX.

Je n'ai lu qu'une très petite partie de cet ouvrage. Les calculs dont il est rempli, en interdisent l'entrée à quiconque n'est pas mathématicien achevé. Cependant la partie chronologique que j'ai lu m'a fait bien du plaisir. Un grand astronome est en état d'y répandre bien de la lumière, mais il n'y a guères que M. Newton et M. de Cheseaux qui l'ayent tenté.

Il fait une remarque assez curieuse sur le verset 12. ch. vii. de Daniel, où il est dit que la domination fut enlevée aux autres bêtes après que leur vie eut été prolongée à un tems et un tems. Il le paraphrase de cette manière. La domination (*app. des Babyloniens*) des Perses et des Grecs fut aussi détruite après qu'elle eut durée 720 ans, entendant par ces deux tems, deux années prophétiques de 360 ans chacune; et en effet ces trois empires durèrent 720 ans, depuis le commencement de Nabonassar en 747 A. C. jusqu'au tems qu'Octavien reçut le nom d'Auguste du sénat Romain, et qu'il devint le premier empereur en 27 A. C. Quoiqu'on pourroit faire quelques objections contre ce sentiment, cependant on doit au moins avouer que *si non vero e ben trovato.* On pourroit dire par exemple que si Daniel avoit voulu parler de l'empire Babylonien il n'auroit dû commencer qu'à Nabuchodonosor, ou tout au plus à Nabopolassar son père, ce qui ne fait que 598 ans, les rois précédens de Babylone ne faisant

faisant pas plus à l'empire Babylonien que les rois de Macédoine depuis Caranus jusqu'à Alexandre ne faisoient à l'empire Macédonien.* Et si pour obvier à cet inconvénient on dit que la première domination, dont parle Daniel, n'étoit point celle des Babyloniens, mais celle des Assyriens, ce sera bien pis; le sentiment d'Hérodote, le plus modéré sur la durée de leur empire, plaçant son commencement dans un tems éloigné de 1240 ans de celui d'Auguste. Voy. Herodot. lib. i. p. 66. Edit. Henr. Steph. Usser. ad A. M. 2737.

Il croit aussi avoir fait une découverte sur la vision du huitième chapitre: il prétend que les 2300 soirs et matins, dont il est parlé au v. 14, signifient les sacrifices du soir et du matin du temple: 2300 de ces sacrifices font 1150 jours; mais il croit que ces 1150 jours de sacrifices se rapportoient seulement aux trois grandes fêtes des Juifs; ainsi 1150 faisoient 383 ans et une fête de l'année

* Les princes de Perse depuis Achæmenes jusqu'à Cyrus le Persan, ou les rois et les consuls depuis Romulus jusqu'à Auguste à celui de Rome. Il ne s'agit point ici de leur existence comme petit état, mais comme monarchie assez puissante pour l'emporter de beaucoup sur toutes les autres, et pour mériter les noms des quatre grands empires. Pour ce qui regarde la foiblesse du royaume de Babylone jusqu'à Nabopolassar, voici ce qu'en dit le Père Pétau: "Quod regnum (Babylonicum, scilicet) victis tenue et Assyriis obnoxium ab Nabopolassaro ejusque filio Nabuchodonosoro amplificatum est, ut et Medos ipsos et Assyrios sibi subjiceret." Petavii Ration. Temp. p. ii. 3. c. 3. p. 80; sans compter qu'il seroit pour le moins aussi naturel de placer la fin de l'empire de Macédoine à la destruction du royaume de Macédoine qu'à celle du royaume d'Egypte.

suivante. Il établit ensuite que le dernier sacrifice avant la persécution d'Antiochus fut celui de Pâques 168 ans avant notre Seigneur. De la fête de Pâques d'168 inclusivement jusqu'à celle des Tabernacles de 552 exclusivement, se trouvent justement 383 ans plus une fête. Il s'agit donc de prouver que Daniel eut cette vision dans le tems marqué. Il nous dit lui-même qu'il l'eut dans la troisième année du règne du roi Balsatsar. On suppose avec Prideaux que ce Balsatsar est le Nabonadius de Ptolémée. Nabonadius commença à régner 555 ans avant notre Seigneur. La question est, dans quel tems de l'année. Si c'étoit dans l'automne, l'époque que nous cherchons tombe dans la troisième année du règne de Balsatsar, et le système de M. de Cheseaux est bien lié ; mais s'il commença plutôt, cette même époque se trouve dans son quatrième an. M. de Cheseaux allègue quelques argumens en faveur du premier sentiment.

Mais une seule observation suffit pour les détruire, c'est qu'il ne faut point aller chercher en Ptolémée, la durée précise du règne de chaque roi. M. de Cheseaux en convient lui-même. Ainsi quand même on auroit prouvé que Cyrus prit Babylone en automme on n'auroit point prouvé, que Nabonadius monta sur le trône dans la même saison, et quand vous auriez fait voir qu'Evil-Mérodach monta sur le trône au commencement de l'année vous n'auriez encore point fixé le commencement quant au mois du règne de Nabonadius. Le règne de Tibère dura 22 ans suivant le canon. Or Tibère mourut au mois de Mars de l'an 37. Vous croyez

croyez pouvoir inférer de-là que Tibère commença à régner au mois de Mars de l'an 15. Point du tout : il avoit commencé au mois d'Août de l'an 14. Mais Ptolémée ne comptoit que les années révolues qui n'étoient en effet que 22.

M. de Cheseaux apporte encore un argument en faveur de son hypothèse. C'est le règne de Laborosoarchod de neuf mois qu'il prétend que Ptolémée avoit renfermé dans celui de Nabonadius. Evil-Mérodach, dit-il, commença à régner à peu près avec l'année 561 ; ôtez-en 23 ans et neuf mois (comptant apart les neuf mois de Laborosoarchod) vous allez à l'automne de 538, dans laquelle Babylone aura été pris par Cyrus. Mais sans parler de ma première remarque, ce calcul me semble fondé sur une supposition qu'on aura peine à admettre, que Ptolémée avoit renfermé les neuf mois de Laborosoarchod dans le règne de Balsatsar, et qu'alors, pour ôter à Balsatsar ce qu'il lui avoit donné de trop, il avoit ajouté au règne de Cyrus, neuf mois de celui de son prédécesseur. Sans cette supposition on voit clairement que le commencement d'Evil-Mérodach, bien loin d'être avantageux à Mons. de Cheseaux lui seroit très nuisible, puisqu'il s'en ensuivroit que Nabonadius commença à gouverner au mois de Janvier environ de 535. Mais deux raisons me font rejetter cette supposition, et me font croire que le court règne de Laborosoarchod étoit plutôt contenu dans celui de son père Nériglissar. I. Nériglissar fut tué dans une grande bataille que Cyrus, à la tête des Mèdes et des Perses, gagna sur les Assyriens. Ce fait est

certain, Prideaux en convient, et on ne sauroit le révoquer en doute sans renverser entièrement l'histoire de Xénophon que M. de Cheseaux reconnoît lui-même. Or quelle apparence y a-t-il qu'une telle battaille se soit donné au plus fort de l'hiver? II. Nous voyons que la coutume ordinaire de Ptolémée, à l'égard des princes qu'il passoit sous silence, étoit de renfermer leurs règnes plutôt dans ceux de leurs prédécesseurs que dans ceux de leurs successeurs. L'usurpation des Mages est contenue dans les huit ans de Cambyses, les règnes de Galba, d'Othon, et de Vitellius dans les 14 de Néron. M. de Cheseaux sent le poids d'une pareille induction, veut s'en servir aussi à son tour, et pour cet effet il prétend que Ptolémée renferma dans le règne d'Artaxerxe Longimanus sept mois que régna son prédécesseur Artapan. Je connois cet Artapan, mais je ne crois pas qu'il régna jamais en Perse. Voici ce que je trouve sur son compte en Ctesias, médecin de Darius, fils de cet Artaxerxes. Ἀρτάπανος δὲ, μέγα παρὰ Ξέρξῃ δυνάμενος μετὰ Σπαμίτρου του Ἡμιάῤῥενος. καὶ αὐτȣ μέγα δυναμένȣ βȣλεύονται ἀνελεῖν Ξέρξην καὶ ἀναιροῦσι . . . . καὶ βασιλεύει Ἀρταξέρξης. σπουδῇ Ἀρταπάνȣ καὶ επιβȣλεύεται πάλιν ὑπ' αὐτȣ̃ . . . . καὶ Ἀναιρεῖται Ἀρταπάνος. . . . *Ctesiæ Fragm. ad Calc. Herod. edit. Hen. Steph. p.* 666, 667. Justin dit à peu près les mêmes choses, *Hist. l.* 3. *c.* 1. aussi bien que *Diodore de Sicile, Bibliot. Histor. lib. xi. c.* 69. *p.* 391, 92. *Traduct. Rhod.* et les chronologistes modernes les plus habiles ne se sont pas écartés de ce sentiment. Voy. Petav. Ration. Tempor. l. 1. l. 3. c. 6. p. 80. Edit. Lugd.

Lugd. Batav. et Prideaux, Histoire des Juifs à l'an avant N. S. 465.

Ce seroit bien pis si on alloit contester la vérité de l'histoire de Xénophon que M. de Cheseaux suppose toujours démontrée. Je sais que tous les systèmes qu'on a formé pour expliquer les premiers temps de l'empire des Perses auront leurs difficultés. Toutefois après avoir lu la belle dissertation de M. Freret, (juge impartial, puisqu'en condamnant Xénophon d'un côté il le défend d'un autre,) on aura bien de la peine peut-être à se refuser au sien qui paroît plausible, lié, et débarrassé des plus grandes objections. V. *Mém. de l'Acad. des Belles Lettres, tom. iv. p.* 588, *tom. x. p.* 778. Un tel système ne laisse plus d'espérance à celui de M. de Cheseaux. La troisième année de Balsatsar (alors Evil-Mérodach) sera avancée de sept ans, tombera sur l'an A. C. 559.

Fait environ le 10 Décembre, 1756.

Lausanne, 10 Novembre, 1757.

REMARQUES SUR QUELQUES PRODIGES.

Le philosophe ouvre les yeux. Il considère la terre et ses habitans. Il croit voir un palais bâti par les mains des fées. Partout il ne voit que des prodiges, les histoires en sont pleines, * * * * * * * * * * * *. Tantôt c'est un dogme obscur prouvé par un miracle puérile; tantôt c'est le ciel qui ordonne le massacre des mécréans, ou

qui prône avec éclat les vertus d'un tyran. Le philosophe dépouille ces prodiges de ce qu'ils peuvent avoir d'imposant pour les considérer en eux-mêmes. Aussitôt les fantômes s'évanouissent. Il n'apperçoit plus que de tristes vestiges de la politique des grands, de la crédulité des petits, de l'adulation des historiens, et de l'imposture des prêtres.

L'examen de deux événemens miraculeux tirés d'un historien aussi exact que peu élégant, servira de preuve à ces réflexions. Nous verrons que de pareilles recherches produiront l'incrédulité, mais une incrédulité sage et éclairée, dont plus d'un saint et plus d'un père de l'église auroit souvent eu besoin.

I. Un jour qu'on agitoit en sénat l'affaire de la conjuration de Catilina, Octavius, père d'Auguste, y arriva un peu tard. Nigidius Figulus, ami de Cicéron,(1) et comme lui politique et savant,(2) lui demanda la raison de son délai. Octave allégua sa femme qui venoit dans ce moment d'accoucher. Sur quoi Nigidius, ayant rêvé un moment, lui répondit: Votre femme vient de mettre au jour le maître de la terre.(3) On sait de quelle façon Auguste remplit sa destinée. Voilà un édifice pompeux, faisons-le disparoître. Nous y réussirons précisément à l'aide de ces circonstances de tems et de lieu qui sembloient en assurer la durée.

(1) Cicero. pro Sullâ. c. 14. Epist. ad. Fam. l. iv. Ep. 13.

(2) Serv. ad Virgil. l. x. v. 175.

(3) Suet. l. ii. c. 94.

Lorsqu'Octave vint en sénat le jour de la naissance de son fils, on y traitoit de l'affaire de Catilina. Or Auguste naquit le vingt-trois de Septembre sous le consulat de M. Tullius Cicero et de C. Antonius,

C. Antonius, A. U. C. Varron, 691. C'est une vérité si connue que je pourrois me dispenser de la prouver.(1) Cicéron prononça sa première Catilinaire en sénat, le 8 Novembre de la même année.(2) Il y dit que c'étoit le vingtième jour depuis que le sénat eût armé les mains des consuls par le fameux décret, " Darent operam consules, ne quid Respublica capiat detrementi."(3) On leur conféra donc ce pouvoir le 20 Octobre. Mais nous apprenons de Salluste, écrivain contemporain, que ce décret se passa immédiatement après la première indication que Cicéron fit de la conjuration au sénat. " Rem ad senatum refert jam antea volgi rumoribus exagitatam. Itaque quod plerumque in atroci negotio solet senatus decrevit, &c."(4) Comment dont le sénat pouvoit-il délibérer de la conjuration de Catilina le 23 Septembre de l'an 691, puisqu'il l'ignora lui-même jusqu'au 20 Octobre de la même année?

(1) Suet. l. ii. c. 5.
(2) Middleton's Life of Cicero, vol. i, p. 185. Ciceron. Hist. par Fabric. ad Calcem. edit. Verbugg. p. 16.
(3) Cicero in Catilin. c. 2.
(4) Sallust. Hist. Catil. Bell. c. 29.

II. Q. Lutatius Catulus, (magnæ spes altera Romæ,)(5) que Sulla appelloit le meilleur citoyen de la République, et qui justifia ce titre en repoussant les desseins séditieux de Lepidus,(6) après avoir dédié le temple de Jupiter Capitolin eut deux songes remarquables. Il crut voir dans le premier ce Dieu qui remettoit dans le sein d'un jeune garçon " signum reipublicæ,"* et dans le second, voulant ôter ce même garçon des bras de Jupiter, il reçut ordre de l'y laisser parceque la divinité l'élevoit pour être un jour le protecteur de

(5) Cicero pro Leg. Manil. c. 20.
(6) Sallust. Fragm. Hist. l. i. Flori Breviar. l. iii. c. 23. L. Ampel. Lil. Memorial. p. 322. ad Calc. Flori.

* Je ne le traduis pas, parcequ'on ne sait pas bien ce que c'est. Torrentius et Casaubon sont d'un avis différent là-dessus.

(1) Sueton. l. ii. c. 94.

la république.(1) Le lendemain il vit Auguste alors enfant, et qui ne lui étoit pas connu. Il le reconnut pour être celui qu'il avoit vu en songe. Suivant d'autres relations, il avoit vu une troupe d'enfans qui demandoit à Jupiter un de leur bande pour la gouverner. Il leur indiqua le jeune Auguste. Cette fable, encore plus éblouissante que la première, ne soutiendra pas mieux l'épreuve de l'examen.

Lorsque Suétone nous dit que Catulus eut ces songes " post dedicatum Capitolium," la bonne critique veut qu'on l'entende d'abord après cette consécration, le soir même qui la suivit, ou du moins les premiers jours après, pendant que la mémoire de cet événement étoit encore fraiche. Sans cela rien de plus vague et de moins déterminé que cette désignation du tems. Or Catulus consacra le Capitole A. U. C. Varr. 684,(2)* sept ans avant la naissance d'Auguste. Mais prenons ces paroles dans le sens le plus favorable, et supposons que Suétone n'a songé parler qu'à désigner le Catulus dont il vouloit parler pour être celui qui dédia le Capitole; en ce cas même nous

(2) Cicero in Verrem. l. iv. c. 31. T. Livii Epitom. l. xcviii.

* J'ai rencontré depuis un endroit de Suétone qui pourroit faire croire que le Capitole n'étoit pas encore achevé du tems de la préture de César A. U. C. 691. Le voici: " Primo præturæ die, Q. Catulum de refectione Capitolii ad disquisitionem populi vocavit, rogatione promulgatâ quâ curationem eam in alium transferebat."(3) Que le lecteur pèse l'évidence qui résulte de ce passage avec celle qui nait du témoignage combiné de Cicéron et de Tite Live. Son choix ne sera pas difficile, mais quel qu'il soit il m'intéresse peu. Je fais voir dans un moment que Catulus n'étoit plus quand ce songe a dû avoir lieu.

(3) Sueton. in Jul. Cæsar. c. 15.

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ne manquerons pas de moyens pour réfuter cette fable. Catulus étoit déjà fort vieux l'année de la naissance d'Auguste, " extremâ ætate," dit Salluste.(1) Il étoit mort quand Cicéron défendit Sextius: car cet orateur, faisant le tableau d'un vrai citoyen, après avoir parlé de quelques autres, il dit, " Neve eorum aliquem qui vivunt nominem qualis nuper fuit Q. Catulus."(2) Or Cicéron prononça cette harangue A. U. C. Varron, 698.(3) D'un autre côté quand Catulus rencontra Auguste il avoit déjà pris la prætexta.(4) Anciennement les jeunes gens ne la portoient que depuis l'age de quatorze ans.(5) Cependant je veux bien supposer que l'on avance cette prise à proportion de celle de la robe virile; anciennement on la prenoit à l'age de dix-sept ans.(6) Auguste la prit à celui de seize(7) ou bien de quatorze ans.(8) Ainsi il prit la prætexta étant agé de onze ou de treize ans, savoir en 702, on en 704. On vient de voir que Catulus étoit mort plus de six ans auparavant.

(1) Sallust. Bell. Catilin. c. 49.

(2) Cicero pro Sextio, c. 47.

(3) Fabr. Ciceron. Hist. p. 22.

(4) Sueton. loc. citat.

(5) V. Pitisc. Lexicon. tom. iii. p. 163. sub voc. Prætexta. Macrob. Saturn. l. i. c. 6.

(6) Middleton's Life of Cicero, tom. i. p. 13.

(7) Sueton. l. ii. c. 3.

(8) V. Notas Grævii in locum supra laudatum.

Puisqu'on détruit si facilement des événemens miraculeux supposés être arrivés dans un tems éclairé, rapportés par un historien très exact et voisin de ce tems-là,* qu'en doit-on conclure de mille de leurs pareils nés au milieu de l'ignorance, enveloppés dans l'éloignement des tems, et adoptés par des légendaires?

* C. Suetonius étoit contemporain de Tacite, puisque Pline le jeune étoit ami de tous les deux. Or Tacite avoit vu des viellards qui avoient assisté au jugement de Pison et qui par conséquent avoient vécu avec bien des personnes du siècle même d'Auguste. *V. Tacit Annal. iii. c.* 16.

J'avouerois

J'avouerois franchement que je ne saurois venir à bout avec la même facilité d'une prophétie qui avoit cours parmi les Véliternes, concitoyens d'Auguste. Je souhaite que quelqu'autre puisse être plus heureux que moi. Le mur de leur ville avoit été touché de la foudre. Ils consultent les augures. On leur répond qu'il est annoncé par là, qu'ils doivent un jour donner un maître au monde. En conséquent de cette espérance ils soutinrent la guerre contre les Romains avec opiniâtreté, jusqu'à en être presque exterminés. Ils virent à la fin que la prédiction avoit regardé Auguste. (1). Je n'aurois point fait attention à cette prophétie, et je l'aurois rangé sur le champ parmi mille autres fables que la flatterie inventa pour relever la naissance et les vertus d'Auguste, si un passage singulier de Tite Live n'avoit pas frappé ma mémoire. Le voici: les Romains, après avoir subjugé les diverses cités de Latium, en agirent envers eux avec assez de douceur. Ils accordèrent même la bourgeoisie de leur ville à plusieurs d'entr'elles ; mais ils distinguèrent ceux de Velitræ par une sévérité toute particulière. Ils divisèrent les terres des sénateurs à une colonie qu'ils y envoyèrent. Ils bannirent tous les citoyens de Velitræ de l'autre côté du Tibre, leur ordonnant d'y rester sous peine d'une grande amende, ou de la prison, pour quiconque contreviendroit à leurs ordres.* (2.) Ce passage en lui-même est singulier,

(1) Sueton. l. ii. c. 94.

(2) Tit. Liv. l. viii. c. 14.

* Tite Live ajouta qu'on les traita avec cette sévérité, " quod toties rebellassent," jusqu'à massacrer une colonie Romaine qu'on avoit envoyée chez eux.

et

et le devient bien davantage en le combinant avec celui de Suétone. 1. Cette obstination des Veliternes est tout à fait surprenante. Pourquoi cette petite ville de Latium s'est-elle distinguée à vouloir lutter contre les Romains plutôt que plusieurs autres de ses voisines plus puissantes qu'elle? L'étourderie d'une populace effrénée auroit bien pu produire une seule rebellion, mais pour rendre raison de si fréquentes récidives, on a besoin d'un principe répandu parmi le peuple qui leur donnoit l'espérance de pouvoir réussir. Suétone nous le fournit, ce principe. Et en effet je ne connois qu'un motif de religion capable de réchauffer tout un peuple, et de le faire persister dans le mépris des plus grands dangers. 2. Cette conduite sévère des Romains est aussi singulière. Leur politique et peut-être aussi leur orgueil les engageoit à traiter les vaincus avec bonté quelque opiniâtre qu'eût été leur résistance: " parcere subjectis et debellare superbos." Parmi tous les autres peuples de l'Italie je ne connois guères que ceux de Capoue qu'ils ayent traité avec une pareille rigueur. (1) Or les Capouens étoient encore pour eux non seulement un objet de haine mais de crainte. (2) Ainsi il est presque nécessaire de supposer quelque chose de pareil au sujet des Véliternes. Mais on ne conçoit guères comment ce petit peuple pouvoit leur inspirer de l'effroi qu'à l'aide de leur propre fanatisme, et de la superstition des Romains, qui craignoient cette prédiction, et qui cherchoient à en empêcher l'accomplissement.

(1) Tit. Liv. l. xxvi. c. 34.

(2) Cicero de Leg. Agrar. contr. Rullum. ii. c. 32.

Cependant elle s'est accomplie. Velitræ à donné au

au monde un maître dans la personne d'Auguste dont la famille étoit de cette ville. (1) Quelle conséquence faut-il en tirer? Nous pouvons y puiser une leçon non moins utile que les précédentes.* Bien des peuples ont eu leurs prédictions d'un roi qui devoit gouverner le monde. Le hasard ou quelquefois l'envie qu'on a eu de les accomplir en a fait réussir, sans qu'une puissance surnaturelle s'en soit mêlé (car personne je crois ne la fera intervenir dans celle d'Auguste). Apprenons par-là à peser long tems les prophéties avant que d'en conclure quelque chose, et souvenons que plusieurs toutes humaines ont pu réussir quoique très peu vraisemblables dans le tems qu'on les a faites.

(1) Sueton. l. xi. c. 1.

* Bien des prédictions ont fait espérer à bien des peuples de donner un roi à la terre. Parmi un nombre infini d'événemens possibles, il y en a qui n'arriveront pas moins pour avoir été prédits, surtout lorsque les hommes, après s'être laissés subjuguer par les préjugés, règlent leurs actions par ces mêmes préjugés et deviennent les ministres d'un destin dont ils avoient été les auteurs. Souvenons-nous surtout, c'est ici qu'on ne peut trop souvent inculquer cette leçon de la réponse de Diagoras au superstitieux de son tems: il lui montroit les monumens de la reconnoissance de ceux que Neptune avoit conservé des tempêtes: Que te faut-il encore, impie, lui disoit-il, pour te convaincre de la providence des Dieux? Rien, répliqua-t-il, si ce n'est de me faire voir les portraits de ceux qui ont invoqué Neptune, et qui sont péris en l'invoquant.

RE-

REMARQUES CRITIQUES SUR LES DIGNITÉS SACERDOTALES DE JULES CÉSAR.

Assez d'historiens et de critiques ont considéré César à la tête des armées. Envisageons-le un moment au pied des autels, et discutons, en peu de mots, ce que les anciens nous ont laissé au sujet de ses dignités sacerdotales.

César perdit son père, dit Suétone, (1) à l'age de seize ans. Dans sa première jeunesse il avoit épousé une certaine Cossutia, fille des plus riches, mais dont la famille n'étoit que de l'ordre des chevaliers. Cinna, alors maître et seul maître depuis la mort de Marius, voyant que la naissance attachoit César à son parti,* et qu'il étoit capable d'en être un jour le soutien, résolut de l'y attacher encore davantage en lui donnant sa fille Cornelia en mariage: il falloit pour cela répudier Cossutia: César le fit, et la dignité de flamen Dialis, la troisième de l'hiérarchie Romaine, fut le prix de sa complaisance. Sylla revient en Italie; son caractère lui inspiroit des désirs ardens de vengeance, sa victoire le mettoit en état de les assouvir. Soit amour, soit fierté, César ne voulut jamais abandonner sa Cornelia; son refus lui coûta son pontificat, ses biens de famille, et risqua de lui coûter la vie. Dans ce petit récit je n'ai point fait attention à Plutarque, qui veut que César ne briguât le flaminiat qu'après le retour de Sylla, qui le fit échouer pour se venger. (2) L'autorité de Plutarque,

(1) Sueton. L. i. c. 1. Vell. Pater. Hist. Rom. L. ii. c. 43.

(2) Plutarq. Viesd'Hom. Illustr. traduct de Dacier. Tom. vi. p. 184.

* Marius avoit épousé Julia, la tante de César.

tarque, surtout dans l'histoire Romaine, n'est pas faite pour balancer un moment celle de Suétone et de Velleius Paterculus.

J'ai dégagé ce récit d'une petite difficulté de chronologie. Il faut y revenir un moment. Velleius prétend que César fut nommé au flaminiat, " creatus," par Marius et Cinna. Or il est clair par le passage de Suétone que César n'eut l'assurance de cette dignité que dans le quatrième consulat de Cinna, savoir, A. U. C. Varr. 670. Fort bien. Mais malheureusement il se trouve que Marius étoit mort au commencement de A. U. C. 668. On pourroit affecter de mépriser la difficulté en disant qu'elle se trouve dans un passage manifestement corrompu. Mais il n'y auroit pas là de l'équité. On pourroit avoir recours au système du Cardinal Norris que César fut fait flamen avant la première victoire de Sylla, à l'age de douze ans; mais le célèbre Burman a fait voir son peu d'accord avec les anciens monumens. En voici un autre: Marius s'empara de Rome en 667, et le flamen Merula se donna la mort. La place de flamen ne devoit pas rester longtems vuide, vu le grand besoin qu'on en avoit toujours. Marius et Cinna le remplacèrent aussitôt par le jeune César; mais comme il n'avoit pas encore pris la toge virile, on fit faire ses fonctions à quelque autre. César enfin la prit à la fin de sa seizième année, savoir au commencement de l'an 670, et du quatrième consulat de Cinna. On prit aussitôt de nouvelles mesures pour lui assurer cette dignité, mais la mort de Cinna, qui fut tué cette même année,

année, dans une sédition de ses soldats, les rompit toutes avant sa consécration, et la guerre civile qui survint l'année suivante en fit perdre toute espérance. Peut-être si nous étions plus au fait du droit pontifical des Romains sentirions-nous une différence entre le *creatus* de Velleius et le *destinatus* de Suétone, qui confirmeroit ce que je viens de dire; peut-être se détruiroit-elle. Aussi l'ai-je donné moins comme un système que je m'engage de défendre que comme une hypothèse qui résout assez naturellement la difficulté.

On peut voir assez par l'exemple de César qu'il n'y avoit point d'age fixe pour la dignité de flamen Dialis, puisqu'à ne nous en tenir qu'à ce que nous savons bien sûrement César la posséda avant l'age de dix-sept ans. Je crois que cette réflexion peut s'étendre à toutes les autres dignités sacerdotales chez les Romains. Pour le pontificat, nous croyons que le jeune Octavien étoit pontife avant vingt ans, et nous savons d'ailleurs qu'il fut nommé à cet emploi à la place de Cn. Domitius tué à la bataille de Pharsale A.U.C. 706 ; et qu'il en prit possession le jour même qu'il quitta la prætexta pour la toge virile à l'entrée de sa seizième année. On auroit même mauvaise grace de dire que le pouvoir absolu du dictateur son oncle le dispensa des loix. César n'étoit pas encore absolu, et dans ce tems-là le petit-fils de sa sœur lui étoit peu cher. Quant aux augures, Cicéron pria Brutus de laisser venir à Rome son fils alors à l'armée, afin qu'il pût prétendre à l'augurat. Ce fils couroit alors sa vingt-

vingt-unième année; et cet exemple est d'autant plus considérable que l'on voit par le reste de la lettre l'attention et le soin qu'avoit Cicéron de ne point manquer aux loix. J'avoue naturellement ma surprise que Numa n'ait pas songé à fixer un age plus convenable pour les ministres de la religion. Encore en Egypte ou dans la Judée, où les prêtres faisoient un corps dont tous les membres succoient l'esprit de leur état avec le lait, les abus n'auroient pas été aussi grands; mais à Rome, où leur état ne les engageoit à rien, l'age en auroit tenu la place. Mais quel frein avoient les jeunes gens?

On a dit que depuis la mort de Merula, (car César ne fut point consacré,) la place de flamen Dialis resta vuide pendant soixante et douze ans. Est-il vrai? On me cite les autorités accablantes de Suétone, de Dion, de Tacite. La première est la plus considérable, puisque le nom de Suétone réveille l'idée d'un historien assez hardi pour ne pas taire les plus grandes vérités, assez instruit pour n'en pas oublier les plus petites. Mais Suétone se contente de dire qu'Auguste rétablit plusieurs anciennes cérémonies, et entr'autres l'emploi de flamen Dialis. Dion et Tacite disent positivement qu'il n'y eut point de flamen Dialis entre Merula et celui qu'Auguste fit élire. Mais on peut leur opposer le témoignage positif de Cicéron qui parloit d'un fait qu'il ne pouvoit ignorer. "Est ergo flamen," dit-il au sénat assemblé, "ut Jovi, ut Marti, ut Quirino, sic divo Julio M. Antonius." On voit qu'il

qu'il parle d'un flamen actuel et non point d'une dignité presque tombée dans l'oubli. On auroit tort d'opposer Cicéron à lui-même, et dire que Cicéron, dans le dénombrement qu'il fait du collège des pontifes, ne parle point du flamen Dialis. On auroit tort de fixer une cause particulière à une omission qui pouvoit en avoir cent autres.

PRINCIPES

DES POIDS, DES MONNOIES, ET DES MESURES DES ANCIENS,

AVEC DES TABLES CONSTRUITES SUR CES PRINCIPES.

I.

Il est des études qui n'augmentent point les connoissances, ou du moins ne les augmentent, qu'en écartant ces obstacles dont la bizarrerie des hommes en a hérissés la route de toutes parts. Telle est l'étude des langues, utile si on la méprise, dangereuse si on l'admire. La différence des poids et des mesures est un nouveau langage, aussi barbare et plus ridicule que les autres. Les idées décident des mots. Mais pour ces signes d'institution les idées sont ou seroient facilement les mêmes. Cependant puisqu'il est établi, apprenons-la (cette langue) en murmurant. Elle nous servira d'interprète dans la géographie, le commerce, et l'économique des anciens, objets intéressans dont la connoissance nous empêchera de voir dans les anciens des sauvages ou des demi-dieux.

J'écris en François, parcequ'on y a assez besoin de quelque chose sur ce sujet, pour ne pas me chicaner sur sa bonté. Je me sers sans façon des idées qui m'ont plues chez mes devanciers. Je les ai enchassées dans les miennes. On n'aura pas de peine à les reconnoître. Voici les principaux auteurs chez qui j'ai puisé.

M. Greaves

M. Greaves sur le Pied et Denier Romain, en Anglois. Petit livre mais excellent. M. Greaves possédoit les talens d'un bon faiseur d'expériences. Exact jusqu'à la superstition, patient, laborieux, habile, et sincère, il croyoit n'avoir rien vu dans un objet qu'il n'y eut tout vu. On peut cependant faire plus de fonds sur son témoignage que sur sa critique. Liste des auteurs. GREAVES.

M. Eisenschidt de Ponderibus et Mensuris Veterum. La première partie est fort bonne. Les poids y sont traités avec une exactitude qui ne laissent rien à désirer. Mais l'auteur s'y est épuisé. Il a croqué les mesures en apprenti. Rien de plus abrégé et de plus vague que ce qu'il en dit. L'ouvrage est pourtant estimable par la comparaison de toutes les mesures et les poids de nos jours. EISENSCHIDT.

M. Freret, Essai sur les Mesures longues des Anciens. Voici un nom qu'on ne doit proférer qu'avec respect. M. Freret ne dément point sa réputation par cet ouvrage. On y voit une érudition sûre qui embrasse toute l'antiquité, une sagacité qui sait concilier les apparences les plus contradictoires, et un esprit systématique qui réunit tant de particules éparses dans un corps bien lié et bien soutenu. FRERET.

*M. de la Barre, sur la Livre Romaine, et sur les Mesures anciennes.** Le rival et le contre-part de M. Freret. Il avoit plus d'affectation que d'art, et plus d'obscurité que de profondeur. Son grand DE LA BARRE.

* Mém. de l'Académie des Belles-Lettres, tom. viii. p. 372. et tom. xix. p. 512.

défaut est une méthode des plus embarrassées; son grand mérite consiste en quelques idées neuves et hardies.

ARBUTHNOT. *M. Arbuthnot, Table des Poids, des Mesures, et des Monnoies des Anciens, en Anglois.** Auteur sans prétensions mais non sans mérite. Il ne veut point donner les principes, mais son livre peut fournir des détails fort utiles.

HOOPER. *M. l'Evêque Hooper. Inquiry into the State of the Ancient Measures, particularly the Jewish, en Anglois.* L'ouvrage de cet habile homme répand de grandes lumières sur le sujet qu'il traite. Quelquefois trop subtil dans ses recherches il prête aux anciens sa propre exactitude. De la cube d'une mesure longue mal définie, il déduit, souvent sans autorités et par les calculs les plus délicats, leurs poids et leurs mesures creuses. Je lui reprocherois aussi d'avoir corrigé ses auteurs pour se fonder sur ses changemens comme sur leurs propres paroles. Il est singulier que les esprits du premier ordre ayent paru ignorer cette règle fondamentale de la critique.

II.

Nous avons trois choses à rechercher afin de fixer nos idées. 1. *Le rapport des mesures anciennes avec celles de notre pays;* 2. *La proportion de celles de chaque peuple de l'antiquité entr'elles; et* 3. *Leurs parties aliquottes.* Il n'y a que nos yeux et nos instrumens qui puissent nous instruire du premier rapport. Il leur faut des objets sensibles qui

* In 4to. London. 1727.

portent

portent encore l'empreinte des poids ou des mesures anciennes. Alors le parallèle devient facile et assuré. Si ces monumens étoient assez nombreux pour nous faire connoître toutes ces mesures et tous ces poids, leur proportion réciproque en découleroit d'elle-même. Ce n'est que notre disette qui nous oblige de recourir aux auteurs, et en partant de quelque monument ancien, comme d'un point fixe, de calculer leur valeur positive par leurs rapports mutuels. En suivant cette méthode nous n'avons point à craindre des erreurs grossières, mais il faut aussi renoncer à une exactitude bien poussée. Ces proportions étoient rarement l'ouvrage d'une recherche attentive et éclairée. Etablies par les besoins de la vie, adoptées par l'ignorance, consacrées par le tems, elles se ressentoient de la grossièreté de leur origine. D'ailleurs les anciens (disons-le sans façon) étoient moins exacts que nous. Peu rompus dans le calcul, gênés par la forme incommode de leurs caractères numéraux, ils négligeoient les fractions, et ne rendoient que les nombres entiers. On ne doit pas cependant les confondre dans une même classe. L'imagination enflammée du poëte se refroidera-t-elle par une attention à des objets bas, stériles, et pour elle inutiles. Elle n'en parle jamais, ou si elle en parle, les idées populaires sont les siennes. Les orateurs, et les historiens (plus orateurs que les nôtres) méritent un peu plus d'égard. Leur but les a souvent engagés à s'instruire plus à fond dans ces sujets sans lesquels les affaires publiques et l'histoire ne sont qu'un chaos. Mais ce sont

ceux, à qui leur intérêt ou leur curiosité ont rendu nécessaires des idées plus approfondies : les arpenteurs, les architectes, les médecins, les mathématiciens, qui ont les droits les plus décidées sur notre confiance. Cependant ceux-ci mêmes doivent s'évanouir à l'approche d'un monument original. Ces auteurs n'avoient que des yeux, nous en avons aussi, et il vaut mieux nous fier aux nôtres qu'aux leurs.

Les parties aliquottes ne peuvent guères souffrir de difficulté. L'autorité les établit, la nation les connoît, et les écrivains ne sauroient varier à leur égard. On ne les verra ordinairement que dans les tables.

III.

Il semble qu'on devroit fixer sans peine les poids des Grecs et des Romains. Ces poids étoient les monnoies. C'étoient autant de divisions exactes de la *mine* et de l'*once*.

M. Greaves, qui avoit examiné plusieurs centaines des *deniers* qui sont encore conservés dans les cabinets d'Italie, les trouvoit généralement du poids de 67 grains Anglois ($74\frac{1}{2}$). Le Père Bouteroue en pesa depuis qui alloient à 75 grains, et puisque le tems et la cupidité des hommes diminue le poids des monnoies plutôt qu'ils n'y ajoutent, on doit toujours s'en tenir à la plus forte évaluation comme à celle qui nous est parvenue avec la moindre altération.

L'once Romaine étoit composée de *sept deniers*. Les

Les Romains les plus éclairés, Celse, qui vivoit du tems de Tibère,* Pline, pour qui l'antiquité Romaine n'avoit rien d'inconnue, sont ceux qui nous en assurent. L'once doit donc peser 525 grains.

On a voulu conjecturer que le *premier denier Consulaire* n'étoit que la sixième partie de l'once. Lorsqu'on m'en produira de nouvelles preuves, l'on m'y trouvera docile ; car les passages dont on a voulu s'appuyer me paroissent des plus vagues et des plus équivoques.

Mais quoiqu'il en soit de ce grand denier, il est constant qu'il y en a eu de plus légers que le septième de l'once. Pline nous apprend qu'on commençoit à diminuer ce poids.† On s'y prenoit insensiblement et comme à la dérobée. Peu-à-peu le denier n'étoit plus que la huitième partie de l'once. Le consentement des anciens ne permet pas d'en douter.

On a conclu avec beaucoup de vraisemblance que les Romains, à l'imitation des Grecs, avoient fait leur monnoie d'or, leur *aureus*, le double du denier quant à son poids. Comme il s'est conservé beaucoup de ces *aurei*, nous en tirerons des inductions fort utiles. Le premier établissement des *aurei* étoit de quarante à la livre. Les plus pesans que nous connoissons sont de 124¼ grains An-

* Sed et antea sciri volo in unciâ pondus denariorum esse septem. Cels. l. xv. c. 17.

† Miscuit denario triumvir Antonius ferrum; alii e pondere substrahunt cum sit justum octoginta quatuor e libris signari.— Plin. Hist. Natur. l. xxxiii. c. 9.

glois (147$\frac{3}{4}$.) On prévient ma conclusion ; ces *aurei* étoient le double des deniers les septièmes de l'once. Du tems de Vespasien et de ses successeurs, nous trouvons des *aurei* de 108, 110, et 114 grains Anglois. Les deniers doivent être alors de 54, 55, et 57 grains. Le premier de ces nombres nous donne le huitième de l'once. Depuis le règne de Gordien, les empereurs, ou plutôt les tyrans ses successeurs, avilirent de plus en plus la gloire et les monnoies des Romains. Probus, qui paroît comme restaurateur de l'empire dans les historiens aussi bien que sur les médailles, voulut les relever. Elles retombèrent après sa mort. Si nous prenons le poids moyen des *aurei* depuis Gallus à Heraclius nous aurons 68 grains Anglois. Celui du *denier* seroit de 34 (40$\frac{1}{2}$) un peu plus de la moitié de l'ancien denier, et pas la troizième partie de l'once. J'ai peine à croire cependant que le *denier, comme poids,* ait suivi toute la bizarrerie de ces révolutions. Les auteurs paroissent n'en avoir connu que deux. Il étoit le septième de l'once. Il en fut ensuite le huitième. Il perdit peu après son égalité avec le *denier monnoie,* demeurant fixe pendant que celui-ci changeoit d'un jour à l'autre. Il en a été ainsi dans tous les pays de l'Europe. Du tems de Charlemagne une livre de compte valoit une livre pesante d'argent, aujourd'hui elle n'en vaut pas la centième partie.

Douze onces faisoient *la livre Romaine.* La belle occasion d'étaler de l'érudition, puisque la chose est des plus claires et des mieux connues. Un savant du siècle passé ne l'eût pas négligée.

Je

Je me contenterai de dire qu'une telle livre seroit de 6300 *grains*, ou de 10 *onces* 540 *grains*.

Le talent étoit composé de *soixante mines*. Tous les talens, très différens les uns des autres, gardoient cependant la même proportion entr'eux. Le talent pesera *cinquante-deux livres et* 528 *grains*.

Les historiens nous ont conservé ce traité orgueilleux que les Romains firent signer à Antiochus. On lui impose un grand tribut qu'il doit payer en talens Attiques. On stipule que le talent pesera 80 *livres Romaines*. Nous aurons un talent de 54 *livres onze onces*. La différence est d'*une livre et environ dix onces*. Je conçois que les Romains, aussi éclairés sur leurs intérêts que les Germains, préférèrent les vieilles espèces comme les plus pesantes, mais la hauteur, la franchise de leur conduite envers Antiochus n'auroit jamais pu descendre à une supercherie de banquier. Il a donc dû exister un talent Attique du poids de quatre-vingt livres Romaines. Sa drachme de 84 grains me paroît même la drachme de Solon, quoiqu'elle perdit un peu de son poids dans les tems les plus reculés.

Le commerce et l'empire d'Athènes donna un grand cours à ses poids et monnoies, et l'on convient que lorsqu'il est parlé de talens ou de drachmes, sans autre désignation exprimée ou impliquée, c'est toujours de celles de l'Attique qu'il faut l'entendre. Elles n'étoient cependant pas les plus anciennes. Trois cens ans avant Solon, Phidon, tyran d'Egine et d'Argos, de la postérité d'Hercule, régla les poids du Péloponnèse et le premier

fit

fit battre de la monnoie.* Comme elle étoit unique alors, elle eut beaucoup de réputation. Les Athéniens mêmes s'en servoient en la méprisant. La *drachme d'Egine* étoit la paye qu'on donnoit par jour à un cavalier. Elle valoit dix de ces oboles dont la drachme Attique contenoit six. Le *talent d'Egine* pesoit *quatre-vingt cinq livres, onze onces et* 304 *grains*, et sa drachme 131⅔ grains. Le poids des *tetradrachmes* qu'on frappoit dans cette île sera de 526⅔. Voici pourquoi j'ai rapporté cette dernière valeur. Il n'est guères possible de s'amuser beaucoup à ces discussions, sans sacrifier quelquefois à ce goût de conjecture, la plus douce récompense de ses travaux. En considérant les poids Romains, leur état isolé me surprit; est-il possible, me dis-je à moi-même, que ce peuple, ramas de cent autres peuples, n'ait emprunté les mesures d'aucun que nous connoissons? Les nations dont le sang toujours pûr a coulé sans mélange étranger n'ont pas dédaigné ce commerce, si propre à fixer leurs idées chancelantes qui ne savoient où s'arrêter. La connoissance de la tetradrachme d'Egine me les rappela ces réflexions plus vivement. Son égalité avec l'*once Romaine* à un *trois centième près*, me

* Φειδωνος τε Αργειων τυραννε, τε τα μετρα ποιησαντος Πελοποννησιοισι και υβρισαντος μεγιστα δη Ελληνων απαντων, ος εξαναγησας τες Ηλειων αγωνοθετας, αυτος τ' εν Ολυμπιη αγανα εθηκε. *Herodot. l. vi. c.* 127.

Φειδων Αργος κρατων μετρα μαι ςαθμα προτος εφευρεν. *Euseb. n.* 1217.

Φειδων ο Αργειος νομισμα αργυρεν εν τη Αιγινη εποιησεν. *Marmora Arundel.*

Mensuras et pondera Phidon Argivus, aut Palamedes, ut maluit Gellius. *Plin. l. vii. c. 56.*

parut

parut trop précise pour la rejetter sur le hasard. Je me confirmerois dans cette idée, en examinant les canaux par lesquels ce poids a pu pénétrer jusqu'à Rome. Ils sont tout ouverts. Quelques années après que Phidon eut reglé les poids du Pélopon nèse, une colonie de Lacedémoniens passa dans le pays des Sabins. Rien ne relève autant nos idées de la discipline de Lycurgue que cette migration. Ces exilés aimèrent mieux s'expatrier que de s'y soumettre, et cependant s'il parut des Sybarites à Sparta ils semblèrent des Spartiates à Cures. Les mœurs dures et austères qu'ils communiquèrent aux Sabins furent longtems l'admiration des Romains. L'union de ces deux derniers peuples fut étroite dès le commencement. Tatius et ses Sabins s'encorporèrent aux Romains de Romulus. Si l'on trouve ce règne trop guerrier pour des arrangemens de police, Numa, son successeur, prince pacifique et Sabin, doit avoir réglé les poids, et s'il l'a fait, quel modèle a-t-il pu suivre que celui de sa patrie?

Passons à la Palestine, petit pays, mais plus connu que les vastes contrées de la Tartarie. Cette course paroît un écart, mais il ne l'est point. Le premier peuple que nous trouvons sur ses côtes, ce sont les Phéniciens, dont le commerce et les colonies remplissoient toutes les mers depuis les Indes jusqu'au delà des colonnes d'Hercule, et rendoient Tyr et Sidon les entrepôts de l'univers. Nous devons nous attendre à trouver partout les vestiges de leurs poids. Un peuple de guerriers peut mépriser ces détails, mais une nation de commerçans en sentira le prix, et travaillera à les établir partout.

Le

Le talent *Tyrien* étoit ou *double* ou *simple*, celui-là composé de 12,000 *drachmes*, celui-ci de 6000. Hiéron, auteur estimé, et qui mérite de l'être, égale le *talent Attique* à *celui de Tyr*, et nous donne à connoître que c'étoit au simple; *la drachme de la Phénicie* aura le même poids que celui d'Athènes. Il est assez vraisemblable que Solon, lui-même négociant, avoit cherché dans sa réforme des poids la plus grande facilité du commerce.

Il n'y a point de difficulté à supposer que Solon reçut ses poids des Phéniciens, dont il voyoit les vaisseaux tous les jours dans le port d'Athènes. Mais si l'on trouve ce trajet encore trop long, on peut croire qu'il les reçut en droiture de l'île d'Eubée, voisine de l'Attique, et dont elle tiroit beaucoup de bled. Tout au moins nous engage à croire que le *talent d'Athènes*, *celui de l'Eubée*, et *le talent simple de Tyr*, étoient tous les trois égaux. Car premièrement, lorsque Darius changea les dons gratuits de ses sujets en tributs réglés, il statua qu'ils payeroient l'argent en *talens Babyloniens*, et l'or en *talens de l'île d'Eubée*.* Pourquoi ce choix singulier? Un roi de France a-t-il jamais fait payer la taille en argent de Suisse? L'Eubée étoit peu connue dans le monde; bien loin d'être sujette à Darius, elle lui étoit ennemie. Encore une fois, pourquoi ce choix? Ce ne peut être que le talent de quelque province de l'empire de Darius, talent célèbre, mais qu'Hérodote a mieux aimé exprimer par un talent Grec qui lui étoit

* Herodot. l. iii. c. 95.

égal.

égal. Cette province ne pouvoit être la Babylone. L'Egypte commerçoit trop peu avec l'étranger pour qu'on préférât ses poids. La Lydie auroit de grandes prétensions. Le Pactole rendoit son or célèbre; c'étoit même l'or du darique. Mais Hérodote avoit trop bien fait connoître la Lydie pour craindre l'obscurité en la nommant ici. D'ailleurs qu'elle liaison entre la Lydie et l'Eubée? Il y en avoit beaucoup entre cette île et la Phénicie. Cadmus l'avoit côtoyé et s'étoit établi dans son voisinage. Palamède, dont les inventions valurent plus à la Grèce, que la valeur de cet écervelé Achille, étoit natif de cette île. Il emprunta ses lettres de la Phénicie, pourquoi pas ses poids? II^ment. Les anciens ne frappoient de monnoies, surtout celles d'or, qui ne fussent quelque partie aliquotte de la livre du talent. *Le darique*, égal à l'*aureus* d'Athènes, étoit la trois millième partie d'un talent d'or Attique. Cependant les rois de Perse n'ont jamais emprunté leur monnoie favorite d'une petite république. Si le talent d'Athènes étoit celui de Tyr, il n'y a plus de difficulté. Ce n'est pas une preuve, mais c'est au moins un préjugé favorable. III^ment. Le talent d'Athènes étoit égal à celui de Tyr. Nous venons de le voir chez Hiéron. *Soixante-dix mines Attiques* faisoient le *talent Babylonien.* Pollux nous l'apprend. *Soixante-dix mines Euboïques* faisoient le même *talent Babylonien* suivant Hérodote; la conséquence est toute simple.

On seroit surpris que les Juifs eussent d'autres poids que ceux de leurs voisins, ceux de la Phénicie

nicie surtout. Grossiers et ignorans ils devoient tout aux autres peuples, et ne leur rendoient qu'un vrai mépris de barbares. Josèphe, Philon, et les Septante, tous instruits dans les usages de leur nation, et plus en état que leurs concitoyens d'en faire la comparaison avec ceux des étrangers, égalent tous le *shekel* des Hébreux à la *tetradrachme Attique*, ou à *la didrachme d'Alexandrie*. Trois mille shekels faisoient le *talent Juif*, qui ainsi étoit égal à 12,000 drachmes Attiques ou Tyriennes, c'est à dire au *talent double de Tyr*. M. Hooper, toujours profond, a voulu examiner l'évaluation de Maimonides, il l'a trouvée n'être pas fort éloignée de celle de Josèphe; et même il est parvenu à rendre raison de cette différence. Mais il faut voir tout ce morceau, qui est un chef-d'œuvre de la critique, dans l'ouvrage du savant évêque.

Ces poids ont-ils toujours été les mêmes? Les rabbins prétendent que pendant la captivité, ils empruntèrent ceux des Babyloniens plus pesans que les leurs d'un sixième. Cette adoption paroît naturelle, nous verrons qu'elle a eu lieu pour les mesures. Mais comme Josèphe, Philon et les Septante, ne l'ont point connue, le témoignage de quelques rabbins postérieurs de cinq ou six cens ans, et justement décriés pour leurs critiques, ne peut point leur être opposé.

Tout ce qu'on peut alléguer en faveur du sentiment des rabbins, ce sont quelques *shekels* conservés, dont le poids est égal à 219 *grains Anglois* (258½), un peu moins d'une demie-once Romaine. Mais ces pièces sont renvoyées par les savans aux der-

derniers tems de la nation Juive. Alors comme leur tribut aux Romains se payoit en shekels, il étoit de leur intérêt d'en baisser le poids, et rien ne seroit autant la pillule aux yeux de leurs maîtres, que de leur faire croire qu'ils rétablissoient le shekel de leurs anciens rois, shekel dont le poids étoit précisément la demie-once Romaine. Il n'en falloit pas davantage à un antiquaire pour faire sortir les deux nations d'une même souche. Telle est la conjecture de M. Hooper. Elle est ingénieuse. Mais je doute que les Romains se fussent si fort enorgueillis de cette parenté.*

Lorsqu'Alexandre jetta les fondemens d'Alexandrie il se proposoit d'y transporter tout le commerce du monde. Il vouloit la mettre à la place de Tyr qu'il venoit de détruire. Pour que les nations ne s'apperçussent d'autre changement que de celui du lieu, il étoit naturel qu'il n'altérât point les poids de l'ancien entrepôt. Il ne le fit point. *Le talent d'Alexandrie* contenoit deux fois celui d'Athènes et étoit égal au double talent de Tyr.

On verra dans les tables quelques autres talens moins connus, le Corinthien, le Rhodien, le Syrien, &c. Je ne parlerai pas encore des talens d'Homère.

* Ecoutons Cicéron ; que cet orateur nous instruise des sentimens des Romains à l'égard de ce peuple choisi. " Stantibus Hierosolymis, pacatisque Judæis, tamen istorum religio sacrorum a splendore hujus imperii, gravitate nominis nostri, majorum institutis, abhorrebat. Nunc vero hoc magis, quod illa gens, quid de imperio nostro sentiret, ostendit armis: quam cara Diis immortalibus esset ostendit armis, quòd est victa, quòd elocata, quòd servata." *Cicero pro Flacco*, c. 28.

Peut-

Peut-être ne seroit-il pas difficile d'étendre ses conquêtes, et en rassemblant les passages épars des voyageurs et des missionnaires, de fixer les poids des Turcs, des Arabes, des Persans, des Indiens, des Chinois, des Japponois, &c. mais à quoi aboutiroit cette connoissance ? Attendons que les travaux de nos savans ayent enrichi la littérature des écrits de ces peuples. Alors cette connoissance deviendra nécessaire. Aujourd'hui elle seroit pénible et sans fruit.

Arrêtons-nous un moment. Quelques centaines de monumens, et deux proportions des plus simples, nous ont conduits à la connoissance de la livre Romaine. Comparons-la avec quelques livres de fer qui nous sont demeurées. La plûpart sont fort endommagées. Des deux les plus entières on déduiroit *une livre de* 10 *onces* 408 *grains*. La différence est de 132 grains. Elle ne m'étonne point. Ces livres, quoique les moins rongées, devoient néanmoins avoir perdu de leur poids.

Le conge Farnèse est célèbre parmi les antiquaires. Je ne le suis point assez pour croire qu'une providence toute particulière a veillé à sa conservation ; je sais seulement qu'il existe à Rome dans le palais des Ducs de Parme. Une inscription gravée sur le dehors nous apprend qu'il contenoit le poids de dix livres, et les anciens sont d'accord que c'étoit dix livres d'eau ou de vin pur. M. Auzout de l'Académie des Sciences l'ayant rempli d'eau de fontaine, trouva pour le poids de sa capacité, 62,760 grains. *La livre Romaine en aura*

aura 6276 et l'once 523. Cet accord, $\frac{1}{200}$ à près, avec la livre trouvée par les deniers, doit faire évanouir le moindre soupçon. S'il valoit la peine de choisir entre les deux livres, je préférerois celle des *deniers.* L'opération est plus simple.

On vient de voir un système clair et suivi. Il n'est fondé que sur les monumens, combinés avec les écrivains du bon tems. Ceux du Bas Empire, Fannius, Dioscorides, Galien, &c. nous égareroient, si nous les prenions pour nos guides. Ils établissent pour fondement de leurs hypothèses, l'égalité du denier non-seulement avec la drachme de leurs jours mais encore avec celle du tems de Solon. Il est de fait que ces deux poids différoient au moins d'un treizième. D'ailleurs ces auteurs, moitié Grecs moitié Romains, altèrent les coutumes des deux nations en tachant de les concilier, et se plaignent alors des ténèbres dont ils se sont enveloppées.* A tout moment ils se répètent, ils se contredisent les uns les autres, et eux-mêmes; et vous sentez à chaque ligne qu'ils n'ont jamais consulté les meilleurs de tous les livres, les étalons des poids. On a été assez bon pour chercher les raisons de leur égarement, et pour leur prêter des interprétations qu'ils ne méritent point, et dont ils sont assez peu susceptibles.†

IV.

* Dioscorides dit que le conge pesoit sept cens vingt drachmes. Nous savons qu'il tenoit au moins huit cens quarante deniers; cependant un moment auparavant il avoit égalé la drachme au denier.

† M. Hooper adopte une idée de M. Greaves qui pense que lorsque ces écrivains parlent de la drachme comme le huitième

IV.

Les Grecs furent longtems un peuple sans commerce et sans police; occupés de leurs guerres, ou plutôt de leurs brigandages, ils négligeoient tous les arts. Un tel peuple devoit se soucier assez peu de précision dans les poids qui ne sont que les moyens du commerce. Aussi seroit-il difficile de les apprécier au juste.

Solon, le premier des législateurs en grand, car Lycurgue ne fit attention qu'à un seul objet, la discipline militaire; ce Solon, dis-je, trouvant l'état d'Athènes obéré de dettes, baissa les poids et les espèces d'un quart. Cette raison a pu l'y engager; mais je ferai voir dans la suite qu'elle n'a pas dû être la seule.

Il n'existe qu'une seule *drachme*, le poids de la Grèce sur laquelle tous les autres se régloient; M. Greaves l'avoit trouvée dans la Mer Noir: elle pesoit 66 *grains Anglois* (78½).

Nos principes cependant seroient mal-appuyés, si nous n'avions qu'une seule ressource. Dans la critique comme dans la physique, une seule expérience ne doit jamais suffire. Mille causes étrangères peuvent s'y mêler, dont la moindre, en corrompant sa pureté, nous égareroit dans notre recherche.

de l'onçe, ils n'entendent point l'once Romaine, mais une once que les Athéniens composèrent à l'imitation de leurs maîtres. Mais ce système ne les sauve point. Si la drachme suivit les révolutions du denier, pourquoi l'ont-ils ignorée? Si elle ne les a pas suivies, pourquoi les égaler?

Heureusement

Heureusement pour nous les Grecs frappoient des *tetradrachmes,* ou des pièces de quatre drachmes. M. Greaves en vit beaucoup dans son voyage de l'orient. Il s'attachoit sur-tout à ceux qu'il déterroit dans des lieux écartés où la curiosité des Européens n'avoit pas encore enseigné la mauvaise foi et l'imposture.* Ceux qui paroissoient les plus parfaits s'accordoient à lui donner 268 *grains Anglois (316).* Nous avons donc une *drachme de 67 grains Anglois (79).* Une demie-drachme et un obole ne font qu'appuyer ce résultat.

Nous avons soupçonné que la monnoie d'or des Romains pesoit deux de leurs deniers. Nous savons que chez les Grecs elles pesoient deux drachmes Attiques. Polluxt et Hesychius‡ en sont mes garans. Je ne dis rien des *dariques.* M. Greaves n'en avoit jamais vu, et quoique M. l'Abbé Barthelemi m'apprend le titre d'une de ces monnoies conservée dans le cabinet du roi, il ne dit rien du poids. *Une monnoie d'or de Philippe* pèse, suivant Snellius, 134½ grains Anglois, (159) et *une autre d'Alexandre* 133½ *grains Anglois* (158.) La drachme de celli-ci est de 79 grains, de celle-là d'environ 79½. Qu'un Anglois donc se tienne assuré que la *drachme de Solon* étoit de 67 *grains;* qu'un François l'appreçie à 73 *grains.*§

* Greaves's Miscellanies. Tom. i. p. 261.

† ὁ δε χρυσους στατηρ δυο εισι δραχμας Αττικας. L. iv. c. 24.

‡ Πολεμαρχος φησι δυνασθαι τον χρυσουν παρα τοις Αττικοις δραχμας δυο. την δε του χρυσου δραχμην, νομισματος αργυριου δραχμας δεκα. *Hesych. in voce* Χρυσους.

§ Histoire de l'Académie des Belles Lettres. Tom. xxi. p. 24.

Dans les tems postérieurs les drachmes perdirent de leur poids. Ils devinrent égales aux deniers. Il n'éxiste point de ces *drachmes nouvelles* qu'on à pu commencer à frapper vers l'an deux cent cinquante avant Jésus Christ, et cette perte, qui n'étoit point singulière, vu le petit nombre de ces espèces qui nous est parvenu, a fait soupçonner à MM. Greaves et Eisenschidt* que cette égalité n'existoit point, ou du moins qu'elle n'étoit qu'une égalité arbitraire et d'échange.† Les témoignages qui l'établissent me paroissent néanmoins des plus décisifs. Celse, dont on connoît l'habileté, la donne d'une manière à faire voir qu'il les avoit comparés avec toute cette exactitude si nécessaire et si peu commune, dans les opérations délicates de la médecine.‡ Pline§ et Galien‖ l'appuyent sans paroître le suivre. Je ne parle point de tous les histori-

* M. Eisenschidt produit une tétradrachme de 333 grains. La drachme en auroit 83¼. Mais cette évaluation s'écarte trop de toutes les autres. Peut-être qu'à l'occasion de quelque grand événement on avoit frappé des drachmes plus pesantes. Peut-être aussi qu'on vouloit les ramener à leur ancien poids. *V. Eisenschidt*, p. 42.

† V. Greaves's Miscellanies, tom. i. p. 285. Eisenschidt de Ponderibus Veterum, p. 44.

‡ Unius inde denarii pondus dividi a me in partes sex *(sciri volo)*, ut idem in uncia denarii habeam, quod Græci habeant in eo quem Οβολον appellant, id autem ad nostra pondera relatum paullo plus dimidio scrupulo facit. *Cels.* L. v. c. 15.

§ Drachma Attica denarii argentei habet pondus. *Plin.* L. xxi. c. 34.

‖ Προδηλον οτι δραχμην λεγομεν νυν εν τοις τοιουτοις απαντες, οπερ Ρωμαιοι δηναριον ονομαζουσιν. *Galen.* L. viii. de Composit. Medicament.

ens.

ens. Leur noms grossiroient la nuée des témoins, sous y ajouter beaucoup d'évidence. Nous pouvons conclure aussi que la drachme Attique a suivi le sort du denier Romain, et qu'il est devenu la huitième partie de l'once Romaine vers le tems de Vespasien. Nous pouvons le conclure puisque les écrivains tiennent toujours le même langage par rapport à leur égalité.

Cent drachmes faisoient la *mine.* Elle pesoit donc *treize onces et* 412 *grains.* Le savant M. Hooper prétend deviner la mine par une voie assez détournée. La cube de la *spithame Grecque* lui a donné une mine assez peu éloignée de la nôtre.* Mais de qui a-t-il appris la liaison de la spithame et de la mine? De personne.

V.

Jusqu'ici nos idées ont été simples: des objets matériels jugés sur le rapport de nos sens. A présent il nous faut suivre et décomposer toutes ces combinaisons que l'imagination des hommes, guidée par leur intérêt, leur a suggérées. "Etablissez," leur a-t-elle dit, " *un instrument commun du commerce.* N'échangez plus le bled contre la laine; mais échangez le bled et la laine contre cet instrument qui devra son prix à votre consentement mutuel. Un seul de ces instrumens ne vous suffira point. Celui du commerce en gros seroit peu susceptible de division dans les menus détails; et la mesure de ceux-ci rebuteroit le commerçant en gros par son

* 6840 grains Anglois, (8080). *V. Hooper*, p. 49.

poids incommode. Fouillez dans les entrailles de la terre. Elles vous fourniront des minéraux assez maniables, assez rares et assez durables pour devenir cet instrument que vous cherchez." De là est née la valeur de l'*or* et de l'*argent*, valeur d'institution que Pline a eu tort d'envisager comme la racine de tous les vices. L'avarice, l'injustice, l'usure n'ont jamais plus désolé la société que parmi les premiers Romains. L'objet de leur cupidité étoit dix livres d'airain ou un troupeau de bœufs: celui de leur postérité mille livres d'or. Voilà toute la différence.

Le prix de toute marchandise dépend de deux choses; *de sa rareté*, et *du besoin réel ou imaginaire qu'on en a.* La dernière de ces causes n'a jamais pu influer sur le prix de l'or et de l'argent. Avides de ces métaux précieux, les hommes se sont toujours persuadés que l'abondance, les plaisirs, et les arts marchoient à leur suite. C'est pourquoi, comme je ne pourrois attribuer la pauvreté d'un peuple à sa philosophie, je conclurois hardiment, qu'il étoit destitué d'industrie, qu'il ne savoit ni travailler ses mines, ni s'ouvrir des mines encore plus intarissables par son commerce et ses manufactures. Cependant quoique cette erreur populaire nous serve de guide dans l'histoire, c'est toujours une erreur. Si la quantité d'or et d'argent dans un pays augmente de dix fois, toutes les commodités de la vie hausseront d'autant, et ce peuple se trouvera dans le même état qu'auparavant. Ce n'est pas que les princes ayent tort de s'intéresser un peu à cette richesse numéraire. Un

particulier

particulier est riche par la proportion de ses revenus avec ceux de ses concitoyens. Une société s'est comparée à ses voisins, et dans les conjonctures où leurs intérêts réciproques les unissent ou les divisent, les trésors tiendront souvent lieu de forces. Ils soudoyeront les troupes des nations plus belliqueuses et plus pauvres. Leurs possesseurs s'en serviront dans leurs guerres et dans leurs négociations. Ces dépenses, il est vrai, feront sortir cet argent de leur pays, et les réduiront bientôt au niveau de leurs voisins: mais aussi s'ils ont su profiter du moment de leur supériorité ils sont devenus leurs maîtres. Je ne connois que la Chine qui ait fermée ses mines d'argent. La raison en est sensible, et fait l'éloge de ce peuple de législateurs. Isolée dans l'univers, la Chine ignore la richesse relative et le commerce étranger. L'augmentation ou la diminution des métaux n'intéressent nullement le commerce intérieur et les arts.

On compare l'or et l'argent avec les objets de sa dépense. On les compare encore entr'eux, pour fixer leur valeur proportionnelle. En Angleterre et en Espagne, cette proportion est *d'un à quinze.* En France et dans le reste de l'Europe *d'un à quatorze et demi.* Parmi les anciens la proportion la plus commune étoit celle *d'un à un.* Ces variations arrêtent, dès le premier pas, quiconque veut fixer les monnoies des anciens d'une manière raisonnée. Nous exprimons le prix de toutes les marchandises par une quantité déterminée d'or ou d'argent. Comment exprimerons-nous la valeur de ces minéraux? La déduire de leur proportion, n'est qu'un cercle

vicieux qui n'instruit point. Prendrons-nous l'expression de cette valeur comme elle est fixée parmi nous? Ce seront au moins des idées connues. Mais alors de quel point doit-on partir? Si nous prenons l'or, l'argent calculé en proportion décimale vaudra plus que chez nous. Si c'est l'argent, l'or vaudra moins. En un mot l'argent étoit-il plus rare chez les anciens, ou l'or étoit-il plus commun que chez nous? Dans l'incertitude il faudroit se déterminer pour l'argent; et le compter au taux qui a lieu parmi nous. Ce métal a toujours entré dans le commerce comme moyen principal, pendant que l'or n'a souvent été considéré que comme une marchandise précieuse. Mais j'aimerois encore mieux embrasser ce parti par raison que par nécessité. Le champ est vaste, nos connoissances légères; la comparaison ne peut être que vague; cependant, je ne crains pas de l'ébaucher. 1. L'Afrique doit renfermer dans son sein des trésors immenses. Le pays le plus fécond en or que nous connoissons, c'est la Guinée. Mais enfin la jalousie des natifs nous a interdit l'approche des mines; nous recueillons dans les rivières et sur le bord de la mer les paillettes d'or que les torrens des montagnes ont entrainées dans leur course. Nous y puisons des richesses immenses. Les anciens ignoroient cette côte, mais sur celle de Sofala à l'orient de l'Afrique, ils avoient des mines aujourd'hui perdues ou épuisées. Salomon, roi des Juifs, en tira dans une seule année 666 talens d'or. Un poëte eût dit de l'ancienne Arabie qu'elle n'étoit qu'un morceau d'or massif. Un historien exact nous

nous apprend que l'or y étoit commun à un tel point, qu'il étoit à l'argent comme deux à un, et comme trois à un au fer. Mais l'Amérique—ne devons-nous pas nos vices et nos richesses à Colomb? Il est vrai: tous les autres pays doivent le céder au nouveau monde pour les mines d'argent; mais pour celles d'or l'Afrique l'emporte de beaucoup. Tel est au moins le sentiment d'Acoste, observateur savant et laborieux. Acoste vécut avant la découverte des mines du Brésil, mais celles-ci l'ont été depuis trop peu de tems, pour avoir encore changé le système des espèces en Europe. Si nous arrêtons la vue sur les extrémités de l'orient nous verrons que l'Inde enrichissoit les anciens, autant qu'elle nous appauvrit. Les Persans et les Grecs de la Bactriane, par les conquêtes et par le commerce, s'attiroient les trésors que la nature avoit prodigués à ses foibles habitans. Ces nations voisines avoient des besoins mutuels, et les espèces passoient chez la plus industrieuse. Ce commerce maritime si lucratif à quelques uns, mais si fatal à nos richesses, n'a commencé que sous les Ptolémées; les Romains en ont senti les effets; mais les poisons lents ne détruisent le tempérament que peu-à-peu; le nôtre le seroit déjà, si le midi et l'occident ne réparoient pas en partie ce que l'orient engloutit.

A juger sur cet exposé, les avantages paroissent balancés; on décideroit volontiers que nous recevons plus d'or et que les anciens dépensoient moins. Mais nous avons oublié une circonstance qui fait pencher la balance de leur côté. Dans le travail ingrat et difficile des mines, ce n'est point

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la même chose de les aller chercher sous un ciel étranger ou chez un peuple barbare, et de les posséder au cœur de sa patrie. Nos climats étoient autrefois remplis d'or. La terre, les rivières nous en prodiguoient à pleines mains. A présent nous n'en avons point. Le Tage n'est plus un fleuve d'or que pour les poëtes. Nous chercherions vainement en Espagne et en France ces mines dont les Lusitaniens et les Astures tiroient chaque année vingt mille livres d'or, et qui remplirent le trésor sacré de Thoulouse de cent mille livres d'or. Une seule mine dans la Dalmatie rendoit jour par jour cinquante livres d'or, ou par année dix-huit mille deux cens cinquante. Le seul travail de quelques mines en Lydie avoit valu à Pythias quatre millions de dariques. La magnificence des anciens en ouvrages d'or est encore une preuve de leur richesse. Je n'en donnerai qu'un exemple; je le puise chez Diodore de Sicile, dont on n'a jamais soupçonné ni le jugement ni la fidélité. Dans une tour du temple de Belus à Babylone, l'on voyoit les statues de Jupiter, de Junon, et de Rhéé avec un grand attirail, le tout d'or massif, et du poids de 6360 talens Babyloniens, ou de trois cens quatre-vingt-un mille six cens livres pesantes.* Ces trésors, et tant d'autres enfouis depuis dans ce

* Voyez la description détaillée de ces trésors chez Diodore de Sicile, l. ii. c. 9. Les 6360 talens d'or font, suivant la proportion ancienne, 16,204,900*l.* monnoie d'Angleterre, ou 381,600,000*l.* argent de France. Suivant les proportions modernes ce seroit 24,307,350*l.* de celle-là, et 553,320,000*l.* de celui-ci.

temple

temple depuis bien des siècles, sortirent enfin pour animer la circulation. Xerxes, à son retour de la Grèce, enleva toutes ces offrandes, et par un revers moins étrange chez les anciens que chez nous, la société s'enrichit au dépens de la superstition : car les anciens, peu conséquens dans leurs dévotions, élevoient des temples d'une main et les pilloient de l'autre. Plus d'un riche dans l'antiquité eût pu répondre avec le vétéran d'Auguste, " Seigneur, vous voyez ma fortune, elle étoit autrefois la jambe de la Déesse Anaitis."

II. Envisageons les richesses des anciens sous un autre point de vue, nous nous affermirons dans nos premiers sentimens. Si la différence de la proportion venoit de la rareté d'argent parmi eux, nous sommes plus riches d'or d'un tiers ; si la grande quantité d'or y donnoit lieu, les anciens l'étoient d'autant. Un homme instruit dans l'antiquité adoptera sans balancer la dernière des alternatives, et c'est avec plaisir que je vois les idées du savant Prideaux si conformes aux miennes.* Parcourons

* Peut-être que quelqu'un, frappé des sommes dont je vais parler, croira que sans choix et sans critique, j'ai ramassé tout ce qui pouvoit rélever les richesses de l'antiquité : il se tromperoit. Lorsque dans les grands empires, dans les pays riches par le commerce ou par les mines, je vois des trésors immenses, j'aime mieux expliquer mes auteurs que de les contredire. Mais le trésorier même de David ne me persuaderoit jamais que son maître enleva des villages des Philistins et des Moabites cent mille talens d'or et un million de talens d'argent (870,000,000 livres sterling) ; et l'autorité d'un Zonare, Grec du Bas Empire, ne m'engageroit jamais à croire que le trésor de Constantinople renfermoit 200,000 talens d'or (502,600,000 livres sterling.)

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quelques exemples qui nous fassent sentir combien il avoit raison. Les richesses que Kouli-Khan trouva dans les Indes, ce gouffre de notre argent, n'approchoient point de celles que Cyrus, vainqueur de l'Asie et le prince le plus généreux de son tems, emporta des pays conquis; celles-ci montoient à trente-trois mille livres d'or et à cinq cens mille talens d'argent, sans compter des pierreries et des meubles précieux d'une valeur immense. Ses successeurs imitèrent sa magnificence mieux que ses vertus. Alexandre trouva dans les trésors de la Perse cent quatre-vingt mille talens. Son père avoit joui d'un revenu de mille talens; lui, à sa mort, en tiroit de son empire trois cens mille. Avant les conquêtes de Pompée, il y avoit dans le trésor de Rome, un million neuf cens vingt mille huit cens vingt-neuf livres pesantes d'or. Antoine tira dans une seule année deux cens mille talens de cette Asie déjà épuisée par les exactions de Brutus et de Cassius. Je ne m'arrêterois point aux fortunes des particuliers. L'argent peut être plus rassemblé sans être plus commun. Mais le prix des marchandises est plus décisif. Les instrumens du luxe étoient fort chers. Les Rhodiens achetèrent d'Appelle un portrait d'Alexandre peint en Jupiter pour vingt talens d'or. Un autre peintre refusa soixante talens pour un de ses tableaux. Le cheval Bucéphale en coûta treize à Philippe, et Daphnis le grammairien fut vendu pour sept cens mille sesterces. Mais il vaut mieux aller droit à la plus sûre épreuve, au prix du bled, denrée également nécessaire à tous les hommes. M. Arbuthnot,

not, par une induction claire mais ingénieuse, l'a trouvé considérablement plus cher à Rome du tems de Pline qu'il n'est aujourd'hui à Londres.

III. Posons un rapport établi. Les deux membres de la proportion s'approchent quand le plus haut descend ou que le plus bas monte; ils s'éloignent quand le plus haut monte ou que le plus bas descend. Rendez l'or plus commun ou l'argent plus rare, vous diminuez leur proportion; multipliez l'argent, ou rendez l'or plus rare, vous l'augmentez cette proportion. La proportion étoit changée sous le règne de Justinien au cinquième siècle après Jésus Christ. Son époque nous dévoilera le motif qui la produisit, et la raison de cette révolution nous instruira de la constitution primitive. Le rapport de deux métaux passa d'un à dix à un à quatorze et deux-tiers, rapport qui subsista jusqu'à notre tems avec peu de variation. Ce changement n'a point découlé de l'augmentation d'argent dans l'empire. Les barbares du nord et de l'orient, depuis un siècle, désoloient les provinces, éteignoient le commerce et l'industrie, et laissoient perdre les mines. Celles d'Espagne, les plus riches de toutes, disparurent à la conquête des Visigoths. Nous découvrons donc que la disette d'or a dû faire naître ce changement. Il n'y a point de troisième parti. L'or étoit donc plus commun avant l'établissement de ce rapport, qui subsiste encore, qu'il ne l'est aujourd'hui.

Nos recherches sont assez exactes; cependant toutes, mais surtout la dernière, n'excluent point l'hypothèse. L'or étoit plus commun autrefois, mais

mais l'étoit-il précisément d'un tiers? Les causes délicates qui peuvent agir à notre insçu m'empêchent de répondre.

VI.

Nous venons de voir des métaux tirés du sein de la terre, pour acquérir une valeur qu'ils n'avoient point auparavant. Les combinaisons de cette valeur avec leurs proportions mutuelles sont des idées trop déliées pour ne pas souvent nous échapper. Des arrangemens ordonnés pour le bien de la société viennent encore épaisser le nuage. On a craint que dans ce commerce difficile la bonne-foi ne fût à tout moment la dupe de la supercherie. C'est pourquoi dans tous les pays on a confié aux chefs de la société le soin des monnoies. Frappées par leur ordre, et portant l'empreinte de leur autorité, la communauté se rend garant de leur valeur, et le plus ignorant les reçoit sans scrupule et sans examen.

Le travail des mines dégage l'or et l'argent de tout mélange étranger: celui de la monnoie leur en rend. On a vu que ces métaux, dans leur pureté, étoient trop maniables et trop foibles pour résister long-tems aux injures auxquelles leur destination les exposoit. Mais quoique cette réflexion ait agi sur tous les peuples qui ont battu de la monnoie, elle n'a pas cependant agi d'une manière semblable. Le titre des espèces (c'est ainsi qu'on appelle le dégré de leur pureté) varie à chaque souveraineté. Ce n'est point donc assez de connoître le poids d'une monnoie ancienne. Si l'on

ignore

ignore son titre on n'aura que des idées bien imparfaites de sa valeur. C'est aussi à quoi il faut se borner pour les espèces des anciens. Les auteurs nous instruisent peu, et soit disette de monumens soit faute de s'en servir, les antiquaires de notre siècle ne nous donnent pas assez de lumières pour nous empêcher de regretter ce silence. On sait en général que les monnoies d'or étoient d'une plus grande pureté que les nôtres, et les monnoies d'argent d'un plus bas titre. Les médailles Grecques d'Alexandre sont de vingt-trois carats seize grains, les dariques de vingt-trois carats. Dans un aureus de l'empereur Vespasien les orfèvres de Paris n'ont trouvé qu'un 788me d'alloi. Les affineurs préfèrent cet or à l'or du ducat, et pensent que c'est le moindre alliage avec lequel on puisse battre la monnoie. Sous le Bas Empire les médailles d'or se ressentent de leur siècle. Les Romains ont quelquefois fait frapper des espèces d'argent assez fines. Le Père Bouteroue examina un denier d'un si haut titre que le marc n'auroit eu que 5 grains ou un 921me d'alloi. Mais aussi nous savons que le tribun Drusus, ce charlatan politique qui perdit la république et lui-même parcequ'il promettoit tout et ne pouvoit rien tenir, que ce Drusus mêla un huitième d'alloi avec l'argent. Ce sont deux extrêmes, mais où trouver le milieu? et quand nous le trouverions, comment régler les monnoies d'argent des Grecs et des Orientaux? Nous ignorons entièrement leur titre. Dans cette incertitude, nous ne pouvons que supposer les monnoies des anciens du même titre que les nôtres.

tres. Mais cette supposition, toute nécessaire qu'elle est, peut être éloignée de la vérité. Tout ce que nous pouvons faire c'est de calculer au moins les monnoies d'or suivant leur titre. J'en ai fait deux tables, l'une où je suis autant qu'il m'est possible cette méthode. Les curieux m'en sauront gré. J'en ai construites autres suivant le premier principe. Une petite erreur vaut mieux qu'une totale ignorance.

Le sceau de l'autorité publique, qui détermine le prix d'une monnoie, ne peut jamais s'étendre plus loin que cette autorité elle-même. En deça de la frontière, on l'échange sans difficulté pour des marchandises ou pour d'autres monnoies avec lesquelles on connoît sa proportion. Au delà de la frontière, elle n'est plus qu'une pièce d'or ou d'argent, dont il faut éprouver le poids et le titre pour déterminer sa proportion avec les monnoies courantes de cet autre état, et la raison veut que, dans un pays où, destituée du sceau de l'autorité, il est libre à chacun de la rejetter, elle soit appréciée un peu plus bas que sa valeur réelle. Les banquiers, qui se sont appropriés ce genre de commerce, ont senti combien il leur importoit de baisser la valeur des monnoies étrangères, et cette règle, poussée jusqu'aux finesses les plus recherchées, les conduit à de gros profits. Le langage de l'échange a pu donc égaler des espèces que les monnoyeurs avoient frappé très inégales, et ce langage, vrai pour les auteurs qui s'en sont servis, mais trompeur pour nous, nous tend un piège dont il est difficile de se démêler. Eclairé cependant par un foible rayon

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de lumière, j'entrevois que dans les pays éloignés l'un de l'autre, qui n'ont que peu de communication, tout est permis aux banquiers. L'éloignement annéantit ce reste de confiance, que l'empreinte du prince ne peut qu'inspirer, et les peuples s'inquiètent peu d'une perte sensible mais rare. Le shekel, égal à l'ancienne tétradrachme de Solon, pesoit 316 grains; cependant du tems de Josèphe, il ne valoit que la tétradrachme nouvelle de 300 grains. Mais c'est avec regret que je vois expliquer l'égalité de la drachme et du denier de la même manière. Les tributs portoient tous les ans à Rome des sommes immenses. Des chevaliers affermissoient ces tributs, et leurs oppressions faisoient détester aux nations l'empire des Romains.* S'ils égaloient la drachme au denier, ils y gagnoient un seizième. Les banquiers de Rome, dont le négoce étoit lié intimément avec le leur, en s'unissant aux fermiers, travailloient à la fois pour eux-

* Pompée comptoit que l'Asie propre, ou celle que les Romains possédoient avant ses conquêtes, rendoit toutes les années à la république, cinq mille myriades de drachmes (1,708,333 *liv. st.* 13*s.* 4*d.*) Les partisans l'avoient affermi à ce prix. Mais ces peuples, foulés par leurs exactions, demandèrent à Jules César la grace de pouvoir payer un tribut réglé de vingt-mille talens (4,100,000 *liv. sterl.*) Cependant, sans parler de la différence énorme des deux sommes, un tribut réglé qu'il faut payer à tout événement est toujours plus onéreux que des dîmes sur le bled et les pâturages, des droits d'entrée et de sortie, qui ne peuvent croitre qu'avec les richesses du peuple. Tout un plaidoyer de Cicéron ne concluroit pas autant contre les maltôtiers Romains que ce petit fait. *V. Lips. de Magnitud. Roman. L. ii. c. 2. p.* 42, 43, 44.

mêmes et pour l'ordre.* Il est donc très possible que les Grecs ayent pu gémir quelque peu de tems sous ce fardeau ; mais plus il étoit onéreux, moins il put subsister. Les Grecs avoient entre les mains un remède sûr et aisé : parmi quelques autres vestiges de leur antique liberté, ils possédoient encore le droit de battre la monnoie, privilège dont les anciens n'étoient pas aussi jaloux que nous. Les cabinets des curieux sont remplis de médailles d'Athènes, de Sparte, &c. frappées sous les empereurs. Il faudroit supposer à ces peuples spirituels une stupidité sans exemple, si nous ne pensions pas qu'ils réduisirent alors le poids de leur drachme et la rendirent en effet égale au denier qu'ils n'abandonnèrent pas, même quand les princes n'en battoient plus que des huitièmes de l'once Romaine.†

Voilà des difficultés qui nous embarrassent, mais dont nous aurions tort de nous plaindre. L'intérêt de la société doit l'emporter sur celui de notre curiosité. Mais l'usage de donner aux monnoies

* Hæc fides atque hæc ratio pecuniarum, quæ Romæ, quæ in foro versatur, implicita est cum illis pecuniis Asiaticis, et cohæret. Ruere illa non possunt, ut hæc non eodem labefactatu motû concidant. *Cicero. pro Lege Maniliâ, c. 9.*

† Je m'en tiendrois volontiers à cette explication. Cependant si quelqu'un me diroit que ce ne fut pas les Grecs qui imitèrent les Romains, mais ceux-ci qui suivirent l'exemple des Grecs, je n'aurois rien à lui répliquer. Les Romains empruntèrent tant des Grecs, que si la drachme Attique avoit perdu de son poids dès la mort d'Alexandre, il étoit très naturel de battre les deniers après ce modèle.

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des noms différens de leur poids, produit un embarras racheté par nulle utilité. Pourquoi ne pas dire tant d'onces d'or ou d'argent, au lieu de tant de guinées ou d'écus? La difficulté de ces noms se fait surtout sentir dans les réductions des monnoies anciennes aux nôtres. Comme celles-ci varient continuellement, la plus grande attention suffit à peine pour nous garantir de l'erreur. Un savant du siècle passé me dit que le talent vaut trois mille livres; si je ne me rappelle pas en quelle année il a écrit, et que par une recherche très difficile je ne m'instruise pas combien la livre valoit alors, je risquerai de la confondre avec celle d'aujourd'hui. C'est aussi ce qu'on a souvent fait. M. de Voltaire reproche avec raison à quelques auteurs d'avoir par cette bévue diminué les espèces anciennes de la moitié. Je ne m'en étonne pas beaucoup. C'étoient des savans, qui connoissoient à fonds les usages de tous les pays, hormis les leurs. Mais que M. l'Abbé d'Olivet, précepteur d'un grand prince, dans un ouvrage destiné pour les gens du monde, ait ignoré que les espèces avoient haussé de valeur depuis le tems de Gassendi!—il me paroît vraiment singulier. Dans un pays aussi inconstant que la France, il faudroit réformer ses calculs huit ou dix fois dans un siècle. C'est un avantage des gouvernemens moins despotiques, de n'être pas aussi sujets à ces changemens, toujours pernicieux quand ils ne sont pas absolument nécessaires. La Reine Elizabeth fixa la livre d'argent à soixante-deux chelins; ce fut au commencement de son

règne.* Vers ce tems le marc valoit en France quinze livres. La livre Angloise n'a point changé de valeur numéraire. Le marc vaut aujourd'hui cinquante livres de compte.

Dans les tables qu'on verra à la fin, on a calculé les monnoies suivant ces principes. On connoît leurs poids, on sait ce que vaut parmi nous un tel poids d'or ou d'argent. Dès lors l'opération ne souffre plus de difficulté. Mais on auroit tort de regarder les deux derniers chapitres comme un hors-d'oeuvre, parcequ'on les chercheroit vainement dans les autres traités sur ce sujet. Ce n'a été qu'à l'aide des ces principes que nous sommes parvenus à des connoissances raisonnées, les seules dignes de ceux qui ne pensent pas que l'étude de l'antiquité ne consiste qu'à entasser des citations sans bornes et sans critique.

VII.

Dans la plûpart des pays, nous n'avons besoin de faire attention qu'à l'or et à l'argent. Ces deux métaux constituent seuls le revenu des états et la fortune des particuliers. Si le cuivre est quelquefois employé, c'est dans ces détails nécessaires

* V. Hume's History of England, tom. ii. Sous Edouard I. la livre d'argent étoit égale à la livre de compte et valoit 20 chelins; sous Edouard III. elle en valoit 22½ et ensuite 25; sous Henri V. 30; sous Henri VI. 37; sous Richard III. et Henri VII. 37½; sous Henri VIII. 45 et ensuite 48; sous Edouard VI. 72; sous la Reine Marie 60; sous Elizabeth 60 et peu après 62. *V. le Chronicon Pretiosum de Fleetwood, en Anglois*, p. 41, 42, 43.

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mais méprisables, dont on doit s'occuper dans le moment, et les oublier pour toujours. Ce n'est que dans l'enfance de la république Romaine, que ces espèces méritent quelques égards. Elle n'en connoissoit point d'autres; et comme toutes les dépenses publiques se calculoient en monnoie de cuivre, il nous importe de la connoître. A l'an de Rome 485, lorsqu'on frappa sa première monnoie d'argent, le *denier* valoit dix *as*. On a vu que le denier pesoit un septième d'once ou un quatre-vingt-quatrième de la livre Romaine. L'as étoit alors la livre Romaine elle-même. L'argent étoit au cuivre comme 840 à un. Cette proportion, huit fois aussi grande que celle qui a été établie depuis plusieurs siècles, nous fait renouveller notre question, D'où venoit-elle? L'argent étoit-il huit fois plus rare ou le cuivre huit fois plus commun que de notre tems? Duquel ferons-nous la base de nos calculs? La plûpart des auteurs ont préféré l'argent. Cependant le plus léger examen nous fera sentir que cette singulière proportion découloit de la disette de l'argent, plutôt que de l'abondance du cuivre. Quels vestiges de ces mines de cuivre qui rendoient l'Italie huit fois plus riche en ce métal que ne le sont l'Allemagne ou la Suède? Leur mémoire seroit-elle périe avec elles? Mais si même on le supposoit assez commun en Italie, une petite partie passoit à la monnoie. Le cuivre servoit alors à mille usages, auxquels on a depuis employé le fer et l'acier. Les armes étoient de cuivre dans les premiers siècles, et quoique les Dactyles eussent trouvé d'assez bonne-

heure l'art de travailler le fer, tous les héros d'Homère combattent revêtus de cuivre; les instrumens d'agriculture, les ornemens des temples n'étoient que de ce métal. De l'autre côté, la seule circonstance que les Romains n'ont pas frappé de l'argent pendant près de cinq siècles, prouve assez qu'ils en avoient fort peu. En effet leurs bons auteurs nous apprennent que l'or et l'argent n'étoient pour ces premiers Romains que des marchandises étrangères que le luxe naissant achetoit à un haut prix. C'est pourquoi quand nous trouvons chez ce peuple une livre de cuivre évitons l'écueil commun de l'évaluer comme la 840me partie d'une livre d'argent, mais apprécions cette livre d'argent comme huit cens quarante livres de cuivre. Quand l'argent des provinces commençoit à effacer dans Rome tous les vestiges de l'ancienne pauvreté, le denier valoit seize onces de cuivre. La proportion étoit de cent douze à un, proportion peu différente de la nôtre. Calculons donc la livre de cuivre comme égale en valeur aux trois quarts d'un denier ou à 56¼ grains d'argent. Dans le cens qu'établit Servius Tullius, cent mille livres de cuivre donnoient au citoyen qui les possédoit une place parmi les premiers de la république. Ces cent mille livres de cuivre font, suivant l'évaluation ordinaire, huit mille cent quarante livres Tournoises, mais suivant la nôtre soixante-un mille cinquante. Je crains ici que la conclusion ne fasse rejetter le principe par ceux qui ne connoissent l'histoire Romaine que dans les abrégés. Ils ne croiront point sans doute qu'il y eut alors à Rome des particuliers aussi riches.

riches. Mais j'ai toujours pensé qu'on abaissoit trop les premiers siècles de Rome, pour rehausser l'éclat des derniers. Mon soupçon est appuyé par les monumens publics, les plus sûrs indices de la richesse d'une nation. Dans le siècle d'Auguste on contemploit avec plaisir tous les ouvrages de ce règne glorieux, mais c'étoient vers les cloaques de Servius Tullius, vers l'aqueduc et le chemin du censeur Appius, que les yeux se tournoient qui cherchoient à connoître la puissance et l'industrie des Romains. Quoiqu'il en soit, il faut réformer nos idées sur les faits et non point les faits sur nos idées. Un exemple nous fera sentir la nécessité de sortir du sentier battu. Supposons l'Angleterre riche en argent, comme elle est aujourd'hui, mais épuisée de la plus grande partie de son or, le peu de celui-ci qui y restât ou qu'on transportât des autres pays, hausseroit aussitôt de prix, et au lieu de quinze à un, deviendroit peut-être cent à un. Qu'un François dans ces circonstances dise, l'or dans mon pays vaut tant, l'argent en Angleterre vaut cent fois moins que l'or, donc je dois compter tout cet argent à raison d'un centième de l'or; qu'il le dise, et il dira mal. L'argent des Anglois porté hors de leur pays conservera son égalité avec la même quantité d'argent chez un autre peuple. Sa valeur proportionnelle disparoîtra; les Anglois ne sentiront leur infériorité que par le commerce de l'or qu'on leur apporte, ou la balance ne sera pas pour eux. Cet exemple conclu plus que la plûpart, parceque les objets qu'on a comparés sont précisément semblables.

En luttant avec les nations pauvres qui les entouroient, les Romains se préparoient à des triomphes plus brillans. Les Grecs, les Gaulois, les Carthaginois apportoient leurs trésors aux pieds du sénat. L'ancienne proportion de l'argent au cuivre devenoit vicieuse, mais au lieu de baisser la valeur de l'argent on haussa celle du cuivre. La nécessité avoit plus de part à cette démarche que la raison. La première guerre Punique, où il falloit entretenir des armées hors de l'Italie, avoit endetté l'état. On respectoit la foi publique, dont il falloit remplir les obligations, mais l'on respectoit aussi les droits d'un peuple épuisé, qu'on ne pouvoit pas accabler d'impôts. Le sénat aima mieux diminuer le poids de la monnoie. L'*as* étoit la livre de cuivre. Il le réduisit à deux onces; et par cette opération violente mais nécessaire, les créanciers de la république perdirent cinq parties sur six de l'argent qu'ils lui avoient prêté; mais bien différens de leurs neveux, dont Horace célèbre l'arithmétique, ces vieux guerriers ne s'apperçurent pas peut-être du changement. Ils avoient reçu leur dette en as; comment examiner si la valeur étoit la même?

Quarante-sept ans après, Hannibal fit sentir aux Romains qu'il n'y avoit plus d'Alpes. Soudoyer à la fois cent mille hommes en Italie, en Sicile, et en Espagne, c'étoit un effort que le zèle des citoyens rendoit plus facile, mais qui entraîna bientôt une nouvelle réduction de l'as. On ne le frappa plus que du poids d'une once. Mais le denier, qui ne valoit que dix as, tomboit alors trop bas, et l'augmentation

mentation de l'argent toute grande qu'elle étoit n'y suffisoit plus. En réduisant donc l'as à une once de cuivre, on augmenta la valeur numéraire du denier à seize as. Ce denier valoit seize once de cuivre au lieu de vingt, et pendant qu'on diminuoit de la moitié la monnoie de cuivre, celle d'argent ne perdit qu'un cinquième de sa valeur.

Un grand nom m'arrête ici. Quand M. de Montesquieu me dépeint cette double opération, comme rétablissant la fortune de l'état, sans bouleverser celle des citoyens, il m'est aussi impossible de souscrire à son sentiment, qu'il m'est doux d'admirer ses talens. Toute réduction des monnoies est un soulagement pour les débiteurs et une perte pour les créanciers. Dans celle-ci, ceux qui prêtoient du cuivre pour en recevoir, perdoient la moitié, ceux qui devoient recevoir l'argent pour du cuivre ne perdoient qu'un cinquième. Mais rien ne les eût pu faire penser à cette stipulation que la connoissance du changement qu'on alloit faire. De tels secrets ne se confient pas au corps d'un peuple.

L'an de Rome 587, on réduisit l'as au poids d'une demie-once. Le motif et le détail de cette opération nous sont inconnus. Ce ne fut point la nécessité. Paul Emile venoit de conquérir la Macédoine, et les richesses qu'il y trouva avoient affranchi les Romains de la capitation. Mais le poids d'une monnoie dès lors reléguée aux plus bas détails paroissoit encore incommode, et on le méprisa trop pour changer sa proportion avec le denier qui valoit toujours seize as. J'imiterai l'exemple des Romains ; et quoique la valeur de l'as tomboit avec

avec son poids, je calculerai ceux d'une demie-once sur le même pied que ceux d'une once. Nous craindrions de faire des opérations aussi brusques que celles dont j'ai parlé, mais aussi dans la situation de la république tout l'invitoit aux entreprises les plus hardies. Ce peuple-roi vouloit régner ou périr. Point de milieu. Si Carthage succomboit, l'or et l'argent faisoient disparoître le cuivre. Il importoit peu qu'on eût diminué cette monnoie. Si les Africains l'emportoient; privés d'empire et de liberté tout devenoit indifférent aux Romains, la plûpart n'auroient pas survécu à leur humiliation, ou auroient couru la cacher dans quelque pays encore libre.

Je ne saurois finir sans remarquer l'esprit citoyen des sénateurs Romains. Ils se prêtèrent sans difficulté à ces arrangemens si destructeurs à leurs intérêts. Presque les seuls créanciers, ils subissoient toute la perte de ces réductions. D'ailleurs elles détruisoient peu à peu la constitution aristocratique des comices. Comme la fortune requise pour la première classe demeuroit toujours fixée à cent mille as, on dut y voir parvenir un grand nombre, qui, si les espèces s'étoient soutenus sur l'ancien pied, auroient encore rampé au dernier rang des derniers citoyens.

VIII.

Des empreintes sur les monnoies.

Le poids et le titre d'une monnoie en constituent la valeur; mais c'est l'empreinte que le magistrat y fait graver qui fait connoître aux peuples cette valeur, qui en est la preuve et le gage. Les rois y ont mis leurs têtes, les républiques ont choisi les têtes

têtes des divinités qu'elles honoroient plus particulièrement, ou quelque symbole relatif à leur situation et à leurs exploits. La science des médailles ne s'occupe que de cette connoissance. Là, c'est l'objet principal et remplit des volumes entiers; ici, elle n'est qu'un accessoire qui mérite cependant que j'en dise quelques mots.

Les Persans gravoient sur leurs dariques un archer; ce peuple guerrier, qui dut ses conquêtes à sa simplicité, et son luxe à ses conquêtes, n'apprenoit dans sa jeunesse que trois choses, à monter à cheval, à tirer de l'arc, et à dire la vérité. Les rhéteurs Grecs se sont fort égayés de cette empreinte, et dans le tems que le grand roi achetoit les républiques qu'il ne pouvoit vaincre, ils nous ont décrit ces archers comme le corps le plus redoutable de l'armée Persanne. Les Persans.

Minerve, avec tous ses attributs, l'égide, l'olivier, et la chouette, ornoit les médailles Athéniennes. La chouette surtout en faisoit la marque distinctive. Jupiter y étoit quelquefois associé avec Minerve; et le bœuf, vestige des richesses primitives, n'en disparut que fort tard. Les Athéniens perdirent leur liberté longtems avant leur fierté. Ils étoient les esclaves les plus soumis des Romains, cependant ils ne voulurent jamais graver sur leurs monnoies la tête de l'empereur. Les Athéniens.

Les Spartiates témoignèrent sur les médailles combien ils se croyoient honorés d'avoir eu pour citoyens, Castor and Pollux. Alcide, le père de leurs rois, armé de sa massue et revêtu de sa peau de lion, nous épouvante encore sur le bronze. Les Lacédémoniens.

Comme

Comme la vertu étoit plus considérée à Sparte que les titres, nous trouvons sur leurs monnoies Lycurgue, mais pas un de leurs rois.

Les Béotiens mirent sur leurs monnoies la coupe de Bacchus ; les habitans de Chios la tête d'Homère ; les Corcyriens une galère à trois rangs de rames dont ils étoient les inventeurs. Les Carthaginois y gravèrent la tête de Didon, et ce cheval dont la tête déterrée dans les fondemens de Carthage annonçoit sa grandeur future. Philippe et Alexandre choisirent pour l'empreinte de leurs monnoies, un char à quatre chevaux, et pour le revers eux-mêmes assis sur le trône et tenant un oiseau à la main. Les habitans de l'île de Ténédos y gravèrent deux têtes accolées, et sur le revers une hache. En voici l'origine. Ténès, roi de l'île, avoit permis à ses sujets de tuer les adultères à coups de hache. On vint lui annoncer qu'on avoit surpris son fils coupable de ce crime : Qu'on exécute ma sentence, répondit-il ; pendant que j'ai des sujets il me reste assez d'enfans. Son peuple sur les monnoies, et dans ses temples, immortalisèrent ce père qui avoit fait céder la nature à la justice.

Sous la république Romaine la tête de Janus paroissoit sur la monnoie de cuivre : l'on avoit peut-être choisi cette divinité comme inventeur reconnu de la monnoie, peut-être aussi ne devoit-il ce titre qu'à l'ancienne coutume de frapper la monnoie à son empreinte. La proue d'un vaisseau distinguoit le revers de l'as. Les deniers étoient chargés d'un char à deux ou à quatre chevaux ; les plus anciens avoient les bords dentelés : les demi-

demi-deniers d'une victoire, d'où ils tiroient leurs noms de *victoriati*. Les particuliers n'osoient jamais graver leurs têtes sur la monnoie ; mais on ne défendoit pas aux monnoyeurs, jeunes gens de famille, d'y insérer les exploits de leurs ancêtres. Le mérite des vivans est odieux dans les républiques. Elles ne savent chérir la vertu que lorsqu'elle n'est plus à craindre. On pourroit appliquer la même réflexion aux princes, s'il est vrai qu'Auguste fit graver sur ses monnoies de cuivre la tête de ce Cicéron dont la mort le couvre d'un opprobre éternel. Le trait est singulier, mais pas plus que ces consécrations de princes que leurs assassins mettoient du nombre des dieux après les avoir ôtés de celui des hommes.

Les empereurs Romains jouissoient de tous les droits régaliens. Leurs monnoies étoient chargées de leurs têtes couronnées de lauriers, et ceintes de tous leurs titres, d'empereur, de consul, de pontife, de père de la patrie, de revêtu de la puissance tribunitienne, de vainqueur des Germains, des Parthes, &c. Le revers et l'inscription représentoit quelque action brillante du prince ; des nations subjuguées, des villes fondées, des édifices construits, des impôts remis. Ces médailles, dispersées par toute la terre, annonçoient aux peuples les vertus de l'empereur, ou l'adulation du sénat.

IX.

Ce n'étoit pas assez d'imposer aux monnoies des noms différens des poids et différens les uns des autres : on a inventé des monnoies de compte qui

qui n'existoient que dans l'imagination de ceux qui s'en sont servis et l'on a employé ces combinaisons arbitraires presqu'à l'exclusion des espèces réelles.

Rien de plus simple que la manière de compter des Grecs. Leurs mines de cent drachmes, et leurs talens de soixante mines la forment presque toute entière. Ils avoient, il est vrai, leur calcul de myriades qui n'étoient point des multiples du talent; c'étoient des sommes de dix mille drachmes. Ainsi mille myriades étoient équivalentes à dix millions de drachmes.

Les anciens nous parlent d'un talent d'or en usage dans les siècles héroïques, mais qui ne paroît avoir aucun rapport avec les autres talens. Il ne valoit que trois pièces d'or, et au lieu de peser au moins treize livres, poids du moindre des talens, il ne pesoit guères plus d'une demie-once. Je serois tenté de croire que ce talent n'étoit que le talent de cuivre exprimé en or. Il valoit trois aurei ou six drachmes d'or, soixante drachmes d'argent suivant la proportion reconnue des anciens, et six mille drachmes de cuivre, comme l'argent a été assez généralement à ce dernier métal en raison de cent à un.

Trouvons-nous des vestiges de ce talent dans les écrits d'Homère. Tous les antiquaires s'offenseront de ce doute; ils les ont déjà vus. Je crois les avoir vus aussi bien qu'eux, mais j'ai vu aussi le vrai talent d'or. De petits esprits critiqueront Homère d'avoir employé le même mot pour rendre deux idées aussi différentes, mais je les renvoye aux commentateurs qui ont déjà fait sentir la beauté de

de cette harangue de Nestor que ses soldats pouvoient prendre de quatre manières opposées.

I. Quand Achille propose des récompenses aux vainqueurs dans ses jeux, il étale un chaudron luisant, comme un prix supérieur à deux talens d'or, et ne met un demi-talent d'or qu'après un bœuf gras : un bœuf qui vaut plus de mille livres sterling ! Il est clair qu'Achille parle du petit talent dont la moitié est environ une guinée. Ici le raisonnement seroit déplacé, il seroit ridicule.

II. Mais quand les ambassadeurs d'Agamemnon cherchent à appaiser le courroux du fils de Pelée, qu'ils lui offrent des esclaves, de beaux chevaux, &c. ils y ajoutent dix talens d'or. Eustathius aura peine à me faire croire que ce beau présent du roi des rois consistoit en vingt-deux livres sterling. Achille se plaignoit qu'on lui avoit enlevé les dépouilles de vingt-trois villes qu'avoit soumi son bras. Ces villes étoient riches, car on voit que le luxe régnoit déjà en Asie. Avec quel mépris, avec quelle indignation n'eût il pas rejetté ce dédommagement ! Il est vrai qu'il le rejette, mais c'est en faisant céder son avarice à sa colère. Si le présent étoit de vingt-un mille sept cens cinquante livres sterling, la victoire en effet devoit lui coûter.

Les sesterces des Romains embarrassent toujours un commerçant. Effrayés de ce calcul où les quantités les plus éloignées ne sont distinguées que par la suppression d'un mot, ou par la légère différence d'une terminaison, il n'y voit que des paroles vuides de sens. Je sais que cette manière de compter

ter est un peu composée, mais je crois qu'on ne doit pas imputer la plûpart de ses épines à ceux qui s'en sont servis mais à ceux qui l'ont expliqué. Quelques principes simples le mettront à la portée de tout le monde. De tant de secours que le jugement emprunte de la mémoire, il peut et il doit lui en rendre quelques uns. On se souvient toujours bien de ce qu'on a connu nettement.

I. Les Grecs, sans être algébristes, employoient un langage peu différent de celui de l'algèbre. Au lieu de deux talens et demi, ils disoient trois talens moins un demi, Δευτερον Ημιταλαντον ; au lieu de six talens et demi, sept talens moins un demi, et ainsi de suite. Les Romains adoptèrent cette coutume de bonne-heure, mais la bornèrent à un seul cas. Leur trois moins un demi s'exprimoit par *tertius semis* ou *semis tertius*, dont on fit bientôt par abbréviation *sestertius*. Ce sestertius se disoit de tout. *Libra sestertia* signifioit deux livres et demie, *pes sestertius* deux pieds et demi.

II. Dans le commencement de la république Romaine nous avons vu que le denier valoit dix as. Le quart du denier étoit donc de deux as et demi ou deux livres et demie de cuivre, voilà pourquoi on l'appelloit *sestertuis*, ou *sestertius nummus*, ou simplement *nummus*. Il valut dans la suite quatre as, mais le nom subsista comme à l'ordinaire, plus longtems que la raison du nom. L'abus fut moins grand, comme c'étoit l'as qu'on avoit diminué et non le sesterce. On exprimoit un nombre de ces sesterces par le pluriel *sestertii*, ou bien par *sestertiûm* en sous-entendant *corpora* ou *capita*.

III.

III. Outre la livre pondérale des Romains, ils avoient une livre de compte qu'ils appelloient *pondo*. Pour n'avoir pas fait cette distinction Budéé s'est imaginé que la livre Romaine contenoit cent deniers. Le pondo les contenoit en effet, et son égalité avec la mine nous fait croire que les Romains l'avoient composé pour rendre avec facilité les monnoies étrangères. Quand Plutarque parle du cartel établi dans la seconde guerre Punique, il fixe la rançon des prisonniers à deux cens cinquante drachmes ou deniers. Tite Live lui avoit appris qu'elle étoit deux pondo et demi d'argent. Ces deux pondo et demi faisoient en argent la *libra sestertia*, ou par excellence le *sestertium*. Comme il contenoit deux cens cinquante deniers, il étoit équivalent à mille sestertii, ou deux mille cinq cens livres de cuivre. Les Romains comptoient indifféremment par livres sesterces de cuivre et livres sesterces d'argent. Celle-ci valoit mille de celle-là. Le genre masculin distingue la première, nous reconnoissons la seconde au neutre.

IV. Les mots sont relatifs aux idées, et les idées aux besoins. On a connu des sauvages qui ne pouvoient compter que jusqu'à vingt. Leur langue ne leur fournissoit point d'expressions pour les nombres plus grands, mais c'étoit parceque celui-là suffiroit pour la chasse, la pèche, et leur manière de faire la guerre. La première classe des Romains ne possédoit que cent mille as: aussi les idées et les expressions de ce peuple se bornoient à ce nombre. Lorsque devenu plus riche il parvint à connoître et à posséder des sommes bien au delà, il

ne savoit les exprimer qu'en multipliant des cens mille par un autre nombre, auquel il donnoit une terminaison adverbiale; *decies centena millia sestertiûm* signifioit un million de sesterces.

Il ne me reste que d'expliquer quelques marques et quelques abbréviations trop arbitraires pour se lier facilement avec ces principes.

I. LLS. II. HS H-S. sont les marques auxquelles nous reconnoissons le *sestertius*. Le *sestertium* est distingué dans les bons manuscrits par une ligne transversale, $\overline{\text{HS}}$. Quand vous trouvez un nombre quelconque avec cette ligne, sousentendez cent mille: $\overline{\text{DC}}$. HS. font *sexcenties centena millia sestertiûm*. Quand les nombres sont distingués dans plusieurs divisions, celle à la main droite signifie des nombres simples, la suivante des milliers, et la troisième autant de cent milles.

II. Notre langue, qui veut la clarté, condamne les suppressions de mots que les Romains, qui cherchoient la brièveté, admettoient sans scrupule. Ici il y en avoit deux. On omettoit le mot *sestertii*, parcequ'ils ne comptoient presque que de cette manière. Ils supprimoient *centena millia*, dont les nombres excédens n'étoient que les multiplications. Cherchons un exemple un peu compliqué: LXII. LXXV. CCCC. est équivalent à *bis et sexagies centena millia, septuaginta et quinque millia, quadringenti sestertiûm*, ou à six millions deux cens soixante-quinze mille quatre cens sesterces.

X. Le

X.

Le prodigue dissipe ses richesses, l'avare les enfouit, l'économe vit sans excéder le revenu de ses biens. C'est ce revenu que je veux examiner. Celui qui met son argent au six pour cent, est une fois plus riche que celui qui n'en tire que le trois. Cependant le fonds de tous les deux est le même. Voyons donc quel pouvoit être le revenu et la dépense d'un Romain, car je me bornerai à ce peuple, qui possédoit une telle somme. Ce n'est pas que nous puissions jamais apprécier au juste leur capital. Nous voyons parmi nous qu'il n'y a rien de plus vague que ces évaluations. En gros celles de la république me paroissent plus forts que la vérité, celles du tems des empereurs, plus foibles. Tout chef de parti doit être riche: mais souvent l'opinion de sa richesse lui suffit. Quelques largesses et des promesses immenses éblouissent ses partisans, et parmi les hommes corrompus l'espoir agit plus puissamment que la reconnoissance. Mais sous les meilleurs princes les richesses étoient un motif de soupçon, sous les tyrans un arrêt de mort. On s'en cachoit alors comme d'un crime.

L'intérêt se payoit, parmi les Romains, tous les mois. Un pour cent par mois, ou douze pour cent par année étoient l'intérêt qu'ils appelloient *centesima*. Cet un par mois se divisoit en fractions. Au lieu de dire six pour cent, on disoit un demi pour cent, *usuræ semisses*, &c. Les tribuns Duillius et Menenius déterminèrent l'intérêt légitime à douze pour cent; c'étoit à l'an 398: mais

on le réduisit bientôt à la moitié, et l'an 413 on l'abolit entièrement. Depuis ce tems l'usure demeuroit condamnée et pratiquée à Rome; et comme les mœurs suppléent quelquefois aux loix l'intérêt de six pour cent passoit pour honnête et modique, pendant qu'on prodiguoit le nom odieux d'usuriers, à ceux qui, ne se contentant pas de ce profit, bravoient l'infamie pour le gain. Cette défense du prêt sur usure ne s'étendoit point toutefois aux provinces. Cicéron et Pline m'apprennent que dans la Bithynie et la Cilicie l'intérêt au douze pour cent étoit permis par les arrêts des proconsuls et des empereurs. Cependant cette usure, toute forte qu'elle étoit, n'assouvissoit pas l'avarice Romaine. Brutus avoit prêté deux millions cinq cens mille sesterces à la ville de Salamine en Cypre à quarante-huit pour cent; et cette malheureuse cité se trouvant dans l'impuissance de les payer, Scaptius, son fidèle émissaire, environna l'hôtel de ville d'un corps de cavalerie, et le tint assiégé jusqu'à faire périr de faim cinq de leurs sénateurs. Ce Stoïcien Brutus, qui assassina son bienfaiteur, le meilleur des maîtres, pour avoir osé gouverner une république qui ne pouvoit plus se gouverner elle-même, exerçoit sur les peuples le despotisme le plus dur et le plus injuste.

La grandeur de l'usure à Rome ne peut surprendre que ceux qui ne connoissent ni les hommes, ni les Romains. L'argent étoit englouti dans un petit nombre de mains. Ce peuple méprisoit le commerce, les revenus étoient affermis par des compagnies qui avoient un commun intérêt. Les dépouilles

dépouilles des provinces enrichissoient quelques familles consulaires. Les esclaves des tyrans, monstres plus méprisables que les maltôtiers, et plus destructeurs que les conquérans, ne pouvoient souffrir des rivaux. Ainsi il y avoit peu de prêteurs à Rome. De-là, ceux qui avoient le monopole de ce commerce, étoient les maîtres de le faire aussi lucratif qu'ils vouloient. Les loix mêmes les engageoient à se dédommager, par le plus gros gain, du danger et de l'infamie qu'elles y attachoient. Le danger étoit grand, surtout dans les premiers tems, où leurs créanciers, c'est à dire le peuple, par un seul décret pouvoit rayer à jamais et l'intérêt et le principal.

L'intérêt de l'argent et le prix des terres gardent toujours un certain équilibre. Si l'intérêt est bas, il est plus avantageux d'acheter des fonds ; ceux-ci haussent de valeur. Si l'intérêt est fort, il est plus commode d'avoir des rentes; on réalise peu et les terres se donnent à vil prix. L'intérêt commun à Rome étoit de six pour cent;* un passage de Pline me fait voir que le prix d'achat pour les terres étoit au revenu comme cent à six. Ce bienfaiteur éclairé autant que généreux, voulant donner cinq cens mille sesterces à la ville de Como, aima mieux charger une de ses terres d'une rente perpétuelle de trente mille sesterces.

* Quelquefois l'on en tiroit beaucoup plus; mais aussi comme il n'y avoit point à Rome de fonds publics, il n'étoit pas toujours possible de faire travailler tout son argent. Il faut compenser l'un par l'autre.

Cependant sur ces six pour cent, j'aimerois assez diminuer un sixième; les palais, les meubles, les esclaves emportoient aux grands des sommes immenses qui ne rendoient rien.

XI.

Une carrière toute différente nous attend, et nous pourrions encore une fois simplifier nos idées. La connoissance des mesures a pour objet, aussi bien que la géométrie, les lignes droites. Mais dans la géométrie leurs propriétés abstraites nous intéressent. Ici la seule considération est celle de leur longueur.

Cette longueur n'est point arbitraire comme les poids. Les hommes sont assez généralement convenus de former leur mesures longues sur quelque division naturelle du corps humain. Quelques uns ont choisi le pied; d'autres ont préféré la coudée, et l'on ne doit imputer les légères différences des poids et des coudées respectives qu'à la manière dont on les a prises; ici on a cherché des hommes d'une taille demesurée, là on s'est attaché plutôt à la grandeur commune de l'espèce humaine. D'ailleurs la nature, en dispensant ses dons, n'a point accordé à tous les peuples la même taille. Le climat et les alimens agissent d'une manière lente mais puissante. Que les peuples du nord surpassent en grandeur ceux du midi, est une maxime mieux fondée que la plûpart des maximes générales. Les nations Celtiques ont toujours paru des géans aux peuples de la Grèce et de l'Italie, et nous, les descendans

scendans de ces Celtes, citons avec admiration les Suèdes et les Norvégiens.

En recherchant les mesures des anciens je distinguerai avec soin les preuves dont la certitude n'est point égale. J'éviterai de confondre les démonstrations et les conjectures. Deux monumens précieux, échappés au naufrage des tems, serviront d'appui à mes raisonnemens. Les inductions, les proportions qui peuvent nous aider à découvrir les autres mesures paroîtront à leur place.

DISSERTATION

SUR LES POIDS, LES MONNOIES, ET LES MESURES DES ANCIENS, &c.

AVANT-PROPOS.

Depuis qu'on étudie l'histoire des hommes plutôt que celle des rois, on s'est attaché avec raison à la connoissance de leur économie politique et domestique. Dans cette étude on se trouve chaque moment arrêté par l'ignorance de ces signes arbitraires dont chaque peuple s'est servi pour exprimer les différens rapports de nombre, d'étendue, et de quantité, je veux parler des mesures, des poids et des monnoies.

Ce seroit un ouvrage utile, mais immense, qu'un dictionnaire complet de cette langue économique, et un recueil étendu de tous les faits intéressans auxquels il nous serviroit d'interprète, c'est à dire, en d'autres mots, une histoire de l'industrie et du luxe. Un pareil ouvrage demanderoit les soins attentifs et soutenus d'une société de savans dispersée dans les différentes parties de l'Europe. Je voudrois qu'elle se formât; mais en attendant un événement aussi peu vraisemblable, je rassemblerai dans ce recueil tout ce que mes lectures historiques me fourniront sur un objet aussi curieux qu'utile. Cet ouvrage se grossira sans dessein et sans effort, et s'enrichira insensiblement du fruit de toutes mes études.

Je

Je m'attacherai surtout, 1. Aux revenus publics et aux impôts; 2. Au prix du bled et à celui des autres denrées nécessaires à la vie; 3. Au prix du travail militaire, civil ou domestique, et par une liaison naturelle au nombre de ceux de qui l'on exigeoit ou de qui l'on pouvoit exiger un semblable service; 4. Au prix de l'argent, c'est à dire au revenu annuel, et au taux d'intérêt d'une somme quelconque; 5. A l'emploi de l'argent, et par conséquent aux mœurs, au luxe et aux arts.

J'écrirai en François, mais je ferai mes réductions à l'Angloise. Commençons par établir le rapport de l'argent des deux pays.

L'once Angloise d'argent monnoyé vaut cinq chelins et deux sous sterling. Depuis l'an 1726 on taille au marc d'argent de huit onces de Paris, huit écus $\frac{3}{8}$ chacun de six livres; ce marc vaut par conséquent 50*l.* 5*s.* Tournois. En supposant l'identité précise du poids et du titre, ce marc vaudroit 41 chelins 4 sous; mais si nous rabattons $\frac{1}{60}=7\frac{1}{2}s.$ pour le premier et $\frac{1}{111}=4\frac{1}{2}$ pour le second, il nous restera 40 chelins 4 sous pour la valeur du marc: la livre Tournois voudroit $9\frac{1}{2}$ sous sterling, et la livre sterling sera égale à peu près de 25 livres Tournois.

Cependant si nous consultons l'échange ordinaire entre Londres et Paris nous trouverons la livre sterling à $22\frac{1}{2}$ livres Tournois chacune de $10\frac{1}{2}$. On s'est plaint depuis longtems de ce mal dont on connoît la source et le remède. L'or du Brésil a changé, depuis quelques années, la proportion établie entre les deux métaux précieux. La monnoie de France

France a suivi très sagement les révolutions du commerce. Elle a fixé la proportion comme 14 à 1; chez nous elle est comme 15 à 1 : l'once d'argent ne vaut que *5c. 2s.* à la monnoie; son prix chez les orfèvres est souvent *5c. 7s.* On devine sans peine les suites de cette inégalité chez une nation qui calcule. Elle diminue le prix courant de nos espèces d'argent, pour augmenter celui des monnoies étrangères. Personne ne veut porter son argent à la monnoie à des conditions aussi dures. La source est tarie, et ce fleuve rapide dans son cours appauvrit sans cesse l'Angleterre pour enrichir ses voisins. Le banquier ne peut que suivre le torrent; mais dans ce recueil je dois oublier ces proportions accidentelles et injustes pour n'envisager que la valeur intrinsèque des espèces, c'est à dire leur poids et leur titre.

J'aurai souvent occasion d'apprécier des monnoies dont j'ignore le titre. J'y substituerai toujours celui de ce pays. C'est une vérité hypothétique dont il faut se contenter à la place de la vérité absolue.

Lorsqu'il m'arrive de ne point connoître la proportion établie entre l'or et l'argent, je la supposerai toujours comme 10 à 1 jusqu'au tems d'Auguste, comme 12 à 1 jusqu'à la découverte de l'Amérique, et comme 15 à 1 jusqu'à nos jours. Je sais que cette progression n'est pas sans exceptions, mais elles sont en petit nombre, et j'aurai soin de les indiquer.

Je partage mon recueil en sept colonnes qui s'accompagneront toujours. I. Mes notices générales

rales de livres extraits, observations, &c. qui appartiennent à plusieurs classes à la fois ; II. L'antiquité : cette partie renfermera encore le Bas Empire jusqu'à la prise de Constantinople par les Turcs ; III. La Grande Bretagne avec l'Irlande ; IV. La France et les Pays Bas ; V. L'Allemagne, la Suisse et les Pays du Nord ; VI. L'Italie et l'Espagne ; VII. L'Orient, les Indes, et l'Afrique ; en un mot, tout ce qui est hors de l'Europe.

I.

NOTICES GÉNÉRALES.

1. An Inquiry into the State of the Ancient Measures ; the Attic, the Roman, and particularly the Jewish ; by Dr. John Hooper, Bishop of Bath and Wells, livre vraiment admirable dans son genre. L'esprit le plus systématique éclaire partout la plus profonde érudition. On peut perfectionner quelques détails, mais je crois qu'il faudra toujours bâtir sur les principes de ce savant évêque. C'est pourquoi je vais en donner une idée abrégée.

On ne peut s'arrêter qu'à ces poids qui existent encore et qui peuvent se comparer avec les nôtres. La drachme Attique bien connue nous donnera par ses rapports tous les autres poids de l'antiquité. On sait que lorsqu'il est question de poids et surtout de monnoies il en faut toujours choisir les plus pesantes. Le tems, la rouille, l'avidité des hommes leur ôtent toujours une partie de leur volume que rien ne peut augmenter. L'exact Greaves, le père des expériences de ce genre, avoit

pesé

pesé beaucoup de tétradrachmes Attiques. Les mieux conservées lui donnoient un poids de 268 grains ou de 67 pour la drachme. Deux didrachmes d'or de Philippe et d'Alexandre lui indiquoient une drachme de 67,25 grains. M. Eisenschmidt avoit dans sa possession une tétradrachme de 4×83½ grains de Paris; 68,36 des nôtres. La mine Attique de 100 de ces dernières drachmes aura pesé 6836 grains.

Les hommes se conduisent rarement par cette liberté d'indifférence qu'ils s'arrogent si souvent: dans les institutions les plus arbitraires il leur faut quelque motif. C'est ainsi qu'ils ont fixé les mesures longues sur les parties du corps humain, la coudée, le pied, la palme, ou le doigt; qu'ils en ont employé les cubes pour des mesures de capacité, et qu'ils ont déterminé leurs poids par celui d'une de ces cubes remplie de eau ou de vin. Parmi ces mesures la cube palmique, (terme moyen entre les autres,) a pu paroître la plus généralement utile. On sait par expérience qu'une cube d'eau de 12 pouces doit peser 76 livres, la cube de la palme nous donnera par conséquent 6840 grains. Un rapport aussi précis (car le pied Grec ne différoit presque point du nôtre) nous persuade que nous avons trouvé la mine Attique construite sur les mêmes principes hydrostatiques que cette livre palme que nous venons de supposer.

Les Grecs reconnoissent, malgré leur vanité, qu'ils doivent à la colonie Phénicienne de Cadmus leurs poids et leurs mesures dont ce peuple à été l'inventeur. Une nation commerçante et industrieuse a dû trouver de bonne heure des proportions

tions réfléchies qui méritent seules à cet égard le nom d'invention. L'ésprit humain fait des progrès rapides lorsque l'intérêt se joint à la curiosité. Le commerce des Phéniciens a porté leurs arts sur toutes les côtes de la Méditerrannée. On leur attribueroit avec plaisir la construction de la livre palme, et l'égalité du talent Attique avec celui de Tyr, formellement énoncée par un des anciens, nous permet de le faire.

Si nous balançons à admettre cette égalité sur la foi de Heron, nous pouvons nous en assurer par l'égalité qui a toujours subsisté à cet égard entre deux peuples très éloignés qui se connoissoient à peine l'une l'autre, mais qui ont toujours eu des liaisons très intimes avec les Phéniciens, je veux parler des Juifs et des Athéniens. Josèphe, Philon, les Septante ont égalisé le shekel de Jerusalem et la tétradrachme d'Athènes, et l'on ne doit pas seulement écouter les rabbins* lorsqu'ils sont opposés à des écrivains aussi anciens et aussi instruits. Qu'on me rende raison d'un accord aussi singulier sans supposer que les deux nations ont eu un modèle commun; et quel modèle oseroit le disputer avec celui de Tyr?

On ne doit pas oublier que les Phéniciens, après avoir formé leur livre palme ou mine, et leur talent, qui en contenoit 60, ont compté, je ne sais par quelle raison, un autre talent le double du premier, mais qu'en conservant toujours les mêmes divisions, sa mine n'étoit plus la livre palme. Les Juifs ont adopté tous les deux; le premier est leur talent profane; celui-ci leur talent sacré mais le

* M. Hooper les écoute un peu longuement.

plus

plus usité, parceque les prêtres ont toujours rédigé leurs annales. Les Athéniens n'ont connu que le premier. Le second à passé enfin en Egypte sous le nom de talent d'Alexandrie.

Cette mine Attique ou livre palme a toujours été la livre pondérale des Athéniens. Au commencement elle en déterminoit aussi la monnoie. Mais enfin on a frappé des drachmes plus légères, et la distinction d'une livre de poids et d'une livre de compte s'est introduite dans la Grèce comme chez nous. Sous les empereurs Romains, la drachme monnoie ne pesoit que 54,75 grains ou la huitième partie de l'once Romaine. Comme poids elle étoit toujours de 68,40 grains. Cette distinction, autorisée par l'analogie et prouvée par les faits, répand un nouveau jour sur les endroits les plus obscurs de l'antiquité numismatique.

Les systèmes les mieux construits ont toujours leur endroit foible. M. Hooper l'a senti. Après avoir vu un poids formé sur des principes hydrostatiques on s'attendroit du moins à voir que sa mesure étoit une des mesures creuses des Athéniens. Point du tout. La cotyle (mesure du creux des deux mains jointes ensemble) pesoit 60 drachmes, et le dicotylon, au lieu de peser une mine, pesoit 1,2 mine. On se sauve pourtant par la distinction reconnue chez les Juifs et supposée chez les Athéniens, d'une mine pondérale plus grosse d'un cinquième que la mine ordinaire, et dont le dicotylon étoit la cube. On se servoit (dit-on) de cette mine pour peser les corps d'un grand volume et de peu de valeur. Il y a effectivement peu de nations chez qui l'on ne trouve ces livres différentes. Cependant j'aimerois mieux remonter à la formation de

la

la cotyle, et supposer que les Athéniens l'ont déterminée par le seul modèle d'une mesure creuse que la nature leur offroit. J'ai dit les Athéniens; mais il faudroit dire plutôt les Phéniciens qui ont transmis aux Juifs et aux Grecs leurs mesures, aussi bien que leurs poids.

Les Romains se sont conduits avec beaucoup plus d'art. L'amphore étoit la cube de leur pied et pesoit 80 livres d'eau ou de vin. Le conge étoit la cube du demi-pied et pesoit 10 livres. M. Hooper est néanmoins peu disposé à faire honneur aux pâtres de Romulus d'une invention aussi subtile. Il pense que les Romains, qui tenoient leurs loix des Athéniens, en avoient aussi reçu les élémens de leurs mesures; et qu'après avoir formé une livre, les trois quarts de la mine, et un pied, les deux tiers de la coudée, ils ont choisi le poids de dix livres pour obtenir une certaine égalité de leur conge avec le chous d'Athènes. Les cubes qui en ont résulté n'ont été qu'un effet singulier du hasard. Du tems de Platon les Grecs eux-mêmes entendoient à peine la duplicature de la cube.

Ce poids du conge ou de 10 livres s'appelloit *denarius*. Lorsqu'on frappa la première monnoie d'argent, le denier d'argent, qui valoit 10 livres de cuivre, ne pesoit que la septième partie de l'once. Les deniers les plus forts qui nous restent sont de 62½ grains; ils nous donneroient une once de 437½ grains. Cette once répond avec une justice singulière à celle que Villalpandus et Gassendi ont trouvé par leur expérience sur le conge Farnèse. Elle est encore l'once Romaine de nos jours. Sous

les

les empereurs le denier n'étoit plus que la huitième partie de l'once ; la livre et l'once étoient toujours les mêmes, pendant que leurs divisions devenoient moins fortes et plus nombreuses.

Lorsque les Romains avoient soumis la Grèce, la drachme Attique tomba de 68,40 grains à 62,50 et devint égale au denier Romain. C'est cette égalité, clairement annoncée dans tous les auteurs depuis Polybe jusqu'à Plutarque, et qui ne peut s'expliquer que dans le système de M. Hooper. Chaque nation inventa bientôt des expédiens pour applanir toutes les difficultés du commerce. Les Romains inventèrent une livre de compte (pondo auri vel argenti) de 100 deniers, égale par conséquent à la mine Attique ; et d'un autre côté la drachme monnoie accompagna le denier dans toutes ses variations, et devint, comme lui, la huitième partie de l'once Romaine, 54,75 grains.

Les vaincus poussèrent encore plus loin leur complaisance. Avant le tems de Constantin les Athéniens s'étoient formé une livre pondérale partagée, comme celle de leurs maîtres, en 12 onces et 96 drachmes. La drachme étoit la drachme de poids de 68,40 grains, et cette livre, qu'ils nommèrent *litra*, étoit à la mine comme 24 à 25. On se souvient que la mine étoit à la livre Romaine en raison de 4 à 3. Cette livre Attique, qui n'a point pu se dérober aux yeux pénétrans de M. Hooper, explique sans peine les fragmens obscurs et corrompus de Fannius, de Cleopatras, de Dioscorides, et de St. Epiphane. On comprend sans peine qu'il se forma dans l'orient plusieurs de ces litres dont le poids étoit différent selon leur drachme primitive.

Le

Le ratel de Cairo est connu dans tout l'orient. Les Arabes l'ont toujours regardé comme la mine Attique. Son poids les justifie. Il est de 6886 grains, divisé en 12 onces, 144 dirhems, et 1728 kirats, ou carats. Nous y reconnoissons une litra dont les auteurs ont quitté la drachme pour continuer la progression Romaine. Cette drachme est cependant la huitième partie de leur once, sous le nom de *drachma Attica*, ou de darchemy. On peut observer une légère différence entre la litra d'Athènes et le ratel de Cairo. Les uns ont multiplié la drachme, les autres ont partagé la mine. Mais les Egyptiens ont rendu témoignage au procédé Attique par le poids étranger de 68,32 grains qu'ils ont conservé sous le nom de mitheale.

Le ratel de Cairo s'est répandu dans l'occident avec les conquêtes et le commerce des Arabes. Ce ratel se retrouve avec peu de changement dans la livre d'Espagne, et dans celle que nous nommons *avoirdupoids*. Nous avons adopté, aussi bien que les François, un ratel de 10 dirhems, qui différoit moins de la livre Romaine. Les Arabes (en un mot) sont les fameux Esterlins, qui ont fixé le poids sterling de ces pays.

II.

L'ANTIQUITÉ.

Section I.

J'aime beaucoup les tables décimales. Elles ont le double mérite de la précision et de la facilité.

J'en donnerai ici quatre sur les principes de M. Hooper calculées pour les quatre différens états que nous connoissons de la drachme Attique. 1. Le premier commence au règlement de Solon vers l'an 600 avant Jésus Christ, et pourroit s'étendre jusqu'à la mort d'Alexandre. La drachme égale à celle de poids étoit toujours à 68,40 grains. 2. Depuis la mort d'Alexandre jusqu'à la conquête de la Grèce par les Romains, elle étoit à 65,5 grains. 3. Elle devint égale au denier Romain de 62,57 grains. 4. Cette égalité subsistoit encore sous Tibère et sous Vespasien. Celse et Pline l'ancien en sont nos garans : mais Galien, qui vivoit sous les Antonins, reconnoît que le denier et la drachme n'étoient plus que le huitième de l'once Romaine, c'est à dire 54,75 grains. On pourroit fixer ce changement au règne d'Adrien.

Corn. Cels. l. v. c. 17. Plin. Hist. Nat. xxxiii. 9. Galen. Ed. Basil. Gr. tom. ii. p. 380.

I.

Table des Drachmes Attiques de 68,40 *Grains en Parties Décimales de la Livre Sterling.*

1	00368124998
2	00736249996
3	01104374994
4	01472499992
5	01840624990
6	02208749988
7	02576874986
8	02944999984
9	03313124982

II.

II.

Table des Drachmes Attiques de 65,5 Grains.

N. B. J'ai copié la table de M. Hooper; mais elle me paroît assez peu utile. L'expérience nous assure qu'il y a beaucoup de drachmes de ce poids. Les successeurs d'Alexandre commencèrent de bonne heure à altérer, mais on voit par le traité d'Antiochus que l'ancienne drachme de 75 à la livre Romaine étoit toujours considérée comme le poids légitime.

1	00352517360
2	00705034720
3	01057552080
4	01410069440
5	01762586800
6	02115104160
7	02467621520
8	02820138880
9	03172656240

III.

Table des Drachmes Attiques et des Deniers Romains de 62,57 Grains.

J'ai corrigé quelques erreurs de la table de Hooper.

1	00336755952
2	00673511904
3	01010267856
4	01347023808
5	01683779770
6	02020535712
7	02357291664
8	02694047616
9	03030803568

IV.

Cette table n'est point dans Hooper.

Table des Drachmes Attiques et des Deniers Romains de 54,75 Grains.

1	00294661456
2	00589322912
3	00883984368
4	01178645824
5	01473307280
6	01767968736
7	02062630192
8	02357291648
9	02651953104

Lorsque les Romains frappèrent les premiers deniers d'argent, ces deniers valoient dix *as*, ou livres de cuivre. Ils le partagèrent en moitiés et en quarts de deniers. La moitié s'appelloit *quinarius*, ou cinq livres de cuivre. Le quart du denier valoit deux livres et demie de cuivre, et s'appelloit *sestertius*, mot corrompu de *semistertius* trois moins un demi. Cette façon de compter étoit fort utile parmi les anciens. Le *sestertius*, *sestertius* nummus, ou par abbréviation *nummus*, devint la racine du calcul mystérieux des Romains dont je vais éclaircir les difficultés.

1. De 1 à 1000, les Romains comptoient simplement *duo, tres, &c. ducenti, trecenti, &c. sestertii.*

2. Par-

2. Parvenus à 1000, ils changeoient de méthode pour compter désormais au genitif au lieu du nominatif *duo millia sestertiûm*, en sousentendant *corpora;* ou bien rassemblant 1000 sestertii sous le nom collectif de *sestertium*, ils parloient ainsi, *duo, tria, &c. sestertia.* Une raison particulière les engageoit de s'arrêter au nombre de 1000. Nous avons vu qu'à l'imitation de la mine Attique, ils s'étoient fait une livre d'argent de compte de 100 deniers. Le sestertium (250 deniers) étoit par conséquent la *livre sesterce d'argent*, comme le *sestertius l'étoit de cuivre.*

3. L'arithmétique Romaine ne passoit point les centaines de mille. Ils ne pouvoient exprimer un million de sestertii qu'en disant dix cent mille. Pour rendre la distinction encore plus nette ils commençoient alors à se servir de l'adverbe *decies, centies, millies*, supprimant *centena millia* qu'ils se contentoient de supposer. M. Hooper pense que ce million de sestertii étoit *la livre sesterce d'or.* Dans la pauvreté de Rome naissante l'or pouvoit bien être à l'argent comme 100 à 1.

Le sesterce, toujours le quart du denier, s'est vu réduit de $\frac{1}{28}$ à $\frac{1}{32}$ de l'once Romaine.

I.

Table des Sesterces de 28 à l'Once en Parties Décimales de la Livre Sterling.

1	0	0	0	8	4	1	8	8	9	8	8
2	0	0	1	6	8	3	7	7	9	7	6
3	0	0	2	5	2	5	6	6	9	6	4
4	0	0	3	3	6	7	5	5	9	5	2
5	0	0	4	2	0	9	4	4	9	4	0
6	0	0	5	0	5	1	3	3	9	2	8
7	0	0	5	8	9	3	2	2	9	1	6
8	0	0	6	7	3	5	1	1	9	0	4
9	0	0	7	5	7	7	0	0	8	9	2

1 Sestertius.
10 Sestertii.
100 Sestertii.
1 Sestertium.
10 Sestertia.
100 Sestertia.
Decies C. M. S.
Centies C. M. S.
Millies.
Decies Millies.
Centies Millies.

II.

Table des Sesterces de 32 à l'Once.

1	00073665364
2	00147330728
3	00220996092
4	00294661456
5	00368326820
6	00441993184
7	00515657548
8	00589322912
9	00662988276

M. Hooper

M. Hooper veut dérober aux Romains la construction artificieuse de leurs mesures creuses pour ne faire d'eux que des imitateurs serviles des Athéniens. Je ne saurois être de son avis. 1. La correspondance ancienne de ces deux peuples célèbres est assez mal prouvée. 2. Tout est différent dans les mesures des deux peuples, la valeur, les noms, et les proportions respectives. Le rapport même qu'on veut nous y faire voir est trop imparfait pour me persuader que les inventeurs l'ont connu. 3. L'amphore, cube d'un pied, et le conge sa huitième partie, cube du demi-pied, sont construits avec une précision peu connue dans les effets du hasard. 4. Je conviens sans peine que les Romains ignoroient la duplicature de la cube dans le tems que les Grecs la connoissoient assez confusément, mais les Romains tenoient leurs arts des Etrusques; et nous ignorons jusqu'à quel point cette nation ingénieuse avoit pu porter ses connoissances géométriques. Si les Romains ont suivi sans réflexion des institutions dont ils n'entendoient point les principes, nous comprenons encore pourquoi le fameux décret du peuple a réglé les mesures par leur poids plutôt que les poids par leurs mesures.

Hooper, p. iii. c. 6. p. 152—175.

Cyrus et son fils Cambyse ne levoient point d'impôts sur leurs sujets. Darius, fils d'Hystaspe, partagea son vaste empire en vingt grands gouvernemens ou satrapies. Il fixa le tribut que chaque province devoit payer au trésor royal. Les Perses, qui comparoient la bonté de Cyrus et la sévérité de Cambyse avec l'humeur avare de Darius,

Herodot. Hist. iii. 89—97. Edit. Gronov. Ludg. Bat. 1715.

donnèrent au premier le nom de père, au second celui de maître, et au troisième celui de marchand, Καπηλος. Je copierai le dénombrement des provinces et des tributs qu'Hérodote nous a laissé, et j'y ajouterai quelques observations.

Section II.

Table des Provinces de l'Empire de Darius et du Tribut qu'elles payoient.

Herodot. l. iii. c. 89—98. Ce règlement subsistoit lorsqu'il écrivoit. Il lut la première ébauche de son histoire à Athènes en 445 avant J. C. mais il s'en occupoit encore l'an 412. V. Prideaux's Connection, t. i. 291, 292. Fol. London. 1713.

Satrapies.	Talens Babyloniens.	Livres Sterl.
1. L'Ionie, l'Eolie, la Carie, la Lycie, et la Pamphylie - - - - - - - -	400	103,072
2. La Mysie, la Lydie, &c. - - -	500	128,840
3. Les deux Phrygies, la Paphlagonie, le pays des Thraces Asiatiques (la Bithynie) et celui des Syriens, (une partie de la Cappadocie) - N. B. Ces trois satrapies composoient le royaume de Crésus, roi de Lydie.	360	92,765
4. La Cilicie. Je soupçonne qu'elle comprenoit une partie de la Cappadocie et peut-être de la Haute Syrie - - - - - -	500	128,840
5. La Syrie depuis la ville de Posideion* jusqu'aux frontières de l'Egypte. La Phénicie, la Palestine, et l'île de Cypre y étoient comprises, mais l'Arabie étoit exempte de tout tribut	350	90,189
6. L'Egypte, avec la province de Cyrène -	700	180,378
7. Les Satgagydæ, Gandarii, Dadicæ, et Aparytæ - - - - - - - - - Je n'ai pas la moindre connoissance de ces quatre nations.	170	43,805
8. Suse et le reste du pays des Cissiens, c'est à dire de la Susiane - - - - -	300	77,304
9. Babylone et le reste de l'Assyrie - - N. B. Il faut y comprendre la Mésopotamie.	1000	257,680

* Je ne connois point ce Posideion.

10. Ecbatane,

Satrapies.	Talens Babyloniens.	Livres Sterl.	
10. Ecbatane, et le reste de la Médie, &c. -	450	115,956	
11. Les Caspii, Pausicæ, Pantimathi et Daritæ. N. B. Je crois que ce sont les habitans de la rive occidentale de la mer Caspienne.	200	51,536	
12. La Bactriane - - - - - -	360	92,765	
13. L'Arménie jusqu'au Pont Euxin - -	400	103,072	
14. Les Sargatii, Sarangæi, Thamanæi, Utii, et Meci, (Μηκοι) et les îles de la mer Rouge - N. B. Je connois la ville de Saranga dans la Gédrosie. Mais je voudrois reconnoître ici Thaman, capitale de l'Idumée, le pays d'Uz, patrie de Job, et peut-être la Mecque. Il y a beaucoup de petites îles dans la mer Rouge.	600	154,608	V. Cellar. Notit. orb. Antiquæ Amstel. 1706, t. ii. p. 416, 429, 520.
15. Les Sacæ et les Caspii - - - - N. B. Ce doit être l'Hyrcanie.	250	64,420	
16. La Parthie, la Chorasmie, la Sogdiane et l'Ariane - - - - - - -	300	77,304	
17. Les Paricanii et les Ethiopiens d'Asie - Ces Ethiopiens n'avoient que le nom de commun avec ceux d'Afrique; leur taille, leur armure et leur situation, tout les confondoit avec les Indiens. Je pense qu'ils s'étendoient dans la Caramanie et la Gédrosie jusqu'à l'Indus.	400	103,072	V. Herod. vii. 69, 70.
18. La Mantiene, &c. C'est une portion de la Médie et de l'Adiabene - - - -	200	51,536	
19. Les Moschi, Mosynæci, Tibareni, &c. Ces peuples s'étendoient au Nord Ouest, de l'Arménie jusqu'au Pont Euxin - -	300	77,304	
	7740	1,994,446	
20. Les Indiens. Cette nouvelle conquête de Darius pouvoit embrasser les pays arrosés par l'Inde, et par les fleuves qui s'y jettent. Ce peuple riche et nombreux payoit par an 360 talens Euboïques d'or - - - -	Talens Euboïques. 4680	1,033,671	

1. Ce dénombrement d'Hérodote porte les caractères

tères les plus frappans de l'authenticité. Ses détails, sa précision, les noms des provinces, leurs divisions, si différentes de la géographie Grecque, tout annonce une pièce originale. On croiroit qu'Hérodote ne nous a donné qu'un extrait du fameux édit de Darius* connu dans tout l'empire; mais un extrait enrichi de ce que ses voyages lui avoient appris sur l'état des provinces aussi bien que sur les motifs de Darius et l'opinion publique à l'egard de sa nouvelle institution. 2. Pour connoître les sommes de ce tribut, il ne s'agit que de connoître le talent Euboïque, auquel Hérodote a réduit lui-même celui de Babylone. Celui-ci contenoit 70 mines Euboïques. Selon Julius Pollux ce même talent contenoit 70 mines Attiques. La mine (et par conséquent le talent) de l'île d'Eubée étoit égale à celle d'Athènes, aussi bien qu'a celle de Tyr. On croit avec raison que Darius aura exprimé cette somme par le talent Phénicien que le commerce de ce peuple industrieux rendoit familier à tous les peuples de son empire. Mais pourquoi notre historien ne l'a-t-il pas traduit par le talent Attique, la monnoie reçue dans la ville qui méritoit à tant d'égards le nom de capitale de la Grèce, et de fondatrice de ses plus belles colonies? 3. Darius permettoit aux tributaires le choix de l'or ou de l'argent. Il exigeoit le talent d'argent Babylonien, mais il se contentoit du talent d'or Euboïque qui pesoit un septième de moins. Cet avantage ac-

Polluc. Onom. l. ix.

Hooper, p. 288–297.

* M. Hooper, p. 297—303, compare la mine Euboïque avec celle d'Alexandrie. Il est clair qu'il se trompe.

cordé

cordé à l'or produisit la proportion assez singulière de 1 à 13, suivant laquelle Hérodote calcule à 4680 talens Euboïques d'argent les 360 talens Euboïques d'or que les Indiens payoient au roi. Mais elle est purement hypothétique. En supposant celle de 11 à 1 les Indiens auroient dû payer 3960 talens d'argent, mais des talens Babyloniens égaux à 4620 talens Euboïques. Ce fleuve d'or, qui couloit sans cesse de l'orient en occident, avoit déjà établi la proportion décuple du tems de la bataille de Cunaxe. 4. Si nous réduisons en talens Euboïques les 7740 talens Babyloniens, nous en aurons 9030 de ceux-là. Hérodote a calculé ce total à 9540 talens, mais il nous avertit lui-même qu'il a passé sous silence plusieurs petits articles. Cette explication, qui justifie à la fois ses détails et son arithmétique, me persuade qu'il a eu sous les yeux un tableau des revenus Persans bien plus étendu que celui qu'il nous a laissé. Mais lorsqu'il nous donne 14,560 talens d'argent Euboïques pour le grand total, au lieu de 14,220, on ne sauroit excuser la faute de l'historien ou de son copiste. 5. Ces 14,220 talens Euboïques, le véritable résultat du calcul, nous donnoit 3,246,859 *l. s.* Un pareil revenu paroît mal assorti avec la magnificence des rois de Perse, et avec la grandeur d'un empire qui s'étendoit de l'Hellespont jusqu'au fond des Indes, et du Mont Caucase aux frontières de l'Ethiopie. Cependant tout modique qu'il étoit, les Perses regrettoient encore les règnes heureux de Cyrus et de Cambyse qui ne soutenoient leur grandeur que par les dons gratuits de leurs sujets. Mais se persuadera-t-on qu'un

V. Hooper, p. 305–309.

qu'un grand prince, qu'un législateur, qu'un Cyrus n'ait pas compris, que les besoins d'un grand royaume demandoient des secours généraux, et que toutes les nations étoient accoutumées à remplir ce devoir légitime envers l'autorité qui les protégeoit? Veut-on qu'il ait réalisé une idée qui n'éblouit qu'un Néron dans l'accès passager d'une folle bonté? Ces difficultés redoublent notre embarras, mais elles pourroient l'éclaircir. Xénophon, qui dans son roman philosophique a conservé beaucoup de mœurs vraies et de faits curieux, pourroit adoucir la rigueur de cette expression d'Hérodote. Cyrus se contentoit d'exiger les tributs nécessaires pour soutenir les charges publiques. Bien loin d'amasser des trésors, il prodiguoit à ses soldats ceux de Sardis et de Babylone; et lorsqu'un besoin imprévu demandoit des secours extraordinaires, Crésus apprit de lui que la bourse de nos amis est le coffre fort le plus assuré. Darius changea de méthode. Il eut peut-être raison. Cette indulgence de Cyrus devenoit un nouveau moyen d'oppression dans un état despotique trop accoutumé déjà à ne voir que des volontés particulières à la place des loix générales. Ce revenu d'Hérodote n'est que l'excédent de la dépense publique, une somme destinée à former le trésor royal qui ne s'ouvroit que pour les besoins extraordinaires de la monarchie. Avant que de l'envoyer à Suse les satrapes avoient déjà pourvu aux appointemens des officiers, à l'entretien des troupes, et à tous les travaux publics. 6. Un autre endroit de notre historien m'a permis de conjecturer à combien la masse entière des revenus pouvoit

Xenophon. Cyropæ. l. viii. p. 583. 638–642.

Herodot. l. i. c. 192.

pouvoit se monter. Il s'étend avec complaisance sur les richesses du grand gouvernement de Babylone qui rendoit chaque jour à son satrape *une artabe* d'argent. Il s'explique. Une artabe étoit une mesure creuse de ce pays-là égale au medimnus Athénien et à trois *chenices* $\frac{1}{16}$ du medimnus. Nous savons que le medimnus contenoit 72 grosses mines. L'artabe contenoit $76\frac{1}{2}$ grosses mines égales à 91,8 mines de Solon. Dans la construction du poids on n'a rempli cette mesure que d'eau pure. L'argent pèse dix fois et demie autant que le même volume d'eau. L'artabe de Babylone remplie d'argent valoit 16 talens 3 mines et 90 drachmes. Si nous multiplions ce revenu journalier par 360, nous aurons un résultat de 5783 talens Attiques, = 4957 talens Babyloniens, par an. Tel étoit le tribut que la province de Babylone payoit à son satrape; mais le roi n'en retiroit que 1000 talens, c'est à dire la cinquième partie. Si nous établissons cette proportion dans tout l'empire nous lui donnerons un revenu de plus de seize millions de livres sterling. Je crois que Babylone nous offre un terme moyen assez heureux. Au centre de l'empire, mais habité par un peuple toujours porté à la révolte, les dépenses publiques y auront été bien supérieure à celles de quelques cantons riches et pacifiques, mais très inférieures à l'entretien de ces armées nombreuses qui défendoient les provinces frontières. 7. Tel étoit le revenu que ces monarques recevoient en argent, mais ils jouissoient encore de plusieurs droits très lucratifs. Chaque province étoit obligée de leur envoyer tous les ans

ce

ce qu'elle produisoit de plus précieux. Leur maison nombreuse, femmes, eunuques, et gardes, vivoient aux frais du pays où ils faisoient leur résidence. La satrapie de Babylone avoit l'honneur d'entretenir le roi pendant quatre mois de l'année, et de lui nourrir un haras de huit cens chevaux, de seize mille jumens, aussi bien qu'un très grand nombre de ses chiens Indiens. Quatre villages n'étoient chargés que de leur entretien.

Section III.

La province de Babylone donnoit aussi 500 beaux eunuques tous les ans. La Cilicie lui envoyoit 360 chevaux blancs. Les Ethiopiens apportoient à ses pieds de l'or, de l'ivoire et de l'ébène: les Arabes lui envoyoient de l'encens. Le tribut de ceux de Colchos consistoit en 100 garçons et 100 filles qu'ils amenoient tous les cinq ans au sérail du grand roi. Les beautés Circassiennes ont toujours été renommées dans l'orient. Je passe sous silence toutes les corvées des peuples, le service militaire, les chevaux, les vaisseaux, &c. qu'ils devoient au roi. 8. Les Perses eux-mêmes n'étoient point tributaires. Il semble que Cyrus avoit employé les armes d'une nation libre pour subjuguer l'Asie; mais qu'il n'osa jamais confondre les vaincus avec les vainqueurs. Ce phénomène, si rare dans l'orient, s'accorde très bien avec cette république Persanne que Xénophon nous a décrite. 9. Les Egyptiens donnoient pour l'entretien des 120,000 Persans qui étoient en garnison

Herodot. l. iii. p. 90. 92. 97.

Idem. 97. V. Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. i. p. 7-18. edit. Hutchins. Oxon. 1727.

Herodot. l. iii. c. 9.

garnison à Memphis, 700 talens de bled. J'ignore pourquoi on a voulu apprécier le bled plutôt que le mesurer. Mais assurément c'étoit le prix commun. Si nous donnons à chaque soldat un quartier et demi par an,* nous aurons 180,000 quartiers de bled et 180,350 livres sterling. Le quartier étoit au prix d'une livre sterling. C'est la moitié du prix actuel.

Dans le commencement les Romains tailloient 40 pièces d'or à la livre. Comme il ne nous en reste aucune qui approche de ce poids, j'approuverois assez la conjecture de Snellius et d'Agricola qui lisent 42 au lieu de quarante : peu à peu les princes en diminuoient le poids jusqu'à 48 à la livre. Telle est la leçon d'un excellent MS. du Collège de Baliol, au lieu de 48. Les Romains avoient adopté la proportion élégante des Grecs. L'aureus pesoit 2 drachmes, et flottoit entre 42 et 48, comme la drachme ou denier flottoit entre 84 et 96. Il nous reste effectivement des aurei de Jules César de 124½ grains, et d'autres de Néron de 108¼ grains. Dans le siècle suivant le denier prit un état plus assuré de 8 à l'once, mais l'aureus se soutenoit un peu mieux et différoit peu de celui des premiers empereurs. Gallième et les tyrans ses contemporains le réduisirent à 75 grains. Il ne s'en est jamais relevé. Il semble qu'on a toujours compté 25 deniers à la didrachme d'or. La proportion de l'or à l'argent étoit de 12½ à 1. On ne risque pas beaucoup en appréciant cet aureus du Haut Empire à 0,9 d'une livre sterling, c'est à dire 18 chelins.

Greaves, tom. i. p. 132, 313. Plin. Hist. Nat. xxxiii. 3.

Greaves, tom. i. p. 320, 321.

Id. p. 329, 330.

* Les Grecs ne donnoient qu'un chœnix par jour ; les Romains quatre modii par mois.

Con-

Constantin voulut fonder un nouvel empire. Partout il changea les choses et jusqu'aux noms. Au mois de Juillet de l'an 325, il établit un nouveau système dans les monnoies. On tailloit 72 aurei à la livre d'or, 60 milliaresions à la livre d'argent, et douze *follis* à la livre de cuivre. L'aureus ou solidus valoit douze milliaresions, et le milliaresion 24 follis. L'or étoit par conséquent à l'argent comme 1 à $14\frac{2}{5}$, et l'argent au cuivre comme 1 à 120. Le follis de cuivre se partageoit en quatre petites pièces, nommées assarion, lepton, et quadrans; c'étoit le fameux as qui ne valoit plus que le quart de l'once de cuivre.

V. les Mém. de M. Dupuis dans le xxviiime tome de l'Académie des Belles Lettres.

			s.	*d.*
L'aureus, ou sous d'or	= 73 grains	= 055487	= 11	1
Le milliaresion d'argent	= 88 grains	= 00466	= 0	11
Le follis de cuivre	= 438 grains	= 000193	= 0	$0\frac{11}{24}$
L'assarion de cuivre	= $109\frac{1}{2}$ grains	= 000038	= 0	$0\frac{11}{96}$

La livre d'or étoit une monnoie de compte fort usitée sous les successeurs de Constantin : on peut l'apprécier à 40 *liv. sterling.*

V. Hooper, p. 147. Dupuis, Mém. de l'Acad. tom. xxviii. p. 704. Æl. Lampid. in Alex. Sever. c. 22. Fl. Vopisc. in Aurelian. c. 9. et Commentar. Salmasii.

Le période qui s'est écoulé depuis les Gordiens jusqu'à Constantin est rempli de difficultés. On voit en général que le denier, qui remonta au poids de l'ancienne drachme Attique (68 grains), avoit reçu le nom de lepton ou de minutus, par contradistinction avec le denier encore plus pesant qu'on donnoit aux soldats, et qui pesoit les $\frac{4}{5}$ du milliaresion de Constantin, c'est à dire 77 grains. On s'est beaucoup disputé sur les leptons de cuivre. Je pense que depuis le commencement du huitième siècle ce nom général a toujours désigné l'as ou assarion. Je ne fais qu'indiquer deux autres sens du mot follis. Il désignoit, 1. Un poids de

250 deniers, c'est à dire la nouvelle libre sesterce ou deux argyres et demi. 2. Une bourse de 125 milliaresions ; c'étoit la donative ordinaire des soldats. Il a même un troisième sens ; 3. ce qu'on nommoit aussi gleba senatoria ; la capitation de chaque sénateur. Les plus riches payoient huit livres d'or par an (320 *l. s.*), les moins aisés quatre (160 *l. s.*), et les plus pauvres deux (80 *l. s.*)

L'établissement de Constantin se soutint (du moins de l'Orient) pendant plus de six siècles et demi : et lorsque Nicéphore Phocas monta sur le trône, l'aureus pesoit encore une sextule ou la sixième partie de l'once. Ce prince avare fit frapper des τεταρτηρον, quartarii, d'un poids plus léger et dont il se servoit pour payer ses troupes, &c. pendant que dans les tributs il exigeoit toujours l'aureus de Constantin. Ce récit de Zonare est un peu obscur. On a pris le mot de τεταρτηρον en trois sens différens : 1. Que Nicéphore ne changea rien au poids, mais que ces quatre aurei en valoient autant que six, c'est à dire d'une once d'or. 2. Que l'aureus de Nicéphore ne pesoit que le quart de celui de Constantin, 18¼ grains. 3. Que Nicéphore ne diminua que d'un quart l'ancien aureus qui pesoit 73 grains. Le sien n'en pesoit que 54¾ ou la huitième partie de l'once Romaine. Ce dernier sentiment, qui est celui de Saumaise, me paroît le seul vraisemblable. Il semble que l'aureus de Nicéphore (connu par les Latins sous le nom du bezant d'or, c'est à dire aureus Byzantinus) a subsisté sans beaucoup d'altération jusqu'à la chute de l'empire de Constantinople.

V. Salmas. Comment. in Hist. August. Lutet. 1620. p. 217.

Lips. de Magnit. Roman. l. ii. c. 7. p. 63. Edit. Plant. 1598.

Zonare nous apprend que l'empereur Basile (dans le neuvième siècle) avoit rassemblé un trésor immense, puis qu'on y comptoit 200,000 talens d'or, sans compter des richesses incroyables en argent et en pierreries. Cet endroit est trop favorable à la grandeur Romaine pour ne pas plaire à Juste Lipse. Mais voyons de quoi il est question. A n'employer que le plus petit talent, et la proportion la moins forte, nous trouverons en or seulement, 352,000,000 *l. s.* Plutôt que de recuser l'autorité de Zonare, pensons que (par un purisme de rhéteur et qui rehaussoit encore son pays aux yeux des étrangers) il a employé le mot de talent, au lieu de ce terme à demi barbare de *litra*, livre d'or. Les 200,000 livres d'or sont égales à 8,000,000 *l. s.* Ce trésor est grand sans être incroyable.

Id. p. 64.

Benjamin de Tudèle, qui visita Constantinople vers la fin du douzième siècle, parle avec étonnement des trésors qui la rendoient la ville la plus riche de l'univers. Le seul revenu que le prince en tiroit se montoit à 20,000 aurei par jour, environ 3,000,000 *l. s.* par an. Je méprise, comme je le dois, l'autorité de Benjamin, mais je croirois sans peine qu'il y a un grand fond de vérité dans ces exagérations.

Vie de Julien, par l'Abbé de la Bleterie, à Paris, 1746. p. 131–140.

Lorsque Julien parut dans les Gaules en qualité de César il trouva cette grande province ruinée par les barbares et encore plus par les traitans. La capitation se montoit à 25 aurei par tête, et quoiqu'elle suffit pour tous les besoins de la guerre, les officiers de l'empereur vouloient encore l'augmenter. Ce dernier coup, que Julien sut parer, eût accablé

cablé ce malheureux peuple. Julien, devenu empereur, réduisit la capitation de 25 aurei par tête (13 *l. s.* 17*s.*) à sept aurei (3 *l. s.* 17*s.* 7*d.*). Cet impôt, sur le pied même de la réduction, nous paroît énorme. Il n'y avoit que les chefs de familles qui le payassent. De ceux-ci il y en a 4,000,000 dans la France moderne, beaucoup plus petite que la Gaule ancienne. Ce dénombrement nous donneroit une somme impossible (100,000,000 aurei, 55,400,000 *l. s.*). Mais lorsqu'on excluoit tous ceux qui en étoient exempts, et surtout cette nation d'esclaves bien plus nombreuse que celle des hommes libres, il ne restoit peut-être pas 500,000 contribuables. Je me sers de ce calcul de l'Abbé du Bos. Il ne peut pêcher que par sa foiblesse, et je me ménage volontiers une occasion de céder quelque chose sur la population peut-être excessive qu'on attribue à ce pays dans le quatrième siècle. L'impôt de Constance nous donnera 12,500,000 aurei, près de 7,000,000 *l. s.* celui de Julien 3,500,000 aurei, près de 2,000,000 *l. s.* Ajoutons à ce calcul quelques réflexions.

Annales Politiq. de l'Abbé de St. Pierre, tom. i. p. 17.

1. Depuis les conquêtes des Romains jusqu'au règne de Caracalla, on distinguoit entre les citoyens Romains et les provinciaux. Ceux-ci, qu'on nommoit tributaires, payoient la capitation. Le citoyen en étoit exempt, mais cette même qualité l'assujettissoit à quelques impositions dont le provincial étoit déchargé, et surtout aux deux vingtièmes, l'un sur les héritages et l'autre sur l'affranchissement des esclaves. Les douanes étoient

V. Burman. de Vectigal. Pop. Romani. Leyd. 1734. passim: et Just. Lips. de Magnitud. Rom. l. ii. c. 1—7. Burman. c.x. xi. Dion. Cass. Excer. Burman., p. 174.

communes à Rome et aux provinces. 2. Caracalla étendit la bourgeoisie Romaine dans le dessein d'augmenter ses revenus; mais par une injustice digne de ce tyran et de ses successeurs, la capitation passa en Italie, les deux vingtièmes dans les provinces, et chaque sujet soutenoit le fardeau redoublé de provincial et de Romain. 3. La capitation devint bientôt l'impôt favori des empereurs. Le despotisme se complaît dans un genre d'imposition qui ne connoît de bornes que celles de l'impuissance absolue. Mais M. Hume se trompe lorsqu'il dit que Constantin supprima la plûpart des impôts pour établir à leur place une capitation universelle. Les douanes, les deux vingtièmes, la gabelle, &c. subsistoient encore. 4. Il paroît que dans le commencement on fixoit une capitation inégale par son égalité apparente. Les Juifs payoient deux drachmes par tête. Les pères et les maîtres payoient pour leur famille entière. Dans la suite on chercha à apprécier la naissance, le rang, et la fortune, surtout en fonds de terre: ce qui rendoit la taille à la fois réelle et personnelle. Je crois entrevoir la méthode qu'on suivoit. Les ministres avoient sous les yeux le recensement de tous les contribuables d'une province. Ils imposoient cette capitation générale et hypothèque de tant d'aurei par tête. Les officiers de l'empereur, ou les décurions des villes, en faisoient la répartition dans la proportion qu'exigeoient les facultés de chacun. Lorsque Constantin remit aux citoyens d'Autun 6000 contribuables il leur remit effectivement près du quart de la capitation. Si l'on ajoute aux sept millions

Philosophical Essays.

V. Tillemont, Hist. des Emper. tom. iv. P. i. p. 187.

millions de Constance les autres charges dont j'ai supprimé la moitié on sera peu surpris de ces fréquentes remises de tribut.

It appears from the Author's arrangement of the subject, that he proposed to have given a statistic account of the several countries in the following order:

La Grande Bretagne,
La France et les Pays Bas,
L'Allemagne, la Suisse et le Nord,
L'Italie et l'Espagne,
L'Orient, les Indes, &c. &c.

The first article, viz. Great Britain, Mr. Gibbon seems to have postponed, and only a few notes respecting it have been found among his papers. Indeed the remainder of this division appears incomplete; and the accounts of the respective countries seem to have been kept open for the insertion of any information or observations that might occur.

IV.

LA FRANCE ET LES PAYS BAS.

Je suis fâché de ne pouvoir pas donner une table chronologique des variations de la *livre Tournois* depuis Charlemagne jusqu'au Régent. Je n'attendrai qu'à la première occasion. Je sais cependant que pendant la dernière moitié du quinzième siècle le marc, qui vaut cinquante livres, n'en valoit que dix. Aujourd'hui le change varie, mais

en général on peut évaluer la livre sterling à 22*l.* 10*s.* Tournois, et en gros 100*l.* Tournois à 4*l.* 10*s.* sterling.

Ph. de Com. tom. v. p. 19. Charles VII. n'a jamais levé sur ses peuples que 1,800,000 *l.* de tailles (9,000,000 *l. T.* 405,000 *l. s.*) Louis XI. à la fin de son règne en levoit 4,700,000 sans compter l'artillerie et choses semblables (23,500,000 *l. T.* 1,045,000 *l. s.*). Après sa mort les états les réduisirent à 2,500,000 livres (12,500,000 *l. T.* 562,500 *l. s.*). C'étoit encore beaucoup et plutôt trop que trop peu. On ne les augmenta point Id. viii. 25. sous Charles VIII. Ce prince avoit même formé le dessein de les réduire à 1,200,000 *l.* pour la défénse du royaume (6,000,000 *l. T.* 270,000 *l. s.*) et de vivre, à l'exemple de ses prédécesseurs, de son domaine. Ce domaine bien administré (y compris la gabelle et quelques aides) pouvoit rendre jusques Hist. Gen. t. ii. p. 250. 1,000,000*l.* (5,000,000 *l. T.* 225,000 *l. s.*). Sur cet exposé on voit combien Voltaire s'est trompé lorsqu'il voulut donner cet effort tyrannique et passager de Louis XI. comme la règle constante des revenus de France à la fin du quinzième siècle.

Id. vi. 7. Louis XI. établit un camp de 20,000 fantassins (il y avoit 6000 Suisses et 2,500 pionniers) et de 1,500 gens d'armes. Ce camp coûtoit 1,500,000 *l.* (7,500,000 *l. T.* 337,500 *l. s.*) par an. A sa mort il avoit en tout 4 à 5000 gens d'armes et 25,000 fantassins, tant pour le camp que les mortes-payes. Charles VII. n'avoit jamais eu que 1,700 hommes d'armes d'ordonnance.

Ce dernier détail paroît étranger à ce recueil. Il ne l'est point. Il y a toujours trois choses à considérer:

considérer: 1. La valeur intrinsèque de l'argent, son poids, et son titre. 2. Sa valeur proportionnelle à celle des denrées. 3. Sa valeur relative. C'est le rapport des personnes plutôt que celui des choses. Dans l'économie politique l'argent ne sert qu'à acheter des denrées; les denrées qu'à nourrir des hommes; et les hommes qu'à soutenir la grandeur et la puissance des états. Si Louis XI. étoit aussi redoutable à son peuple et à ses voisins avec une armée de 30,000 hommes que Louis XV. peut l'être avec 150,000, celui-là étoit (sous ce point de vue) cinq fois plus riche que son successeur. Selon une ordonnance de Louis XI. le taux de l'argent qui devoit avoir cours en France étoit fixé de la manière qui s'ensuit: Ph. de C. tom. iv. p. 429.

	Sous.	D.
Ecus de France (de 118½, plutôt 115½, au marc d'or)	33	
Ecus, ou Lyons de Flandre	38	9
Ecus de Bretagne	30	6
Nobles d'Angleterre	73	4

L'écu de Flandre (par lequel il faut compter les revenus du Duc de Bourgogne) valoit donc 9*l.* 13*s.* 9*d.*

En 1470, Charles Duc de Bourgogne n'avoit que des milices qu'on nommoit gens à gages mesnagers; mais les états du pays, jaloux de son autorité, lui accordèrent cependant 120,000 par an pour entretenir 800 lances (1,162,500 *l. T.* 52,312 *l. s.* 10*s.*). Dans la suite il augmenta cette somme à 500,000 écus (4,843,750 *l. T.* 215,969 *l. s.* 2*s.* 6*d.*). Philippe le Bon tenoit une cour magnifique Id. iii. 1. Id. iii. 3. Id. iv. 13.

et laissa beaucoup de choses de prix, avec 300,000 écus (2,898,750 *l. T.* 130,781 *l. s.* 5*s.*) Charles en leva d'abord 350,000 (3,381,875 *l. T.* 152,478 *l. s.*). Enfin il leva jusqu'à 650,000 écus par an, sans y comprendre la Bourgogne (6,380,625 *l. T.* 283,229 *l. s.* 10*s.*)

Ph. de C. tom. i. 13.

Du tems de Louis XI. la Normandie a payé jusqu'à 950,000 francs par an (4,750,000 *l. T.* 213,750 *l. s.*)

Table abrégée des Monnoies de France, depuis Charlemagne jusqu'à Louis XIV, tirée du Livre de M. le Blanc, p. 313 *et suiv.*

Règnes.	Années.	Prix du Marc d'argent. £.	s.	d.	Valeur de la Livre en argent d'Angleterre. £.	s.	d.
Charlemagne -	800	⅔ d'une livre			3	6	7½
Louis VI. - -	1144	2 livres			1	2	2½
	1158	2	14	0	0	16	6
Philippe le Bel -	1293	3	0	0	0	14	9⅗
	1303	6	0	0	0	7	4⅘
	1305	8	10	0			
	1313	2	14	0			
	1322	4	0	0			
	1326	5	0	0			
	1328	6	0	0			
	1330	2	18	0			
	1338	5	0	0			
	1339	6	15	0			
	1340	7	0	0			
	1342	13	10	0			
	1360	6	0	0			
	1417	8	0	0			
	1447	8	10	0			
	1473	10	0	0			

1488

Années.	£.	s.	d.
1488	11	0	0
1513	12	10	0
1540	14	5	0
1561	15	10	0
1573	17	0	0
1580	19	0	0
1602	20	5	4
1636	25	0	0
1641	26	10	0
1679	29	7	0

V.

L'ALLEMAGNE, LA SUISSE ET LE NORD.

La livre de Strasbourg contient environ quinze onces et demie de la livre de Paris, proprement comme 8804 à 9216.

La livre de Nuremberg est à celle de Paris comme 4797 à 4608.

Le marc ou demie livre de Cologne contient 8 onces, 16 lots, et 4864 grains; il est à celui de Paris comme 2201 à 2304. On se sert généralement dans l'empire de ce marc lorsqu'il s'agit des monnoies, et particulièrement des anciens goulden ou florins du Rhin. M. Eisenschmidt, qui a examiné cette affaire avec beaucoup d'exactitude, nous rapporte à cet effet une résolution de diette de l'an 1559. Aussi les Allemands l'appellent par excellence le marc d'argent. Notre auteur pense qu'anciennement toutes les villes du Rhin avoient convenu d'un poids commun qui ne s'est conservé qu'à Cologne, pendant qu'il s'altéroit partout ailleurs.

En

Tschudi, P. ii. l. x. p. 157.

En 1425, le corps Helvétique (à la réserve des Bernois) fit une ordonnance générale sur les monnoies dont on remit la fabrication à Zurich et Lucerne. Ce règlement devoit subsister cinquante ans. Ce qu'il y a de plus important est heureusement ce qu'il y a de plus clair. Le marc d'argent valoit 7 florins du Rhin: selon la proportion du marc de Paris à celui de Cologne nous avons 23 50 *l.T.* :: 22 48 *l.T.* environ; le marc de Cologne valoit donc à peu près 42 chelins sterling. C'est à raison de 6 chelins au florin du Rhin.

De Watteville, tom. ii. p. 56.

Il y a quelques difficultés dans les détails, surtout à l'égard du marc de Zurich qui doit avoir été très foible. Cependant on y voit qu'un florin contenoit 30 schillings de Stebler pfenning, et 360 de ces Stebler pfennings, petite monnoie de cuivre fort usitée en Suisse. C'étoient le schilling et le pfenning les plus communs; mais il y en avoit de ceux-ci qu'on nommoit Angster ou Antlit pfenning. Il y en avoit 45 au florin, et leur schilling n'en contenoit que trois. Nous connoissons aussi les plaphart dont 24 faisoient un florin.

Voici en général le taux des monnoies:

	Schillings Stebler pfenning.
Un florin du Rhin	30
Un écu de France, ducat ou florin Hongrois	38
Un florin d'or de Gènes, de Florence, ou de la Chambre Apostolique	37

Tschudi, P. ii. l. xii. p. 473.

On voit par un autre endroit que la livre de compte usitée en Suisse dans le quinzième siècle valoit 10¾ plapharts, environ 2*s.* 8*d.* d'Angleterre.

En

En 1384 la ville de Berne étoit accablie de dettes, elles montoient à 100,000 florins, 30,000 *l. s.*; pour lesquelles elle payoit en général le 10 pour cent. Ses projets ambitieux, ses troupes, et ses acquisitions l'avoient plongé dans ces difficultés. Elle venoit de payer la comté de Berthou 30,800 florins, 9240 *l. s.* Déjà les intérêts s'accumuloient et le crédit public commençoit à chanceler, lorsque la bourgeoisie prit une résolution vigoureuse, déposa les conseillers qui avoient mal-régi les finances, et s'imposa une taxe par serment de la quarantième partie de leurs biens. La république fut bientôt libérée. Tschudi, P. ii. l. xii. p. 510, 511.

En 1414 l'empereur Sigismond vint à Berne où il fut très bien reçu. Toute la bourgeoisie alla à sa rencontre; on lui offrit les clefs de la ville; on meubla pour sa réception le couvent des Dominicains; et on le régala magnifiquement pendant deux jours aux frais de la ville; lui et toute sa suite, au nombre de 800 chevaux, aussi bien que celle du comté de Savoye qui en avoit 600. Cette réception coûta 2000 florins aux Bernois, 600 *l.* et leur fit beaucoup d'honneur. On y voit que la ville avoit déjà sa vaisselle d'argent, et des tapisseries brodies en or et en argent. Quelques années après, les prélats de la cour de Martin V. qui comparoient l'abondance de Berne avec la lésine des Genevois, disoient souvent, " Non sumus Bernæ sed Gehennæ."

VI.

VI.

L'ITALIE ET L'ESPAGNE.

Selon Greaves l'once Espagnole est égale à 540½ grains de Paris=450 grains Anglois. On y compte 16 onces à la livre.

Hooper, p. 15, 16. Villalpandus, Espagnol de naissance, qui connoissoit très bien les poids Romains, nous assure que l'once d'Espagne est égale à celle de Rome qui a toujours subsisté sans altération. Toutes les deux seroient égales à 438 grains Anglois=525 grains de Paris. Les Romains ont introduits leurs poids en Espagne avec leurs loix et leur langue. Lorsque les Arabes ont subjugué ce pays les Espagnols, toujours soumis à leurs vainqueurs, ont conservé l'once Romaine, mais en substituant à la livre de 12 onces une autre livre de 16 onces=7008 grains Angl. et qui ne représentoit pas mal le ratel du Caire ou la mine Attique, puisqu'elle nous rend la proportion connue de 4 à 3.

V. British Negociator, p. 181. Dans les lieux de commerce en Espagne on tient les livres en piastres ou dollars, reals et maravedis.

34 maravedis	=	1 real.
8 reaux	=	1 piastre.
11 reaux, 1 maravedi	=	1 ducat.

Le maravedi et le ducat d'échange ne sont que des monnoies de compte. Voici la valeur de leur monnoie.

En

En cuivre.		*l.*	*s.*	*d.*
Le maravedi	=	0	0	$0\frac{43}{272}$
Le quartillo ou ochavo	=	0	0	$0\frac{43}{136}$
Le quarto	=	0	0	$0\frac{11}{34}$
En argent.				
Le real	=	0	0	$5\frac{1}{2}$
Le piastre, dollar	=	0	3	7
Le dollar de Seville	=	0	4	6
En or.				
Le ducat	=	0	4	$11\frac{77}{272}$
Le pistole	=	0	17	11

Il y a encore des pistoles doubles et quadruples, des moitiés, quarts, &c. des dollars du Pérou de 4*s.* 5*d.*, des dollars au pilier de 4*s.* $6\frac{3}{4}$*d.*, et des dollars à la croix de 4*s.* $4\frac{3}{4}$*d.*

Cet état actuel des espèces en Espagne, ne peut s'appliquer qu'aux derniers siècles. Je vais rapporter quelques faits, j'espère un jour d'y ajouter les calculs.

En 1576, la cour d'Espagne travailloit toujours à la conversion des Maures, qui n'étoient encore chrétiens que par le baptême forcé qu'ils avoient reçu plus de 50 ans auparavant. Grégoire XIII. imposa sur toutes les églises d'Espagne une pension générale pour bonnifier les cures des villages Morisques. L'Archevêque de Valence fut taxé à 3600 ducats par an. L'événement fut des plus simples. Tout le clergé décida qu'il ne falloit pas espérer de convertir les Maures, et l'archevêque proposa,

V. History of the Expulsion of the Moriscoes, Geddes's Tracts, vol. i. p. 51—143—161.

proposa, avec le zèle le plus désintéressé, de les chasser. On suivit son conseil, (malgré toute l'opposition des barons,) et ce conseil coûta 140,000 habitans au royaume de Valence et 600,000 sujets pour le moins à la monarchie d'Espagne.

V. View of two Castilian Cortes, Geddes's Tracts, vol. i. p. 317—343.

Les Goths ont porté en Espagne le gouvernement de leur patrie et ces principes de liberté qui ont toujours distingué les nations du nord. L'assemblée de la nation se nommoit Cortes. Elle étoit composée vers la fin du quatrième siècle des prélats, des barons, des ricoshombes ou gentilshommes, et des deputés des villes qu'on appelloit procurateurs; ceux-ci (dans le royaume de Castille) consistoient en 124 députés de 48 villes; Burgos et Salamanca en avoient 8; Toledo et Leon, 5; Zamora, Valladolid, &c. 4; Seville et Cordoue, 3; Madrid, 2. Je soupçonne néanmoins qu'à bien des égards cette proportion a bientôt cessé d'être juste. Tout ce Cortes ne formoit qu'une chambre, et le premier noble (le Seigneur de Lara) y portoit ordinairement la parole. Je ne veux pas m'étendre sur ses droits: elle avoit celui de mettre des impôts; droit qui renferme tous les autres.

En 1390, les Cortes obligèrent la régence (qu'ils donnèrent à leur jeune roi Henri II.) de remettre la monnoie à son ancienne valeur que le feu roi avoit augmentée. Ils fixèrent le nombre des troupes réglées à 4000 soldats de garnison et à 1,500 genets ou chevaux.

En 1406, Henri II. de Castille voulut faire la guerre au roi de Grenade. Il demanda à son Cortes de quoi entretenir 4000 genets, 10,000 lances et 50,000

50,000 fantassins, avec une flotte de 30 galères et 50 vaisseaux, et un train d'artillerie qui comprenoit 6 gros canons, douze beliers de fer, 6000 chariots, &c. On supputa que cet armement demanderoit, pour six mois, 100,200,000 maravedis: on trouva cette somme trop forte. Le Cortes ne voulut ajouter qu'un tiers aux deux autres que le Roi pourroit trouver dans le revenu de son domaine et dans le trésor d'Oviedo. Le roi allégua vainement qu'il les employoit déjà à soudoyer des étrangers. Il fut obligé de céder à l'inflexibilité des Cortes, qui ne virent cependant pas le danger d'une concession qu'ils firent. Ils autorisèrent le roi à completter cette somme par des levées arbitraires, si la taxe n'y suffisoit pas. On ne lui donna ce droit que pour une année, mais ses successeurs ont souvent abusé de cet exemple dangereux.

Lorsque Charles V. parvint à la couronne d'Espagne, les ministres Flamans qui la gouvernoient excitèrent bientôt les murmures des Castillans. Ils se plaignoient qu'en moins d'une année les étrangers avoient fait dans les Pays-Bas plus de 1,100,000 ducats. V. History of the Wars of the Commons of Castile, Geddes's Tracts, tom. i. p. 215.

La cour de ce prince étoit très magnifique. Dans neuf mois qu'il passa en Catalogne il dépensa plus de 1,000,000 ducats de Castille qui étoient plus fortes que les livres Catalanes. Id. p. 220.

Toute cette conduite produisit une guerre civile où les peuples de Castille essayèrent sans succès de soutenir leurs droits. Charles Quint vainqueur assembla les cortes à Valladolid en 1522. Cette assemblée lui accorda un subside de 4,000,000 ducats Id. p. 318.

cats qu'on devoit acquitter dans le terme de trois ans. Elle se désista même enfin du plus beau de ses privilèges, de celui de faire marcher toujours les plaintes des peuples avant les demandes du prince.

V. History of the Wars of the Commons of Castile, Geddes's Tracts, tom. i. p. 290.

Les peuples se plaignoient pendant la guerre, que les rois avoient fait de si grandes aliénations de leur domaine en faveur des nobles que dans une étendue de 100 lieues entre Valladolid et Compostelle il ne leur restoit que trois villes en propre. Leur pauvreté les obligeoit à demander chaque jours de nouveaux subsides.

Eisenschmidt, p. 15.

Voici les poids principaux usités dans ce pays:

	Grains.
L'once de Paris	576
——— de Londres . . .	585½
——— de Venise	562½
——— de Naples	503
——— de Florence et Pise .	537
——— de Sienne	526
——— de Gènes	494
——— d'Espagne	540⅓

Muratori Diss. xxvii. et xxviii.

La livre est partout de 12 onces, hormis en Espagne.

M. Muratori a traité les monnoies d'Italie plutôt pour la partie numismatique, que pour l'économique. Voici cependant ce que j'en ai recueilli: 1. Il nous reste encore des pièces des rois Goths et Lombards, et des Ducs de Naples et de Beneventum. Les Papes commencèrent à avoir leur monnoie du temps de Charlemagne, pendant le douzième et le treizème siècle ils n'en ont point battu.

battu. Le droit des Vénétiens remonta au moins jusqu'au dixième siècle. Peu à peu les empereurs l'accordèrent aux princes et aux villes libres. On en compte plus de cinquante qui ont joui de ce privilège. 2. Quant aux monnoies d'or nous trouvons avant et depuis Charlemagne le sous d'or qui valoit la vingtième partie d'une livre, *i. e.* 1 *l. s.* 16 *s.* Je pense qu'ils étoient fort rares; et le maneusus, dont 20 valoient, en 1014, cinquante sous (d'argent), c'est à dire le maneusus pouvoit valoir 7*s.* 6*d.* Malgré toutes les fables qu'on s'est plu à débiter, on sait que le premier florin d'or n'a été battu qu'à Florence en 1252. Sa finesse et le commerce des Florentins, le répandirent bientôt, et plusieurs princes songèrent à l'imiter, en conservant le nom, et même l'impression de Florence. Le Pape Jean XXII. se distingua en excommuniant les faux monnoyeurs, dont il étoit lui-même le premier. On tailloit 8 florins à l'once d'or, qui étoit à celle d'argent comme 12 à 1. Le florin de Florence valoit à peu près 7 chelins d'Angleterre. Le ducat, ou sequin de Venise, et le marabotino d'Espagne, en différoient peu. La byzantine en valoit les deux tiers 4*s.* 8*d.* Mais il nous faudroit un bon commentaire sur ce tableaux curieux mais obscur que le Nonce Cabrospini nous a laissé des monnoies du quatorzième siècle. 3. Un passage de Matthieu Paris nous apprend qu'en 1249 la livre impériale, égale à la livre sterling et à la livre d'argent, avoit conservé sa première valeur de 3 *l. s.* Voici quelques rapports que M. Muratori m'a fournis.

1212. La livre impériale=3 livres de Boulogne, de Parme ou de Ferrare=$\frac{3}{4}$ livres de Boulogne, &c.=1*l. s.*

1292. Un florin d'or=livre d'Aste=7*s.*

1295. 866$\frac{2}{3}$ florins=650 livres *Provisionorum* (de Rome)=livre Provisionorum=9*s.* 4*d.*

1270. 600 livres de Bresse=1000 florins.
livre de Bresse =10*s.* 10*d.*

1300, &c. 100,000 livres de Gènes=125,000 florins.
livre de Gènes =8*s.* 9*d.*

Giovanni Musso apud Muratori Diss. xxiii.

En 1388, 480 livres impériales ne valurent plus en Italie que 300 florins. Cette livre valoit ainsi 4*s.* 4$\frac{1}{2}$*d.* à peu près la quatorzième partie d'une livre. Cette chute paroîtroit étonnante à qui ne se rappelleroit pas les troubles d'Italie, et les besoins continuels des empereurs. Entre l'an 1320—1388 le luxe s'étoit plutôt augmenté à Plaisance que les moyens de le soutenir. Selon la relation d'un citoyen contemporain, il étoit effectivement poussé assez loin, mais suivant le gôut Italien, plus pour la parure que pour la table. Les hommes et les femmes portoient des robes de drap de soie, de camelot, de velours, et même de drap d'or; des colliers et des brasselets d'or, et des ceintures enrichies de perles dont l'once valoit 10 florins d'or (3*l.* 10*s.*). Une robe (ils les appellent cabanus, barillottus, ou pelarda) coûtoit souvent de 25 à 60 florins (8*l.* 15*s.*—21*l.*). Telle dame portoit une ceinture de 25 florins (8*l.* 15*s.*) et autant de bagues qu'elles en valoient 50 (17*l.* 10*s.*). Toutes ces robes étoient larges et traînantes. L'auteur blame l'indécence de ces habits de femmes qu'on appelloit Cyprianæ, qui ne cachoient point leur sein, et encore plus courts et trop justes des hommes *qui ostendunt formam naticarum*

ticarum genitalium et membri. Les carosses étoient inconnus, mais depuis quelque temps l'usage du vin s'étoit répandu, et celui des cheminées s'étoit introduit. 400, 500, ou 600 florins (120*l.* 150*l.* 180*l.*) étoit la dot commune d'une fille. Mais le mari y gagnoit peu. Il étoit obligé à la dépenser, et même à y ajouter une centaine de florins (30*l.*) pour équiper sa femme, et pour faire les noces. La dépense d'un homme qui avoit deux chevaux et neuf bouches dans sa famille pouvoit aller à 300 florins (90*l.*). Les gages d'un domestique nourri, mais point habillé, étoient 12 florins (4*l.* 4*s.*) pour un homme, et 7 (2*l.* 9*s.*) pour une femme. L'auteur de ce tableau curieux s'appelloit Giovanni Musso. Muratori a donné sa chronique de Plaisance parmi les Scriptores Rerum Italicarum.

VI.

L'ORIENT, LES INDES, &c.

La rupée est une monnoie d'argent du Grand Mogol et très commune dans tout l'Hindostan. Son poids est de 7*dw.* 10½*gr.* à 7*dw.* 11*gr.* Son titre est fort bon; sur cent parties il n'y en a qu'une ou deux de remède. On peut évaluer la rupée à 2*s.* 6*d.* sterling. La rupée d'or vaut 1*l.* 10*s.* La proportion de l'or à l'argent est 12½ à un. Frazer, p. 25, 26.

		Livres Sterling.	
Un lack de rupées	=100,000 rupées =	12,500	Idem, p. 50.
Une crore de rupées	=100 lacks =	1,250,000	
Un arrib de rupées	=100 crores =	125,000,000	

Un dam est une monnoie idéale qui vaut la quarantième partie d'une rupée, ¾ d'un sous d'Angle-

terre. On s'en sert pour exprimer les revenus des fonds de terre.

Frazer, p. 26. Du tems de l'Empereur Shah Jehan, en 1647, l'empire comprenoit vingt-trois grandes provinces, dont je vais donner les noms et les revenus annuels comme M. Frazer les a trouvé dans les mémoires les plus authentiques de ce pays-là.

	Crores de Dams.	Livres Sterling.	
1. Dehli	100	3,125,000	
2. Agra	90	2,812,500	
3. Lahor	90	2,812,500	
4. Ajmir	60	1,875,000	
5. Dowlatabad	55	1,718,750	
6. Berar	55	1,718,750	
7. Guzarat	53	1,651,250	leg. 1,646,250
8. Bengal	50	1,562,500	
9. Alehabad	40	1,250,000	
10. Bahar	40	1,250,000	
11. Maloa	40	1,250,000	
12. Khandeish	40	1,250,000	
13. Audih	30	937,500	
14. Mûltan	28	875,000	
15. Odissea	20	625,000	
16. Cabul	15	468,750	
17. Cashmir	15	468,750	
18. Tatta	8	250,000	
19. Balk	8	250,000	
20. Kandahar	7	218,750	
21. Biduckshan	4	125,000	
22. Tillingana	30	937,500	
23. Buglana	2	62,500	
TOTAL	880	27,500,000	

Ce même prince entretenoit une armée de 911,400 hommes, cavalerie et infanterie, payés sur le trésor royal.

Les

Les provinces de Balk, Biduckshan, et Kandahar furent ensuite perdues: mais Auringzebe conquit les deux grands royaumes de Visapore et d'Hyderabad, ou Golconde. Le premier lui rendoit par an 1,078,305,000 dams (3,369,700 *l. s.*), et le second 1,113,360,000 dams (3,479,250 *l. s.*). Cet empereur partagea l'empire en 19 grands provinces dont les vicerois s'appellent soubahs. A sa mort en 1707 il laissa un revenu annuel de 12,071,876,840 dams (37,724,615 *l. s. 2s. 6d.*). Son empire est bien déchu depuis sa mort. Frazer, p. 34.

On a apprécié le total de ce que souffrit l'Hindostan dans l'expédition de Nadir Shah à un arrib de rupées, 125,000,000 *l. s.*; vingt crores, 25,000,000 *l. s.* des pertes, incendies, dévastations, &c.; dix crores du butin qu'y firent les troupes Persannes (12,500,000 *l. s.*), et soixante-dix crores des trésors que le vainqueur enleva (87,500,000 *l. s.*) En voici le détail, Idem, p. 220, 221.

	Crores.	Livres Sterling.
En pierreries de l'empereur et des Omras	25	31,250,000
Le trône du Paon et 9 autres, &c. . . .	9	11,250,000
En argent monnoyé	25	31,250,000
En vaisselle d'or et d'argent	5	6,250,000
En étoffes, meubles, &c.	5	6,250,000
En canons, munitions de guerre, &c. . .	1	1,250,000
TOTAL . .	70	87,500,000

Dans l'Hindostan le seer de bled pèse environ deux livres et demie; on compte que notre *quartier* en pèse 544. Arbuthnot, p. 34.

Pendant l'expédition de Nadir Shah, la disette regnoit à un tel point dans le camp des Indiens Frazer, p. 168.

qu'un seer ou 1½ seer se vendoient pour une rupée ; c'est à raison de 18*l.* ou 27*l.* par quartier. Les Persans se procuroient l'abondance par les fourrages qu'ils faisoient dans le pays. Le froment se vendoit chez eux à raison de 12 seers 30 livres par rupée ; c'est *2l. 5s.* par quartier. Un prix très commun en Angleterre.

Il y a deux cosses en Hindostan. La première réglée par l'autorité publique, et dont on se sert pour mesurer les chemins du royaume, est de 4000 verges Angloises (1875 toises). L'espèce de cosse usitée dans plusieurs provinces varie de 2000 à 2500 verges, c'est à dire 937½ à 1171⅞ toises.

Frazer, p. 122. mais voyez aussi, p. 202.

Nadir Shah s'empara de toutes les terres d'église en Perse. Elles se montoient à 1,000,000 tomans par an, 2,500,000 *l. s.*

Hanway, t. i. p. 250, &c,

Nadir Shah avoit une armée de 200,000 hommes, la plûpart Tartares ; elle lui coûtoit cinq millions de livres sterling par an, à raison de 100 écus par soldat : chacun étoit lui-même obligé de se pourvoir d'armes et d'habits. Pour soudoyer cette armée le tyran ruinoit la Perse sans vouloir toucher à son trésor Indien qu'il regardoit comme sa dernière ressource ; mais qui a été dispersé après sa mort.

Mém. de Litt. tom. xxviii. p. 487—502.

On peut prendre une idée très exacte des mesures Chinoises dans un Mémoire de M. d'Anville : en voici le résultat :

10 grains de mil	=	1 fuen
10 fuens	=	1 créun ou doigt
10 créuns ou doigts	=	1 ché ou pied
6 pieds	=	1 pun ou toise
10 pieds	=	1 chan ou canne
1800 pieds	=	1 li ou mille Chinois.

Comme

Comme les voyageurs ne sont point d'accord sur la mesure du pied Chinois M. d'Anville consulta le P. Gaubil, missionnaire à Pekin. Ce Père s'assura que le pied impérial étoit au pied de roi comme 500 à 508, c'est à dire onze pouces neuf lignes et sept dixièmes de lignes, et par conséquent douze pouces sept lignes et deux dixièmes de lignes du pied Anglois.

	T.F.	P.	Poa.		Verg.Angl.	P.	Pouc.
Le li, mesure itinéraire=	295	1	3	=	629	2	4

193 li sont égaux à un dégré du grand cercle ; cependant les mathématiciens Chinois y comptent unanimement 200 li. On pourroit attribuer cette différence à leur peu d'habileté, ou au désir de n'employer qu'un nombre rond ; si l'on ne savoit que telle fut la décision de l'empereur Cam-hi et que personne n'osa y contredire ni la rectifier.

Telle est la mesure des li actuels; mais M. D'Anville croit en avoir trouvé de plus petits dans les siècles reculés. Un rapport des parasanges au li dans le quinzième siècle lui en donne de ceux-ci de 272 au dégré. La mensuration même d'un dégré dans le huitième lui en fournit de 338 ; et la distance de Pekin à une ville Tartare lui en fait, du troisième siècle avant J. C. de 405 au dégré. Tout cela est fort ingénieux et paroît même assez vraisemblable. Je voudrois avoir eu les mêmes secours sur les poids qui sont en même tems la seule monnoie d'or ou d'argent que connoissent les Chinois. Les réponses vagues et obscures des missionnaires m'ont engagé à consulter les voyages d'un négociant qui a passé six mois à Canton. Il n'a pu connoître

Voyage to the E. I. p. 316—321.

que les objets du commerce, mais il doit être assez instruit là-dessus. Selon lui,

10 li, (les Européens les appellent cash)	=1 candarin
10 foan ou candarins	=1 mace
10 tsean ou maces	=1 tael. Les Chinois le nomment leang
10 leang ou taels	=12 oz. 2 dwt. 4 gr. poids Anglois =12 onces environ de Paris
16 taels	=1 cattie ou livre Chinoise

L'écu d'Angleterre (5 chelins) *5 l. T.* 12½*s*, passe à la Chine pour 8 maces ; par conséquent, un tael =10 maces=6*s*. 3*d*.=en gros 7 *l. T.* 0*s*.

Mémoires, p. 249, &c.

Le Père le Comte me paroît le mieux instruit, sur les revenus de la Chine. Ce que la cour reçoit en argent ne passe pas 22 millions de taels, 6,875,000*l.s.* Mais il faut ajouter une somme bien plus considérable pour toutes les denrées que les provinces sont obligées de fournir en ris, en bled, en draps, en soies, en sel, en vernis, &c. &c. qu'on peut évaluer à cinquante de taels 15,625,000 *l. s.* Le total du revenu peut monter à 72 millions de taels 22,500,000 *l. s.* L'Hindostan, moins peuplé et moins commerçant, a rendu bien davantage à son prince ; mais le commerce des Indes engloutit les trésors de l'Amérique, et l'avarice tyrannique des Mogols ne laisse au commerçant que les richesses qu'il peut leur cacher. Le P. du Halde avoit évalué ce revenu à 200,000,000 taels, 62,500,000 *l. s.* après une exagération pareille j'ai peine à le croire. Il dit cependant que l'empereur entretient 160,000 hommes auprès de sa personne, et plus de 770,000

Description Gen. t. ii. p. 21.

770,000 pour la défense de la grande muraille et des provinces, en tout 930,000 hommes ; avec 565,000 chevaux pour remonter sa cavalerie. La Chine, dans un dénombrement fait au commencement du règne de Cam-hi, contenoit 11,052,872 familles, et 59,788,364 hommes en état de porter les armes, sans y comprendre les lettrés, les bonze, les mariniers, &c. Un pareil calcul nous donneroit pour le moins 200,000,000 d'habitans.

Les détails qu'il donne sur les denrées que les provinces envoyoient en cour ont un air d'authenticité. Entr'autres j'y trouve en bled et ris 40,155,490 sacs, chaque sac du poids de 120 livres. Cette quantité énorme reviendroit à 15,494,722 quartiers d'Angleterre, et vaudroit ici plus de 30,000,000 livres sterling. Je sais que les denrées sont à meilleur marché à la Chine, mais cette somme me paroît aussi incroyable que peu nécessaire. Vanité Chinoise !

ON THE POSITION OF *THE MERIDIONAL LINE,* AND AN INQUIRY INTO THE SUPPOSED CIRCUMNAVIGATION OF AFRICA BY THE ANCIENTS.

By the Greek* and Arabian cosmographers the first meridian was loosely placed at the Fortunate or Canary islands: the true position of the isle of Ferro has been determined by modern observation, and the degrees of longitude proceed with singular propriety from the western limit of the old hemisphere. The absurd vanity of the Spaniards and Dutch, the French and English, has variously transported this ideal line from a common and familiar term: the longitudes of Madrid and Amsterdam, of Paris and Greenwich, must now be compared, and the national diversity of speech and measure is aggravated by a new source of perplexity and confusion. The prince of geographers,

* The ignorance of Ptolemy, (l. iv. c. 7, in Bertii Theatrum Geographiæ Antiquæ, tom. i. p. 127) has ranged the *six* Fortunate islands under the same meridian line, the most northern point of which is sunk as low as the latitude of the Cape de Verd islands.

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the celebrated d'Anville, has shewn his judgment and impartiality by adhering to the old style.

It was the duty of the Greek poets, who described the residence and rewards of departed heroes, to adorn *their* fortunate islands with the gifts of perpetual spring and spontaneous plenty. A remote and hospitable land has often been praised above its merits by the gratitude of storm-beaten mariners. But the real scene of the Canaries affords, like the rest of the world, a mixture of good and evil, nay even of indigenous ills and of foreign improvements. Yet, in sober truth, the small islands of the Atlantic and Pacific oceans may be esteemed as some of the most agreeable spots on the globe. The sky is serene, the air is pure and salubrious: the meridian heat of the sun is tempered by the sea-breeze: the groves and vallies, at least in the Canaries, are enlivened by the melody of their *native* birds, and a new climate may be found, at every step, from the shore to the summit, of a mountainous ascent.

In the Atlantic or Fortunate islands of Plutarch* we acknowledge, with some hesitation, the first features of the Canaries to which Sertorius was desirous of escaping from the horrors of civil war. The description of Pliny† is more accurate and distinct;

* Plutarch in Sertorio, tom. iii. p. 312, Edit. Bryan. Yet some circumstances are fabulous, and others would more easily adapt themselves to the Madeiras. If we prefer the Canaries, Lancerota and Fuerteventura, the nearest to the African shore, must be the two islands of Plutarch.

† Pliny (Hist. Natur. vi. 37) had likewise consulted the Periplus

tinct; and his knowledge was derived from the discoveries and writings of Juba,* the most learned king that ever reigned over the Moors. The names of the Canary islands, their number of six or seven, and their respective distance are marked, though with some uncertainty. The plenty of the Orchilla weed, so useful to the dyers, will justify the appellation of the Purple Isles, and the use of a manufacture which Juba intended to establish. A multitude of dogs and goats, with the ruins of some stone buildings, announced the more early visits, perhaps, of the Phœnicians: but these islands appear to have been destitute of inhabitants, and I must assign to a later age the arrival of the Getulian emigrants who preserved their idiom, and soon lost the imperfect art which had conveyed them over a narrow sea. The kingdom of Juba was reduced into a province: but the Romans were satiated with empire, and they disdained, or feared, to plant a colony in the Atlantic ocean. It is less easy to account for the neglect of the Mahometans: they were conquerors, fanatics, and merchants; nor could the Great Desert protect from their ambition the black nations of

plus of Statius Sebosus. The geographer will be satisfied with d'Anville (Géographie Ancienne, tom. iii. p. 116.) and Cellarius (Geographia Antiqua, tom. ii. P. ii. p. 141.): but the idle scholar may consult the texts of Mela, Ælian, and Solinus, with the Commentaries of Isaac Vossius, Perizonius, and Salmasius.

* See the Life and Writings of Juba, King of Mauritania, by the Abbé Sevin, in the Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. iv. p. 457.

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the Niger. Yet the Arabian geographers are content to repeat the fables of Ptolemy; and Abulfeda's ignorance* is betrayed by the wild supposition that the Fortunate islands had been overwhelmed by the waves.

While Abulfeda deplored their loss they were given by Pope Clement VI.† (1344), with the title of kingdom, to Lewis de la Cerda, the rightful though banished heir of Castille. The title was vain, the grant ineffectual: the Canaries, which had been recently discovered by the Genoese,‡ were infested by some roving pirates from Catalonia and Biscay, but the first serious idea of conquest was entertained and executed by William de Bethancourt, a gentleman of Normandy, who sailed from la Rochelle in search of these fortunate islands. Deserted by his country, which was unwilling, or unable, to support a naval enterprise, he implored the aid and acknowledged the sovereignty of the King of Castille; his hopes and possessions were transferred by sale and inheritance to the Spaniards, and their blood and language soon predominated in the new settlements. In

* Abulfed. Geograph. Tabula. v. p. 230. Vers. Reisk.

† Vie de Pétrarque, tom. i. p. 199—205. I have disdained a silly and groundless story that the English ambassadors at Avignon were alarmed by the grant of the *Fortunate* islands, a title which, according to their prejudice, could belong only to those of Britain.

‡ Petrarch de Vitâ Solitariâ, l. ii. sect. vi. c. 3. p. 277. Edit. Basil. The Abbate Tiraboschi (Istoria della Letteratura Italiana, tom. iv. p. 111) maintains this national discovery against the national jealousy of a Spanish critic.

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the space of eight years (1400—1408) William de Bethancourt had completely reduced and imperfectly planted the four smaller Canaries, Lancerota, Fuerteventura, Gomera, and Ferro:* but the natives of the three larger islands of Canaria, Palma, and Teneriff, resisted above seventy years the private adventurers of Spain: nor was it till the close of the fifteenth century that they finally yielded (1495) to the fleets and armies, the artillery and the missionaries of Ferdinand and Isabella.† Their weapons were unequal, but they used the advantage of the ground; their generosity could spare a suppliant enemy, and they reserved for their own defeat the precipice of despair. The remains of the old inhabitants are now incorporated with the conquerors: the population of the Canaries may amount to near two hundred thousand souls who enjoy, under the yoke of civil and ecclesiastical tyranny, the blessings of peace and the arts of commerce, which were unknown to the savage liberty of their predecessors.

* See a small but valuable treatise of Pierre Bergeron de la Navigation, &c. (c. 6, 7—29—35) which introduces the Voyages principalement en Asie, &c. La Haye, 1735. 2 vols. in 4to.

† The History and Description of the Canary Islands, by George Glass (London, 1764), are drawn partly from a Spanish MS. composed at Palma, and partly from the reading and experience of the author. But he had not, nor have I, seen the copious work of a native of the Canaries (Josephi de Viera y Clavijo Noticias de la Historia General de les Isles de Canaria. Madrid, 1762, &c. 4 vols. in 4to.). Clavijo is the unfortunate man who has been dishonoured, perhaps unjustly, by the wit and malice of Beaumarchais.

"In

" In the time of our grandfathers (it was said in the reign of Claudius) a certain Eudoxus, flying from the wrath of Ptolemy Lathyrus, King of Egypt, embarked on the Red Sea, and sailed round to Cadiz in Spain." This passage is extracted by Pomponius Mela* from the writings of Cornelius Nepos, who lived in the time of the said Ptolemy, and deserved the friendship of Cicero and Atticus.† A witness of a respectable character, who affirms a recent and notorious fact, will naturally engage the public confidence: this African circumnavigation has been unanimously admitted, and I must conceal my suspicions could I not produce from the philosopher Posidonius, a writer of equal age and authority, the true and accurate state of the voyages of Eudoxus.‡ His eye might be deceived by the unnatural distortions and monstrous dresses of the southern savages, he might find some tribes ignorant of the use of language and fire: but that he returned by a new road to the northern hemisphere,

Ignotum per iter, gelidas enavit ad Arctos,

I positively deny.

Under the reign of the second Euergetes, who died one hundred and seventeen years before the

* Mela de Sitû Orbis, lib. iii. c. 9. p. 402, 403, 405. Edit. Voss. The same passage of Cornelius Nepos is quoted by Pliny. (Hist. Natur. lib. ii. c. 67.)

† See Aulus Gellius, Noctes Atticæ, lib. xv. c. 28. We have some fragments of the Letters of Cicero to Cornelius Nepos, who has composed a life of Atticus, which is still extant.

‡ Posidonius, apud Strabon. Geograph. l. ii. p. 155—160.

Christian

Christian era, Eudoxus of Cyzicus, a priest, a linguist, and a mariner, arrived in Egypt and gained the favour of the prince and people. A new field of riches and knowledge was opened to the Ptolemies by the shipwreck of an Indian on the Red Sea. With this guide, who had soon learned the Egyptian tongue, Eudoxus sailed to India on his first voyage of discovery, but the cargo of spices and precious stones with which he returned exposed him to the avarice of the tyrant. After his death, under the regency of his widow Cleopatra, Eudoxus was again employed. In his second voyage he was driven on the coast of Æthiopia; among the hospitable natives he distributed the unknown blessings of corn, wine, and dry figs, while his own curiosity was gratified with a catalogue of their barbarous words; and the prow of a foreign ship, inscribed with horses, which had been cast on their shore by the western winds.* In the port of Alexandria this fragment was recognised by the merchants of Cadiz, who even named the ship, a fishing vessel, which some years before was supposed to be lost beyond the river Lixus, on the western coast of Africa. Eudoxus now held the thread of discovery, but fear or indignation urged him to leave the unworthy court of Ptolemy Lathyrus, the son of Cleopatra. I slightly mention

* According to Pliny a similar wreck was found by Caius Cæsar, the grandson of Augustus, in the Red Sea. Such stories could not have been entertained had the ancients formed any just idea of the size of Africa; of the Cape which advances near thirty-five degrees into the southern hemisphere.

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his return home, the sale of his estate, his visit to Italy and Marseilles, and his final departure from Cadiz with a great ship and two brigantines to explore the Atlantic ocean. Fired with the hope of reaching India, he supported the murmurs of his crew, and the loss of his vessels, built a small galley of fifty oars, and continued his route till he heard on the western, the same language which he had found on the eastern, side of the continent of Africa. On his return to the river Lixus he offered himself and his discoveries to the Moorish king, but the timid Bogud was apprehensive of opening his dominions to unknown enemies, and had not Eudoxus escaped to the Roman province of Spain, the dangerous secret might have been extinguished with his life. His second voyage from Cadiz was prepared with more prudence and skill: the form of his vessels was adapted to the seas and shores; and instead of an useless train of singing-girls and physicians, he enlisted a laborious company of husbandmen and artificers, resolving to winter on a verdant island which he had discovered in the ocean. It is here, at this critical moment, that Posidonius disappoints our curiosity, referring his readers to the Spaniards of Cadiz, as the most likely to be informed of the failure or success of the voyage of Eudoxus, against the reality of which the geographer Strabo has raised some idle and envious objections.

Of the four circumnavigations of Africa, three have been disproved, and the overthrow of Sataspes, Hanno, and Eudoxus must disturb the easy

and early triumph of the Phœnicians of Nechus. Nor are these doubtful or fabulous expeditions attested by the consent of ages. The spirit and perhaps the records of naval enterprise were lost in the destruction of Tyre and Carthage; and their conquerors were unwilling to believe even the real achievements, which they were unable to imitate. The world of the Greeks, the Romans, and the Arabians was circumscribed within a narrow outline. Some geographers, accidentally stumbling on the truth, affirm or rather suspect that Africa, except in the isthmus of Suez, is encompassed by an open and navigable sea. But a large majority, in weight as well as in number, represent the climates beyond the equator as unknown or impervious; a torrid zone in which no mortals can breathe, a shallow and muddy ocean, in which no vessels can move, or an interposing tract of land, which joins in a southern latitude the continents of Æthiopia and India. By all who raised such insuperable barriers, the *possibility* of a circumnavigation was denied; but the few who admitted that it was *possible* might doubt or disbelieve that it had ever been actually performed.

Arrian,* or the nameless author who under the reign of Adrian has composed a description of the Red Sea, embraces, according to the style of antiquity, the Persian and Arabian Gulphs with a part of the ocean between India and Africa. He runs

* Arrian, Periplus Maris Erythræi, p. 150. Edit. Blancard.

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the African coast to the city and promontory of Rhapta, which is placed by Ptolemy in the eighth degree of southern latitude. From thence, continues Arrian, the land turns to the west, and the surrounding ocean, WHICH HAS NEVER BEEN EXPLORED, at length mingles with the waters of the Atlantic. Under a Roman emperor the task of discovery might have been shortened, if his subjects had sailed in friendly correspondence from his ports of Egypt and Spain. But Adrian was not ambitious of conquest, his curiosity did not grasp the knowledge of the globe; and the endless promontory of the south would have soon exhausted the skill and patience of his mariners.

Above the crowd of vulgar geographers, Eratosthenes and Ptolemy exalt their heads, as the great masters of celestial and terrestrial science. Eratosthenes* was the first who dared to measure and delineate the earth: but in his erroneous system, a burning and desolate zone extends twelve degrees on either side of the equinoctial line. The land of cinnamon, on the eastern coast of Africa, is situate within the twelfth degree: it might be superfluous to add that none had ever penetrated beyond this term of *our* habitable world; but the sentence is of damning weight, from an universal scholar to whom Herodotus was familiar, and who commanded the treasures of the Alexandrian libra-

* Eratosthenes Geographicorum Fragmenta, lib. ii. p. 63, &c. l. iii. p. 193. Gotting. 1789.

ry.* The geographical sphere of Ptolemy† was enlarged by the Roman discoveries, and his own propensity to magnify space and distance beyond their real proportions. His promontory of Prasum, a Cape Verd on the eastern coast of Africa, is forced as low as the fifteenth degree of southern latitude: but he draws, from the neighbourhood of this cape, the line of an unknown continent, which is finally united with the country of the Asiatic Sinæ. Ptolemy reigned near fourteen centuries on earth, as well as in heaven; nor was the Greek oracle ever confuted by the experience of the Arabians.

In the sublime fiction of Camoens,‡ the spirit of the Cape, arising from his stormy waves, at once accuses and applauds the Portuguese, the first of men who had explored their way round the southern promontory of Africa.

> Nor Roman prow, nor daring Tyrian oar,
> Ere dashed the white wave foaming to my shore:
> Nor Greece, nor Carthage, ever spread the sail
> On these my seas to catch the trading gale,
> You, you alone, have dared to plough my main,
> And with the human voice disturb my lonesome reign.

* It is generally agreed among scholars that Eratosthenes was styled βητα, not from being the second in every science, but as the second keeper (239—194 years before Christ) of the Alexandrian library. Fabricius, Bibliot. Græc. tom. ii. p. 471.

† Claud. Ptolemæus, l. iv. c. 9, l. vii. c. 4, in Bertii Theatrum Geographiæ Veteris, tom. i. p. 131—212.

‡ Mickle's Lusiad, p. 211, 212. An Englishman must praise the versification; the Portuguese acknowledge the fidelity of this elegant translation.

I WILL TAKE THE GHOST'S WORD FOR A THOUSAND POUNDS!

Nechus, King or Pharaoh of Egypt, who reigned six hundred years before the Christian era, is mentioned in the Hebrew Chronicles,* as well as by the father of Grecian history.† The mind of Nechus was susceptible of every kind of ambition: the Jews and Syrians fell before his arms; he entered Jerusalem in triumph; his empire was bounded by the Euphrates; and the ships of war which he built commanded the Mediterranean and the Red Sea. The execution of his canal from the Nile to the last mentioned sea might have changed the commerce of the world, but after expending the lives of an hundred and twenty thousand of his subjects, the King of Egypt was alarmed by an oracle, and turned his thoughts to the fame and advantage of naval discoveries. At his command, and in his vessels, a chosen band of Phœnicians penetrated from the Arabian gulf into the southern ocean, returned in the third year by the Straits of

* These Chronicles, the reign of Pharaoh-Necho, and the contemporary history of the east, are illustrated in the learned writings of the Christian chronologists, in the Animadversions of Scaliger, in the Annals of Archbishop Usher, in Prideaux's Connections, in Sir John Marsham's Canon Chronicus, in an Essai sur l'Histoire Orientale, in the Monde Primitif of M. Court de Gebelin. By these, and by many more, the Phœnician voyage round Africa is reported without a shadow of suspicion.

† Herodot. l. ii. c. 158, 159, p. 181, 182, l. iv. c. 42, p. 298. In every quotation of Herodotus I use the Greek edition of Wesseling, with his learned notes, and those of M. Larcher, the French translator, a scholar and a critic.

Gibraltar, and proved for the first time, that, except in the isthmus of Suez, the continent of Africa is on all sides encompassed by the sea. In the autumn of the first and second year, these bold navigators landed on some convenient spot, committed their seeds to the ground, patiently waited the returns of the next harvest, and resumed their voyage with a fresh supply of provisions. The Phœnicians reported that, in sailing round Africa, they had seen the sun on their right hand, "a phenomenon (says Herodotus) which to some may seem less incredible than it does to me."

Since the modern discoveries of the Portuguese, we know the *possibility*, and we suppose the *reality* of an ancient circumnavigation of Africa. The reign of Nechus is accurately fixed in the last and most authentic period of the history of Egypt: his father Psammetichus had opened the country to the Greeks, and his death did not happen more than one hundred and sixty years before the travels of Herodotus. An inquisitive spirit forms the character of the historian whose authority has been fortified by the improvement of criticism and science: he had visited Egypt before the chain of tradition was buried in the ruins of the temples and sacerdotal colleges: he investigated the remains of the docks or arsenals which Nechus had built; and the Pharaoh, after the example of Solomon, might reasonably entrust his vessels to the most skilful navigators of the east. The ignorance of the Greek might tempt him to deny, but his impartiality forbade him to dissemble, the astronomical

cal fact, which, in our eyes, is the surest pledge of his veracity. As soon as they had passed the line, the sun would appear on the right hand of the Phœnicians.

I have allowed full weight to these specious probabilities, but I must object, with equal fairness, that Herodotus was a stranger in Egypt, who saw with his own eyes, but who heard with the ears of his careless or credulous interpreters. The priests were ambitious of impressing the minds of strangers with a splendid idea of their celestial and terrestrial science; and in the observatories of Thebes and Heliopolis, the astronomers could safely calculate the motions and aspects of the planets. A journal of the voyage of the Phœnicians, which Herodotus had never seen, must have demonstrated its truth or falsehood: their adventures would be measured by the standard of probability, and the seas and lands, the winds and seasons, the plants and animals, would be compared with the genuine and unalterable face of nature. But a southern communication between the Indian and Atlantic ocean might be affirmed or denied: the chance was equal; and a lucky guess may have usurped the honours of actual discovery. My surprise and suspicion are excited by the successful agriculture of the strangers in unknown climates and new soils; by the seeds of the temperate zone which yield their increase between the tropics: nor can I persuade myself that these infant navigators sailed round Africa in three summers to amuse the curiosity of a king of Egypt. The compass was in

the hands of the Portuguese: they were stimulated by the spirit of chivalry, fanaticism, and avarice; yet after seventy years of labour and danger, their fruitless efforts were still repelled by THE CAPE OF TEMPESTS.

By the command of the Senate of Carthage, two admirals, Himilco and Hanno, were sent at the same time to navigate the northern and southern parts of the Atlantic ocean. HANNO sailed from Carthage with a fleet of sixty large ships, carrying a multitude of men, women, and children, which has been magnified to the incredible number of thirty thousand persons. In twelve days from the Straits of Gibraltar he reached the small island of Cerne or Arguin: planted seven cities or colonies for the benefit of trade, and fixed his last station at Cerne itself, which has since been occupied, disputed, and abandoned by the modern powers. As he advanced, he discovered a large river, most probably the Senegal, well-peopled with hippopotami and crocodiles; and his course was directed first to the south and afterwards to the east along the coast of Guinea. A chain of mountains, the Sierra-Leone, overlooked the ocean; and burning volcanos poured into its waves their torrents of liquid fire. In the heat of day all was silent; but the forests blazed with nocturnal lights, and re-echoed with the joyous sound of flutes, cimbals, and drums. In some slight encounters, the arms of the Carthaginians must prevail over the wandering natives, who spoke a language unknown to the Moorish interpreters. By their speed of foot the savages escaped;

escaped; but the hairy skins of three female captives were exhibited as trophies at Carthage; and though Hanno mistook for women these mute and perverse animals, it is more probable that they were *Pongos*, the large monkey of human shape. The cape of *Tres Puntas* in Guinea, five degrees north of the equator, appears to have been the term of this whole Atlantic navigation of thirty-eight days: the scarcity of provisions compelled Hanno to return; nor does he seem to have detached any light vessels to prosecute the line of southern discovery. The date of his voyage rests, or rather floats on a period of four centuries (700 to 300 years before Christ;) but, for various reasons, I am inclined to sink it as low as the prosperity of the republic of Carthage will permit.

The journal or Periplus of Hanno* is still extant in a Greek version, nor can I agree with the idle suspicions of Dodwell that it has been changed or corrupted since its first appearance soon after the age of Aristotle.† This concise narrative was translated or abstracted from a Punic inscription on

* See the Periplus of Hanno in the first volume of Hudson's Geographi Minores, with Dodwell's Dissertation. Mariana. Hist. Hispan. tom. i. l. i. c. 22. p. 32, 33. Pomponius Mela, l. iii. c. 9. p. 401. cum Observat. Isaac Vossii. Bougainville sur le Voyage d'Hannon in Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, tom. xxvi. p. 10—46. tom. xxviii. p. 260—318.

† Aristot. περι θαυμασιων ακουσματων. c. xxxv. p. 77. Edit. Beckman. Gotting. 1786. This collection of wonderful stories is drawn from the writings of Aristotle, and may be ascribed to one of his first disciples.

a plate

a plate of brass or marble in the temple of Saturn at Carthage: the practice of these ancient records is acknowledged; and most of the proper names may be reasonably derived from the Hebrew or Phœnician idiom.* The *Libyc* books, the wanderings of Hanno, were indeed exposed on the Athenian stage as notorious fables; but the Greeks were at once credulous and sceptical; and even the ridicule attests the existence of the books and the fame of the voyage.† The trade and colonies of Carthage along the shores of the Atlantic and the Libyan deserts are firmly established: yet it must be allowed that one of our best witnesses, the geographer Scylax, denies the possibility of navigating beyond Cerne in a shallow and muddy ocean.‡

A much longer voyage of Hanno, the entire circumnavigation of Africa from the Straits of Gibraltar to the Red Sea, will not be supported by the single and hasty assertion of the elder Pliny. In the course of a work as extensive and various as Nature itself, his critical attention is often bewildered; and while he believes the most singular, he rejects the most simple circumstances of the Periplus of Hanno.§

While the liberality of Gelo and his brother Hiero attracted every stranger who could amuse or

* Bochart, Canaan. l. i. c. 37. in Opp. tom. i. p. 639—644.

† Athen. Deipnosophist. l. iii. c. 7. p. 83. Aristides in Oratione Ægyptiaca, in Opp. tom. ii. p. 356. Edit. Jebb.

‡ Scylacis Caryandensis Periplus, p. 53. in Geograph. Min. tom. i.

§ Plin Hist. Natur. ii. 67. v. 1. vi. 36.

instruct

instruct the court of Syracuse, a Persian *Mage* related to the former of those princes that he himself had circumnavigated the whole continent of Africa.* An event of such magnitude cannot be lightly received on the single credit of a wandering priest, whose religion and country afford the fairest grounds of suspicion. The Magi abhorred the art of navigation, which tended to sully the purity of one of the sacred elements;† the Persians never aspired to the fame of a maritime people, and a voyage of distant discovery, though not incredible, must be deemed in their character a very singular adventure. It is certain however that in the time of Gelo and Xerxes,‡ they *once* attempted the circumnavigation of Africa, and the exaggerated tale of the *Mage* of Syracuse must be tried and reduced by the authentic relation of Herodotus, who derived his intelligence from the report of the Carthaginians.§

* This *Mage* had been introduced in one of the Dialogues of Heraclides Ponticus, a disciple of Plato and Aristotle, (Vossius de Historicis Græcis, l. i. c. 8, 9.) But his voluminous writings are now lost, as well as those of Posidonius, by whom this passage had been quoted, and we are now reduced to the testimony of Strabo. (Geograph. l. ii. p. 155. 158.)

† Plin. Hist. Natur. xxx. 7.

‡ This synchronism lasted seven years, 485—478, before Christ: but the Egyptian rebellion will not permit us to place the voyage of Sataspes before the third year (482) of the reign of Xerxes. (Herodot. l. vii. Diodor. Sicul. l. xi.)

§ See Herodot. l. iv. c. 48. p. 398, 299. Edit. Wesseling, and the excellent French version of M. Larcher, with his learned notes, tom. iii. p. 156. 405.

Under

Under the reign, and in the court of Xerxes, his kinsman Sataspes was condemned to be impaled for the crime of ravishing a noble virgin. But a mother, the sister of Darius, interceded for the guilty youth, on whom she promised to inflict a punishment not less terrible than death itself; and he accepted as the condition of his pardon the task of sailing round Libya, and returning home by the Red Sea. After preparing his ship and mariners in Egypt, Sataspes sailed beyond the columns of Hercules, and coasted along the African shore to the promontory of Soloe, (Cape Boyador,) from whence he steered his southern course in the Atlantic ocean. The natives whom he saw were of a diminutive stature: their garments were composed of the leaves of the palm tree: they were affrighted by the aspect of a naval monster, and wheresoever he landed, they fled into the country, abandoning their villages and cattle to the rapacious strangers. But Sataspes, who was not endowed with the spirit of discovery, beheld with anxious despair the prospect of an endless sea, and his complaint that his ship was stopped, that it would advance no farther, may be imputed to the dead calms that prevail in the neighbourhood of the line. The dangers and fatigues of his expedition and return might have expiated the crime of love: but the justice or revenge of Xerxes was inexorable: Sataspes was impaled according to the rigour of his first sentence; and his misfortunes, though not his character, may afford a faint similitude of our countryman Sir Walter Raleigh.

After

After the death of Sataspes, one of his eunuchs escaped to the isle of Samos with a large sum of money, of which he was defrauded by the perfidy of a Samian, whose name is forgotten by the tenderness of the father of history. The Asiatic Greeks maintained a free and frequent intercourse with Sicily: and a *Mage*, who had served as chaplain in the Libyan voyage, might accompany the eunuch's flight, and abuse the privilege of a traveller.

Before the arrival of the Portuguese, before the age of Mahomet, under the reign of Adrian,* the commerce and even the dominion of the Arabs was spread along the eastern shores of Africa on either side of the Equinoctial line. After a long and lucrative traffic, the Mahometans of Arabia were tempted by the nakedness of the people and the richness of the land; but in the ninth century, Zanguebar, the coast of the Zenghis, was still savage and idolatrous. The northern position of Magadoxo and Brava points them out as the most ancient settlements (A. H. 320, A. D. 932); the kingdom of Quiloa was founded (A. H. 400, A. D. 1009) by a Persian prince of the race of the Sultans of Shiraz; Melinda, Monbaza, and Sofala flourished in the twelfth century; these maritime colonies were increased by vagrant Bedoweens and Negro proselytes, and the reign of Islam extended to the isle of Madagascar and the tropic of Capricorn.†

The

* Arrian, in his Periplus of the Red Sea, is illustrated by d'Anville. Mémoires de l'Académie, tom. xxx. p. 88, &c.

† See the Arabians (Geograph. Nubiensis, p. 27, 28, Abulfeda, Geograph.

The contrast of the savage Africans may have embellished the portrait of the Arabians of Zanguebar, but the features of a rich and civilized people are not easily mistaken. According to the heat of the climate, and the fashion of the east, they were clothed in loose garments of silk or cotton; their turbans were of fine linen; nor did they neglect the elegant luxury of gold and gems. These ornaments might be brought from a distance, but the state of the colonies marked an high degree of wealth and improvement. The cities were populous and regular, the public and private buildings were of hewn stone or painted wood, the gardens were filled with the plants of India, the adjacent lands were cultivated with skill and care, and the inhabitants possessed great numbers of cattle and domestic animals. The iron-works of Melinda, the gold mines of Sofala were at once the monuments of their art, and the sources of their opulence. In war they employed the arms of antiquity, bows and arrows, scimetars and lances; the horsemen of Monbaza, and the archers of Melinda were renowned: but they were ignorant of the invention of gunpowder and the use of canon. These maritime colonies could not forget the art of navigation: they traded with Aden and Ormuz, with Cambaye and Calicut, but their

Geograph. Tab. xxvii. p. 355, 356, and Yakouti in the Notices des MSS. de la Bibliothèque du Roi, tom. ii. p 395.) whose knowledge seems to have decayed with time. The Abbé Renaudot (Anciennes Relations des Indes, p. 303—308.) is most instructive.

course

course was directed by the monsoons, and they never ventured beyond the Cape of Currents in the twenty-fourth degree of southern latitude. The government of their petty states was loosely balanced by the Royal and Aristocratical powers: the Koran was the bond of union, but the rival sects of Omar and Ali excommunicated each other on this lonesome coast. The Arabians had introduced their language, and the rudiments of letters; but they were ill-provided with books, and it is only in the Lusiad, that a King of Melinda could be familiarized to the names of Homer and Ulysses.*

From the Senegal to the Cape of Currents, Vasco de Gama had seen no vessels on the ocean except his own. After passing that cape, the canoes of the negroes, their artificial trinkets, and their vague reports denounced his approach to a civilized, perhaps to an Indian world. The first interview of the two nations was in the isle of Mozambique; the thundering arms of the Portuguese astonished the Arabians, and applauded the hero who had emerged from the storms and darkness of the south. But Gama could not long dissemble that he was a Christian, the enemy of their faith, and the invader of their commerce: he abhorred the Moors, and the belief that all Mahometans were Moors has propagated the African name to the extremities of Asia. The open or secret enmity

* The English translator of Camoens justifies this impropriety by an old Syriac version of Homer; but the fact is doubtful, and the inference ridiculous. (Mickle's Introduction.)

which

which laboured to destroy his ships, and intercept his return, is more easily explained than the hospitable welcome, and important aid which he received from the Princes of Melinda. In twenty-three days he traversed without care or danger, an ocean of seven hundred leagues, from Melinda to Calicut. His trusty pilot, an Indian of Guzarat, steered the well-known course by a compass, a quadrant, and a marine chart, and his experience or prejudice despised the astronomical instruments of Europe.

According to the most liberal computation, Vasco de Gama discovered no more than twenty degrees of southern latitude from the Cape of Good Hope to Mozambique. But a thin veil separated Lisbon and India, and the last adventurer, by whom it was removed, has usurped the sole honours of the circumnavigation of Africa. Yet Gama might boast that by him alone the equinoctial line had been crossed four times, and that he had achieved in two years the longest voyage which had been performed by the sons of men.*

The African trade of the Portuguese, as it is described by Mosto, may afford some glimpses into the inland geography of that vast continent, an obscure scene which has been less invisible to the Arabian Moors† than to any other nation of the ancient or modern world.

By

* Osorius de Rebus Lusitanicis, l. i. Mariana, Hist. Hispan. l. xxvi. c. 17—20. tom. iii. p. 217—228. Hist. Générale des Voyages, tom. i.

† I have before me the Latin Version of the Sherif al Edrisi,

so

By the care of Prince Henry the little island of Arguin, near Cape Blanco, was settled and fortified: but he gave a monopoly of ten years to his own exclusive company. After some hostilities against the Azenaghis, the last shade between the whites and blacks, their alliance was found to be more conducive to the interest of trade, and even of religion. They pitched their tents from Mount Atlas to the Senegal: their hard and wandering life qualified them to be the carriers of the desert; and Hoden, a station in their country, was in the road of the Moorish caravans. Six days journey from Hoden, Teggazza possessed a mine of rock-salt, which was greedily purchased and used by the natives of the torrid zone to preserve, as they believed, their blood from putrefaction. The camels laden with salt travelled in forty days from Teggazza to Tombuto, in thirty more from Tombuto to Melli, a city and kingdom whose place our ignorance cannot ascertain:* but such were the difficulties of the way, that of an hundred camels not more than twenty-five were expected to return. Melli was frequented by the Mahometans of Egypt and Barbary; and the silk of Grenada was often

so foolishly styled the Geographia Nubiensis, by the Maronites (Paris, 1619, in 4to.), and the Italian original of Leo Africanus, first published by Ramusio (tom. 1. fol. 1—104). The English translations from these writers, in Moore's Travels into Africa (Appendix, p. 1—79), are executed by no vulgar hand.

* D'Anville's Great Map of Africa affords not any traces of Melli, which is however described by Leo (P. vii. fol. 84.), and which seems to be the Malel of Edrisi. (Geograph. Nubiens. Clim. i. P. ii. p. 10.)

exchanged for the gold and slaves of the most inward Africa. This valuable cargo was distributed in three different channels. The Eastern caravan, the merchants of Grand Cairo, repassed an unknown desert from the Niger to the Nile. The western caravan, after moving in a body from Melli to Tombuto, was separated in the two streams of Tunis and Morocco. The latter approached the sea coast of Arguin: the manufactures of Europe intercepted some portion of the gold-dust, and seven or eight hundred blacks were annually exported for the use of the Portuguese. Ramusio, whose views of commerce are just and enlarged, exhorts the nations to invade the monopoly of salt; to lade their ships at the islands of Cape Verd, and to penetrate by the Senegal, and the Gambia, into the golden regions of Africa. But the negligence of the Europeans, or the invincible obstacles of nature, have hitherto prevented the execution of this splendid design.

But the exchange, with an invisible people, of salt for gold is described by Cadamosta on the faith of the itinerant Arabs. From Melli the salt was transported on men's shoulders to a great lake or river of fresh water where it was left without a guard on the shore. The merchants of Melli, and some unknown strangers who arrived in large boats, had their respective hours for visiting this solitary market: the heaps of gold-dust which the purchasers deposited were proportioned to the value of the salt; and as soon as the scales were equal, the price was accepted, the merchandize was removed,

removed, and the whole transaction was concluded without seeing each other's faces, but without a suspicion of fraud or violence. It is added that a King of Melli indulged his curiosity to know these mysterious traders: but that a captive who had been surprised in an ambuscade, obstinately rejected all food, and died on the fourth day without having shewn the power or inclination to speak. The singularity of the transaction, some circumstances of gross fable, and the silence of Leo Africanus* may provoke a legitimate doubt: but this mode of invisible traffic is reported by Herodotus,† whom the Venetian had never read, and by the Moors of Barbary who had never heard of the Venetian.‡

A question naturally arises whether Prince Henry explored the Atlantic, the sea of darkness as it was styled by the Arabs, in search of a southern passage to the spicy regions of India. The views of Cadamosta do not seem to reach beyond the fame and profit of his immediate discoveries: but the views of a soldier are not those of his general, and the largest designs are most worthy of a hero who was deeply skilled in the cos-

* Yet we may prove from Leo or Edrisi the scarcity of salt, the plenty of gold, and the fresh-water lakes in the midst of Africa.

† Herodot. l. iv. c. 196. He gives, indeed, this trade to the Carthaginians and places the invisibles on the sea-coast.

‡ Shaw's Travels, p. 239. This learned traveller appears himself unacquainted with the original passage of Herodotus, or the narrative of Cadamosta.

mography of the age. I can admit that he cherished a secret and distant hope of circumnavigating Africa: nor shall I arraign the gratitude of posterity, which has placed on his head the naval crowns of his successful disciples. Their ardour was chilled, about twenty years, under the reign of his nephew Alphonso V. a reign of foreign and domestic war; but the African voyage was prosecuted by the industry of John II. and finally achieved by the fortune of Emanuel. Their royal efforts directly pointed to India and the spicy trade; the spirit of the court encouraged the Portuguese to press forwards on the ocean, with a brave disdain of prejudice at home and danger abroad. The genius of Columbus tormented Europe, and awakened Spain: but Vasco de Gama was a chosen servant who executed with prudence and resolution the commands of his sovereign.

The thirty-seven years (1460—1497) between the decease of Henry, and the voyage of Gama, had opened a more extensive sphere of theory and practice. The study of the ancients had been revived: the copies of their writings were multiplied; and before the accession of John II. (1481), the original text of Pliny, and the Latin versions of Herodotus and Strabo had been repeatedly printed at Rome and Venice.* The circumnavigation of Africa by the Phœnicians and Persians, by Hanno and Eudoxus, became the favourite

* See the Greek and Latin *Bibliothecæ* of Fabricius and the Annales Typographici of Mattaire.

theme

theme of discourse; and the fabulous or doubtful tales of antiquity rekindled the courage and promoted the discoveries of the modern Argonauts. A planisphere, or map of the world,* was delineated in the Convent of Murano at Venice: the kings of Portugal employed and rewarded the ingenious monk; and the most perfect edition of his work was long exhibited in a Benedictine Abbey in the neighbourhood of Lisbon. Marine charts, such as may be still extant in our libraries, were drawn by Italian artists and distributed to Portuguese commanders; and the outline of old knowledge, and recent conquest, announced the subject or, at least, the field of inquiry. The mathematicians of John II., two physicians of Jewish names, and a German cosmographer, the famous Martin Behaim of Nuremberg, invented the astrolabe and calculated tables of declination;† the art of navigation was improved, and instead of creeping along the shore, the mariners of Europe gave themselves to the deep. The eastern direction of the coast of Guinea seemed to open a speedy prospect of India: but when the African continent again pointed to the south, the hopes of the Portuguese were blasted; they viewed with astonishment the stars of a

* Tiraboschi, Istoria della Letteratura Italiana, tom. vi. P. i. 216. Modena, 1790. For the planisphere of Murano he quotes the Annales Camal. (of the Camaldoli) tom. vii. p. 252. Mr. Senebier, p. 211, describes some maps of the 15th century in the library of Geneva.

† Geddes's Church History of Æthiopia, p. 39.

new hemisphere, and long hesitated on the verge of the equator. The thirty-five degrees of southern latitude from the line to the southern promontory were discovered in two successive voyages by the captains of John II.: the promontory was turned; and a just confidence in the powers of man imposed on the Cape of Tempests the more auspicious name of CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

I am told, but I do not believe, that the King of Portugal received from Congo the first intelligence of the Christian Empire of Abyssinia: the unknown space between the Nile and the Zayre is occupied by deserts and savages; and a more easy mode of intercourse may be found in the common pilgrimage of Jerusalem. The curiosity of John II. was imperfectly gratified: his first messengers returned after a feeble and fruitless effort: his second ambassadors were more worthy of their trust, but Payva died in Abyssinia, and his associate Covigliam was detained a perpetual exile in that solitary land. Yet, before his captivity, the intrepid Covigliam had transmitted home an account of his first labours. From the Red Sea, he had visited the coasts of the ocean as far as Calicut on the Indian and Sofala on the African side. At Calicut he had seen the great market of oriental spices; at Sofala he had learned from the Arabian mariners, that the southern ocean is boundless and navigable; and he justly concluded that the Caravels which traded to Guinea might explore their way to the isle of Madagascar and the shores of Malabar.

bar.* Columbus plunged into the sea of darkness: but the merit of Gama is somewhat abated by the previous inspiration of hope and knowledge.

From the designs of Prince Henry to their final accomplishment by Vasco de Gama, the Portuguese discoveries of Africa and India have been the theme of many historians: but the copious stream which uniformly flows in the same channel is derived from a muddy and penurious source. The inquisitive Ramusio (1550) deplores the negligence of the kings of Portugal, who should have required and preserved the fresh memorials of each successful expedition. That no more than four persons had survived to commemorate the acts of their countrymen is the complaint of Castaneda (1553), a laborious historian, who might converse with Gama himself, and who had exhausted the original archives of Lisbon and Goa. The narrative of the two African voyages of Cadamosta the Venetian is the only composition of the fifteenth century which has reached my knowledge:† that

* Covigliam himself related his adventures to Francesco Alvares, who was found in Abyssinia (1520), after an exile of thirty years. Viaggio della Ethiopia, c. 103. in Ramusio, tom. i. fol. 254.

† See the Italian original of the narrative of M. Aluise da Cadamosta in the Collection of Ramusio, tom. i. folio 104—121; a Latin version in the Novus Orbis of Grynæus, and a French abstract in the Histoire Générale des Voyages, tom. ii. p. 285—321. Cadamosta left Venice August the 8th, A. D. 1454, at the age of twenty-two; he performed his two voyages in the years 1455 and 1456, and he finally quitted Portugal the 1st of February, 1463.

curious navigator describes the scenes in which he was personally engaged; his fancy was not inflamed by patriotism; nor could his judgment be affected by any subsequent events. From this contemporary monument, I shall extract the purest idea of the primitive designs and discoveries of Prince Henry and his associates.

From his castle on the shores of the Atlantic, near Cape Lagos in Portugal, Prince Henry encouraged and improved the art of navigation, without trusting his person to the ocean. The trade between Italy and Flanders passed before him, and Cadamosta himself is an example how liberally he engaged the service of the most skilful seamen, and the bravest spirit of the age. His original motives were religion and chivalry: the master of the order of Christ was bound by the injunction of a dying father to pursue the Moors on the sea as well as on the land: but his zeal was soon directed by curiosity, and his curiosity was rewarded with the first fruits of commerce. His *Caravels*, which annually infested the coast of Azafi and Messa, were urged by his powerful voice beyond the tremendous capes of Non and Boyador; they slowly moved along a sandy desert of a thousand miles, which drinks the waters of the Atlantic, and explored the Senegal and the Gambia, that separate the countries of the whites and the blacks. From the fertile and populous banks of these rivers they still advanced to the south; but the Sierra Leone appears to be the most remote discovery of Prince Henry,

Henry, who in the labour of forty years did not attain the term of the navigation of Hanno. But the Canaries, or Fortunate Islands, had emerged from the darkness of the middle age, and the vessels of Portugal were driven by the winds, or guided by the compass, to the more distant isles of Madeira and Cape Verd. The commercial profits of Prince Henry and his associates, which sometimes exceeded one thousand per cent. were derived from various sources. The settlement of Madeira had been rapid and useful; and the four colonies of the island consisted of eight hundred Christians, of whom one hundred were qualified to serve on horseback. A large quantity of cedar and rose-wood was annually exported, the sugar-canes which Prince Henry introduced surpassed in their produce those of Cyprus and Sicily, and the vines of Candia derived a new flavour from the soil and climate. A plentiful fishery atoned in some degree for the barrenness of the desert. Arguin was enriched by the inland trade; and the land of the Negroes afforded a fair promise of gold-dust, ivory and slaves.

It is curious to observe how strongly in this first interview the superiority of the *whites* was felt and acknowledged by the blacks. The Portuguese sails as they swelled to the wind were mistaken by the Azenaghis for enormous birds: when the ships lay at anchor near the shore they assumed the form of sea-monsters, and in their rapid motions they were likened to the spirits of the air and deep. The Negroes trembled at the sound and effect of the muskets

muskets and cannon, one of which, as it was said, could destroy an hundred enemies at a single blast. They admired the dress and music, the arts, the luxury, the riches of the Europeans, who enjoyed their paradise in this world, and who surpassed in power and knowledge the magicians and perhaps the deities of Africa. But an opinion prevailed on the banks of the Gambia, that the black slaves, who were embarked in the foreign vessels, supplied with a grateful food the polite cannibals of Europe. If we follow the fate of these unhappy men, this false suspicion is rather favourable than injurious to Christian humanity.

Of the maritime nations of Europe the French have had the smallest share in the fame and benefits of the great naval discoveries. Yet their authors pretend, that they were the first, after the fall of the Roman empire, who sailed along the coast of Africa beyond the southern limit of the world. Before the year 1364, the ships of Normandy had penetrated as far as Cape Verd, the river Senegal, and the mountains of Sierra Leone; and in the month of September, 1365, an act of association was signed between the merchant adventurers of Dieppe and Rouen. The joint efforts of this trading company produced a rapid increase of wealth and knowledge: the domestic names of Paris and Dieppe were applied to the new factories on the coast of Guinea; and a French title is maintained to the original foundation (1383—1386) of the well known fort and settlement of St. George de la Mina. But the civil confusions of France were

soon

soon renewed by the insanity of Charles VI. (1392); the spirit of commerce and navigation evaporated; the sons of opulent traders aspired to the rank of gentlemen and soldiers; their African colonies were deserted or destroyed, and this French discovery vanished like a dream from the coast of Guinea and the memory of men.*

It is indeed a dream.—I will not deny that the Normans of the fourteenth century frequented the Atlantic Ocean, that their ships, returning with a cargo of Spanish wines, might be driven far away to the southward, and that the conquest of the Canary islands was first undertaken by a private gentleman of Normandy. But this offspring of national vanity, this fable of a Senegal and Guinea Company may be annihilated by some short and simple reflections. 1. Less than thirty years (1334—1364) cannot decently be assigned for the first and most laborious steps of the Atlantic navigation, and these years must fall on the calamitous reigns of Philip of Valois and his son John. The military strength of the kingdom was lost in the fields of Creçy and Poitiers: two hundred and thirty ships and thirty thousand seamen were destroyed in a naval engagement: Normandy was invaded by the English, Caen was pillaged; the miseries of war and faction aggravated each other; the wealth of France was drained for a king's ransom; and the

* See two works of Père Labat, L'Afrique Occidentale, tom. i. p. 6—16. and Voyage en Guinée, tom. i. p. 133. 238, &c. and likewise l'Histoire Générale des Voyages, tom. ii. p. 424. tom. iv. p. 2, &c.

great

great plague swept away the third part of the human race. And was this a time?——2. The writers of the age are ignorant (and they could not have been ignorant) of these African discoveries. Such exploits would have been enrolled by the historians of Charles V. among the peaceful triumphs of his reign. Would not the archives of France and England afford some acts of regulation or favour to the Norman Company? Must not the new commodities of Guinea, gold-dust, ivory, and Negroes, have been soon noticed in the market of Bruges? Could the curious and vagrant Froissard never meet a talkative mariner who had sailed beyond the tropic? The fourteenth century might be inattentive to the benefits of trade; the genuine or specious miracles of an Atlantic voyage would have been transcribed and read as eagerly as a romance of chivalry or the legend of a saint. 3. The Portuguese may assert the faith of their own historians, but the Venetian Cadamosta was a contemporary and a stranger: and Cadamosta affirms that their discoveries were long checked by the supposed impossibility of passing Cape Boyador. Could such an impossibility have been supposed, if the French vessels had been seen within the memory of man steering an annual course to their Guinea settlements above twenty degrees southward of the impassable cape? 4. This pile of improbabilities is raised on an airy basis. I might peruse with attention the original act of association in the archives of Dieppe: but, alas! these archives have been consumed by fire (1694). I *will* smile at the reference

to

to some anonymous manuscripts in the library of a town lawyer, whose name is discreetly suppressed. Nor shall I deign to examine the collateral proofs, a vague appellation, a broken date, and the old attachment of the Negroes for the French nation. 5. The motive of this idle fiction may be easily detected. In the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Senegal and Guinea trade was actually exercised by the African Company of Dieppe and Rouen. These merchant adventurers were prompted by interest as well as pride to magnify the antiquity of their house, to claim the inheritance of the golden coast, and to urge, against the Portuguese, a prior right of discovery and possession.

SELECTIONS

FROM

MR. GIBBON'S

EXTRAITS RAISONNÉS DE MES LECTURES,

FROM

THE JOURNAL,

FROM

THE RECUEIL DE MES OBSERVATIONS ET PIÈCES DÉTACHÉES,

COMMON-PLACE BOOKS AND MEMORANDA.

SELECTIONS, &c.

EXTRAITS RAISONNÉS DE MES LECTURES.

Dover, 14th March, 1761.

"LA lecture est à l'esprit ce que vos perdrix sont à mes joues," said the Duke of Vivonne to Lewis XIV. It is, in fact, the nourishment of the mind; for by reading, we know our Creator, his works, ourselves chiefly, and our fellow-creatures. But this nourishment is easily converted into poison. Salmasius had read as much as Grotius, perhaps more. But their different modes of reading made the one an enlightened philosopher; and the other, to speak plainly, a pedant puffed up with an useless erudition.

Let us read with method, and propose to ourselves an end to which all our studies may point. Through neglect of this rule, gross ignorance often disgraces great readers; who, by skipping hastily and irregularly from one subject to another, render themselves incapable of combining their ideas. So many detached parcels of knowledge cannot form a whole. This inconstancy weakens the energies of the mind, creates in it a dislike to application, and even robs it of the advantages of natural good sense.

Yet, let us avoid the contrary extreme; and re-

spect method, without rendering ourselves its slaves. While we propose an end in our reading, let not this end be too remote; and when once we have attained it, let our attention be directed to a different subject. Inconstancy weakens the understanding: a long and exclusive application to a single object hardens and contracts it. Our ideas no longer change easily into a different channel, and the course of reading to which we have too long accustomed ourselves, is the only one that we can pursue with pleasure.

We ought besides, to be careful, not to make the order of our thoughts subservient to that of our subjects; this would be to sacrifice the principal to the accessory. The use of our reading is to aid us in thinking. The perusal of a particular work gives birth, perhaps, to ideas unconnected with the subject of which it treats. I wish to pursue these ideas; they withdraw me from my proposed plan of reading, and throw me into a new track, and from thence, perhaps, into a second, and a third. At length I begin to perceive whither my researches tend. Their result, perhaps, may be profitable; it is worth while to try: whereas, had I followed the high road, I should not have been able, at the end of my long journey, to retrace the progress of my thoughts.

This plan of reading is not applicable to our early studies, since the severest method is scarcely sufficient to make us conceive objects altogether new. Neither can it be adopted by those who read in order to write; and who ought to dwell on their subject till they have sounded its depths. These reflections,

flections, however, I do not absolutely warrant. On the supposition that they are just, they may be so, perhaps, for myself only. The constitution of minds differs like that of bodies. The same regimen will not suit all. Each individual ought to study his own.

To read with attention, exactly to define the expressions of our author, never to admit a conclusion without comprehending its reason, often to pause, reflect, and interrogate ourselves; these are so many advices which it is easy to give, but difficult to follow. The same may be said of that almost evangelical maxim of forgetting friends, country, religion, of giving merit its due praise, and embracing truth wherever it is to be found.

But what ought we to read? Each individual must answer this question for himself, agreeably to the object of his studies. The only general precept that I would venture to give, is that of Pliny,* "to read much, rather than many things;" to make a careful selection of the best works, and to render them familiar to us by attentive and repeated perusals. Without expatiating on the authors so generally known and approved, I would simply observe, that in matters of reasoning, the best are those who have augmented the number of useful truths; who have discovered truths, of whatever nature they may be: in one word, those bold spirits, who quitting the beaten tract, prefer being in the wrong alone, to being in the right with the multitude. Such authors increase the number of our ideas, and even their mistakes are useful to

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

their successors. With all the respect due to Mr. Locke, I would not, however, neglect the works of those academicians, who destroy errors without hoping to substitute truth in their stead. In works of fancy, invention ought to bear away the palm; chiefly that invention which creates a new kind of writing; and next, that which displays the charms of novelty, in its subject, characters, situations, pictures, thoughts, and sentiments. Yet this invention will miss its effect, unless it be accompanied with a genius, capable of adapting itself to every variety of the subject; successively sublime, pathetic, flowery, majestic, and playful; and with a judgment which admits nothing indecorous, and a style which expresses well whatever *ought* to be said. As to compilations, which are intended merely to treasure up the thoughts of others, I ask whether they are written with perspicuity, whether superfluities are lopped off, and dispersed observations skilfully collected; and agreeably to my answers to those questions, I estimate the merit of such performances.

When we have read with attention, there is nothing more useful to the memory than extracts. I speak not of those collections, or adversaria, which may be serviceable in their own way, but of extracts made with reflection, such as those of Photius, and of several of our modern journalists. I purpose in this manner to give an account to myself of my reading. My method will vary with the subject. In works of reasoning, I will trace their general plan, explain the principles established, and examine the consequences deduced from them.

them. A philosopher is unworthy of the name, whose work is not most advantageously viewed as a whole. After carefully meditating my subject, the only liberty I shall take, is that of exhibiting it under an arrangement different perhaps from that of my author. Works of fancy contain beauties, both of plan and of execution: I shall be attentive to both. History, if little known, deserves an abridgment. I shall extract such particulars as are new. Throughout, I shall give my opinion with becoming modesty, but with the courage of a man unwilling to betray the rights of reason. In this compilement, I shall collect my scattered thoughts, with the reflections of every sort that occur in my search for truth. For I shall continue to search for the truth, though hitherto I have found nothing but probability.

Aug. 24th, 1761.]—I read Mr. Bonamy's Reflections upon the Geographical Errors occasioned by Alexander's Historians, Mem. xxv. p. 40—54; *very solid:* and M. de la Bleterie's Mem. upon the Tribunitian Power of the Emperors, Mem. xxv. p. 392—440; much inferior to his former dissertations.

25th.]—I read M. de la Nauze's Dissertation upon the ancient Roman Calendar, Mem. xxvi. p. 219—257; *most excellent:* I never understood the Roman Calendar before.

26th.]—I read M. de la Nauze a second time, and meditated him thoroughly.

Aug. 28th.]—I read M. de Guigner's Memoir upon the Destruction of the Greek Monarchy in Bactriana, Mem. xxv. p. 17—34; *singular:* and M. d'Anville's upon the Nation and Religion of the Getæ, ib. p. 34—47; *judicious.*

Sept. 1st.]—I read the first Dissertation of the Count de Caylus, upon ancient Painting.

2d.]—I read the Count de Caylus's second Dissertation.

3d.]—I began M. de la Nauze's Memoir upon the Manner Pliny has treated of ancient Painting.

4th.]—I finished it.

5th.]—I read M. de Caylus's third Dissertation. Though Caylus has a much higher reputation, I should myself prefer De la Nauze; in French I should say, Celui-ci a écrit en homme de lettres amateur, celui-là en amateur homme de lettres. De la Nauze is learned, methodical, full of taste, perhaps sometimes not precise enough. Caylus's observations are without any plan, too minute, and sometimes, when stripped of their technical dress, injudicious. However, his comparison of the ancient and modern painters shews a knowledge of the beauties and masters of the art. They are both contained in tom. xxv. Mem. p. 149—302. I read the first Memoir of M. de Caylus upon ancient Sculpture.

6th.]—I read the second Memoir upon Sculpture, tom. xxv. p. 302—368. They are much superior to those upon painting; as the author probably never practised sculpture, he attaches himself less to the manual exercise of the art.

Sept.

Sept. 7th.]—I read M. de Caylus upon the Mausoleum, tom. xxvi. p. 321—335.

8th.]—I read four parts of the Bibliothèque des Sciences et des Beaux Arts, from July, 60, to July, 61; a plain, sensible journal.

11th.]—I read M. Freret's Observations upon the Marble of Paros, tom. xxvi. p. 157—219: the general remarks, interesting; the inquiry into the date of the death of Darius, ingenious and satisfactory; the whole very profound: and M. de Belley's Explanation of a Camayeu in the Duke of Orleans cabinet; very probable: tom. xxvi. p. 475—486.

12th.]—I read Belley's Explanation of an Agate in the Duke of Orleans' cabinet; *like the former:* tom. xxvi. p. 486—504: and M. d'Anville's Inquiry into the Source of the Nile; tom. xxvi. p. 34—46; leaves it as obscure as ever.

Oct. 2d.]—I ran over M. de la Beau's Memoir upon the Roman Legion, in tom. xxvi. of the Academy: one or two Epistles of Horace; with Dacier and Sanadon; and Soame Jenyns's Inquiry into the Origin of Evil; and perused for the second time, with infinite pleasure, M. de la Nauze's fine Memoir upon ancient Painting.

Feb. 8th, 1762.]—Having finished Hurd's Horace, given a second perusal to two principal discourses, and thoroughly meditated the whole subject, I began to make an *Extrait raisonné* of it. At the same time I employed my leisure moments in going through the famous *Argenis* of Barclay, with which I was much entertained; and, with a

view to Homer, perused for the second time a very considerable part of Mezeriac's Ovid.

March 18th.]—I finished at last my abstract of Mr. Hurd, which consists of thirty pages in folio: though it took me up much more time than I imagined, by running into so unexpected a length, yet I do not regret it, as it started a new train of ideas upon many curious points of criticism. To get a little nearer to Homer, of whom I have never lost sight, I read the *Inquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer.*

27th.]—At last I returned to Homer, and beginning where I had left off, read L. v. V. 1—404.

28th.]—Read of the Iliad L. v. V. 405—606. At the same time I resolved every day to learn, and write down, a certain number of the *Racines Grecques*; and to-day went through the four first.

29th.]—Learnt and wrote the *Racines Grecques*, Stang. 4—8. Read of the Iliad, L. v. V. 606—909; and beginning, for the second time, the Inquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer, read page 1—56.

30th.]—Went through the *Racines Grecques*, from 8—12; but read no Homer.

31st.]—I read the *Inquiry*, page 56—80: went through *Racines Grecques*, 12—16; and reviewed the first three hundred lines of the fifth book of the Iliad.

April 1st.]—Went through *Racines Grecques*, 16—20; and reviewed the remaining six hundred lines of the fifth Iliad. I likewise read v. 215—295, of the eleventh Æneid, in relation to Æneas and Diomede.

April

April 2d.]—Went through *Racines Grecques*, 20—24. The method I pursue is this: after reading them attentively, I write them down from my memory, looking in the book as seldom as I can. I then repeat them twice; first mentioning the French word that answers to the Greek; then the Greek word that answers to the French. At last I repeat the French of every Greek root of the present, and two preceding days. I find this method, though dry, helps me very much.

3d.]—Went through *Racines Grecques*, 24—28. Read the sixth book of the Iliad, from v. 325—529, the end.

6th.]—I only went through *Racines Grecques*, 32—36; and read the seventh book of the Iliad, v. 123—199.

7th.]—I went through *Racines Grecques*, 36—40; and read the seventh book of the Iliad, v. 199—482.

8th.]—I went through *Racines Grecques*, 40—44; reviewed the whole seventh book of the Iliad, and read the eighth, v. 1—40.

9th.]—I went through *Racines Grecques*, 44—48; but read no Homer.

13th.]—I read the eighth book of the Iliad, v. 401—561, the end.

14th.]—In the morning I reviewed the whole eighth book of the Iliad; went through the *Racines Grecques*, 48—52, and finished the Inquiry, p. 216—335.

26th.]—I read great part of the second volume of *D'Alembert's Mélanges*; very sensible, and well written.

April

April 29th]—Read the *Bibliothèques des Sciences et des Beaux Arts*, for *October*, *November*, and *December*, 1761. I found in it an extract of my Essay: they speak very highly of it, and promise great things of me, p. 368—380.

30th.]—I read the ninth book of the Iliad, v. 1—306.

May 2d.]—I read the ninth book of the Iliad, v. 306—542.

3d.]—I read of the Iliad, Lib. ix. v. 542—709, the end; and reviewed the first hundred lines of it.

5th.]—I read the tenth book of the Iliad, v. 70—879, and reviewed the whole book.

6th.]—I read the Æneid, L. ix. v. 126—502, in order to compare the story of Nisus and Euryalus related in it, with the night adventure in the Iliad. They have both beauties, but of a different kind. By his strong characters, and lively descriptions, Homer speaks powerfully to the curiosity and imagination of the reader. The amiable manners, tender friendship, and unhappy fate of Virgil's heroes, are truly pathetic, and make the deepest impression on the heart. I likewise read the eleventh book of the Iliad, v. 1—542. As I go on with Homer, he becomes much easier to me: I am master of a greater stock of words; the turn of his style, his dialects, and his poetical licences, are become more familiar to me.

8th.]—I reviewed the first four hundred and fifty lines of the eleventh book of the Iliad.

9th.]—I reviewed the remaining four hundred lines

lines of the eleventh book of the Iliad; and read the twelfth, v. 1—309. I likewise consulted Mezeriac's Ovid, tom. i. p. 171—179, in relation to the omens from the flight of birds, in order to understand the speech of Hector to Polydamus. From the materials which Mezeriac laid before me, I conceived a much clearer notion of the subject than he had himself.

May 10th.]—I received a letter from Mr. Scott, in which, according to his promise, he lays down for me a course of studies, both in the pure and mixed mathematics; pointing out the merit and defects of the principal writers in every branch of them. I can hardly put any of his directions in practice before next winter. I read, to-day, of the Iliad, L. xii. v. 309—471, the end, reviewing the whole twelfth book; and read L. xii. v. 1—273.

11th.]—Read the Iliad, L. xiii. v. 273—837, the end, and reviewed the first five hundred lines of that book.

12th.]—I reviewed the remaining three hundred and forty lines of the thirteenth book of the Iliad; and read the fourteenth, v. 1—108. My diligence to-day was much inferior to the preceding ones.

14th.]—I received from London two volumes of *Mémoires Militaires sur les Grecs et sur les Romains, par M. Guichardt.* The author, who was in the Dutch, and is now, I believe, in the Prussian service, proposes to correct the numerous mistakes of the Chevalier de Folard, and to explain the principal military actions of the ancients according to their best historians, and the true principles

ciples of their tactics. This book drew me away for some time from Homer; I read, but in a cursory manner, the first volume.

May 15th.]—I read, but in the same cursory manner, the second volume of *Guichardt's Mémoires.*

16th.]—I began to read the *Mémoires Militaires* a second time; but with more attention. I read the preface, which is very judicious, and the four first chapters. The first is on the blockade of Agrigentum by the Romans in the first Punic war; and gives a clear idea of the superior advantages of the Roman intrenchments above our modern lines. The second is the battle of Tunis, between Regulus and Xantippus. Folard, explaining Polybius, blames Regulus for the only thing for which his author had commended him. The third is the battle of Macar, where the amazing manœuvres of Amilcar are displayed with great precision. The fourth, on the battle of the Adda, is a complete treatise on the Roman legion, very satisfactory as to the times of Polybius; very little so as to those of Cæsar.

17th.]—I read the fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth chapters of the Mémoires. The fifth is the combat of the Ticinum; many good remarks on the ancient cavalry: the sixth is the battle of Trebia; the author illustrates still further the way of drawing up the legion, and explains the several manœuvres of the two armies very clearly: the seventh is a very insignificant affair at Germinem; but the eighth is the battle of Cannæ, the master-

piece

piece of Hannibal, of Polybius, and, perhaps, of M. Guichardt. The columns of Folard, and the impracticable manœuvres of the Gauls disappear, and the art of Hannibal appears refined, but rational.

May 18th.]—I read the ninth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth chapters of the Mémoires. Ninth, a very insignificant affair at Caphyæ, between the weak Aratus and some Æolian freebooters. Tenth, the battle of Mantinea, between Machanidas and Philopœmen: small numbers and refined art on both sides. Eleventh, the battle between Scipio and Asdrubal in Spain. M. Folard's columns, generally ideal, were really employed by Scipio in a superior manner. Twelfth, the battle of Zama; the merit of the generals, though great, being equal, left the victory to the bravest troops.

19th.]—I read the thirteenth, fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth chapters of the Mémoires. Thirteenth, the battle of Cynocephala. Philip had formed a good plan, but did not know how to alter it, though he might have gained the victory. Fourteenth, the battle of the Granicus: Alexander's impetuosity seems directed by more military skill than is commonly thought. Fifteenth, the battle of Arbela, a complete practical lecture on the art of war; but are we indebted for that lecture to Alexander or to Arrian? The sixteenth, the blockade of Alisia: M. Guichardt does honour to Cæsar by diminishing the extent and number of his works: we can now both understand and believe them.

May

May 20th.]—I began the second volume of the Mémoires, and read the dissertation upon the attack and defence of places by the ancients; very clear and accurate. Their real methods are well described, and M. Guichardt proves, against the Chevalier de Folard, that they knew nothing of the modern trenches.

21st.]—I read in the Mémoires the translation of the military institutions of Onozander, full of that common-place sense which every one can write, and no one can deny.

22d.]—I read the Tactics of Arrian, translated in the Mémoires. They are very curious and exact, and give a very clear notion of the nature, arms, and discipline of the phalanx; but it is very odd Arrian should rather compile these Tactics from Greek writers, than write from his own knowledge an account of the Roman legions, which he had himself seen and commanded.

23d.]—I read the Analysis of Cæsar's Campaign in Africa. Every motion of that great general is laid open with a critical sagacity. A complete military history of his campaigns would do almost as much honour to M. Guichardt as to Cæsar. This finished the Mémoires, which gave me a much clearer notion of ancient tactics than I ever had before. Indeed, my own military knowledge was of some service to me, as I am well acquainted with the modern discipline and exercise of a battalion. So that though much inferior to M. Folard and M. Guichardt, who had seen service, I am a much better judge than Salmasius, Casaubon, or Lipsius;

Lipsius; mere scholars, who perhaps had never seen a battalion under arms.

May 26th.]—I read the Chevalier de Folard's Supplement to his Polybius, vide Le Polybe de Folard, tom. vii. p. 1—42. It shews the man of genius in every line; it consists chiefly of curious anecdotes, mistaken quotations, and whimsically ingenious observations. I likewise read the third letter of *Les Sentimens d'un Homme de Guerre*, in the same volume, p. 208—235. This Homme de Guerre was M. de Savornin, major-general in the Dutch service. He is certainly in the right in observing, that the Romans in general, and Cæsar at Pharsalia in particular, drew up their troops in three lines; but he has a most minute, heavy, and perplexed way of writing. I discovered a passage in Cæsar's Commentaries, l. i. c. 83, which is the key of the tactics of his age. Had M. Guichardt known of it, he might have avoided several mistakes.

31st.]—Before I left Blandford I finished the first six volumes of *Fontenelle*, which contain "*toute la force et toute la fleur de son esprit.*" I read them at my leisure hours with great pleasure, particularly *Entretiens sur la Pluralité des Mondes*, *Histoire du Théâtre François*, &c. and the *Eloges des Académiciens*. The *Histoire des Oracles*, though excellent, is somewhat superficial. The Dialogues of the Dead are (if I may speak French) *une débauche de raisonnement*, as the Lettres du Chevalier d'Her . . . . *une débauche d'esprit et de galanterie*. I acknowledge all the defects of the Eclogues, but some of them are charming. I resolved

resolved to substitute for my leisure hours the *Bibliothèque* of *Le Clerc*, as an inexhaustible source of amusement and instruction, and accordingly began with the first volume of the *Bibliothèque Universelle.*

June 6th.]—I formed a design, (but I doubt whether I shall find time to execute it,) to give part of my day to Homer and part to Quintilian; that is, to unite the example with the precept. Accordingly I began with Quintilian, in Burman's edition, read his article in Bayle's Dictionary, the preface of Burman; Burman was a mere critic, without being (in my opinion) a good one, since a good critic must reason well; and Burman never could reason at all. I began likewise the *Annales Quintilianæi* of Dodwell, and read c. 1—3.

7th.]—I continued the Annals, and read c. 3—20.

8th.]—I read the Annals, c. 20—47, which (including the Synopsis Chronologica) finished the Treatise. Dodwell's learning was immense; in this part of history especially, (that of the Upper Empire,) the most minute fact or passage could not escape him; and his skill in employing them is equal to his learning. The worst of this author is his method and style; the one perplexed beyond imagination, the other negligent to a degree of barbarism.

9th.]—I read of the Iliad, l. xiv. v. 1—522, the end. It required all the *éclat* of Homer's poetry to reconcile us to Jupiter's being deceived and laid asleep.

June

June 10th.]—I reviewed the fourteenth book of the Iliad, and read the fifteenth, v. 1—220. The scene of Jupiter and Neptune pleases me infinitely; besides the natural greatness of the action and actors, heightened by a most spirited narration, it gives a clearer idea of the Greek polytheism than the laborious researches of half our modern critics and divines.

11th.]—I read the fifteenth book of the Iliad, v. 220—746, the end. The remainder of this book is a continued and not very interesting battle. What chiefly distinguishes it, are some of the finest similies I have yet met with in the Iliad; and a variety of short speeches, of a truly spirited and military eloquence.

13th.]—I read the sixteenth book of the Iliad, v. 1—113.

14th.]—I wrote a note on page 30 of my *Essai sur l'Etude de la Littérature*, containing a passage of Florus, and another of Propertius; with observations on the latter.

17th.]—I finished the first volume of *Le Clerc's Bibliothèque Universelle.* I shall just mention the most curious books that are abstracted in it. Hugonis Grotii Epistolæ, Amsterdam, 1696, p. 1—29, and 121—166, curious and instructive. Temporum Mythicorum Historia, p. 245—280. I believe Le Clerc himself is the author. It is an ingenious application of a common principle; viz. that the heroic fables are only the Phœnician history corrupted, and their language misunderstood. *Clementis Galani Historia Armena Coloniæ*, 1686,

a true missionary's account, full of curious facts and religious prejudices. *Lightfooti Opera omnia, Roterodami*, 1686. A classical author on a subject very little so. Lightfoot, by constant reading of the Rabbies, was almost become a Rabbin himself.

June 19th.]—I read the sixteenth book of the Iliad, v. 113—367, the end, and wrote a note on p. 79 of my Essai, containing some instances of the number, rarity, and variety of the animals produced in the amphitheatre of Rome; and taken from the writers of the Augustan history, with the remarks of Casaubon and Salmasius.

21st.—I reviewed the first hundred lines of the sixteenth book of the Iliad: the fierceness and anger of Achilles softened by friendship. The mild, amiable, and yet spirited character of Patroclus are admirably described and contrasted. Homer never shines more than in these moral pictures.

22d.]—I reviewed the remaining seven hundred and fifty lines of the sixteenth book of the Iliad. The description of the arms, leaders, &c. Achilles's speech to them, and his prayer, are solemn, and fill the mind with great ideas and expectations. They are fulfilled. Of all the heroes that fall throughout the Iliad, I pity none so much as Sarpedon; he was as amiable a character as Patroclus, and a much greater one. I read the seventeenth book, v. 1—105. I likewise, to understand the sixteenth, v. 234, consulted *Strabo, l. vii. p.* 327, 328; a Mémoire of M. de la Nauze, *Mém. de Littérature, tom vii. p.* 154—147; and one of M. Hardion,

Hardion, *Mém. de Littérature, tom. iii. p.* 138—141. Strabo is far from intelligible; the two Frenchmen treat their subject only incidentally, and were misled by their erroneous, confined notion of the *Pelasgi.* However, from these and my own reflections, I formed a pretty clear idea of *Dodona* and the *Selli.*

June 23d.]—I read the seventeenth book of the Iliad, v. 105---505.

24th.]—I finished the second volume of the *Bibliothèque Universelle.* This volume contains, p. 20—51, *P. Limborchi Theologia Christiana, Amstelod.* 1686. Moderate and judicious, the general character of the Arminian divines.—*Petri Petiti de Sybillâ, Libri tres, Lips.* 1686. A strange mixture of learning and credulity.—P. 154—184, *Historia Genevrina, par Gregorio Leti.* Leti is a most agreeable historian; a little more regard to truth and exactness would have made him an instructive one.—*Life and Letters of Archbishop Usher, London,* 1686, *p.* 220—262. Accurate, as written by his chaplain; but this chaplain is both too long and too short.—*Méthode de dresser des Recueils, par M. Locke, p.* 315—340.—The exactness and perspicuity of that great man are seen in that trifle.—*Description de l'Afrique traduite du Flamand, par M. Dapper, p.* 340—386. Very curious.—*Contra Aristeæ Historiam de LXX Interpretibus Dissertatio, par Hum. Hody. Oxon* 1685; and *Isaac Vossii Observationum in Pomponium Melam Appendix, Lond.* 1686, *p.* 386—416. I think, after having read these two disputants,

that the question is far more perplexed that before.

June 26th.]—I read the seventeenth book of the Iliad, v. 505—761, the end, and reviewed the first two hundred and fifty lines of it. The amiable character of Patroclus had made every reader his friend whilst alive, and we interest ourselves in the fate of his remains, which are so obstinately disputed.

28th.]—I finished the *Bibliothèque des Sciences et des Beaux Arts*, for January, February, and March 1762. It contains *Œuvres du Cancelier d'Aguesseau, Paris*, 1761, p. 1—20. They breathe a noble spirit of eloquence and virtue.—*Eutropii Breviarium Historiæ Romanæ, cum Notis varior. par Henric. Verheyk. Lugd. Bat.* 1762, p. 88—100. Superior to all other editions, even to that of Havercamp.—*Zimmermanni Opera Theologica et Philosophica, p.* 154—181. Moderate and sensible.

29th.]— I reviewed the remaining five hundred lines of the seventeenth book of the Iliad. It is a continued battle, but is yet very interesting, from the unity and importance of the action, the various turns of fortune, and the equality of the two parties; the one depending on their natural courage, the other on the protection of Jupiter. I am particularly pleased with the sorrow of Achilles's horses, and the reflection of Jupiter, v. 426, &c. I likewise read the eighteenth book, v. 1—238, and consulted some remarks of *M. Galland*, Hist. de l'Académ. des Belles Lettres, tom. i. p. 104—108,

on

on the trumpets of the ancients in relation to v. 219 of this book.

June 30th.]—I read the eighteenth book of the Iliad, v. 238—478.

July 1st.]—I read the eighteenth book of the Iliad, v. 478—616, the end.

2d.]—I reviewed the whole eighteenth book of the Iliad. Homer is never more thoroughly awake: the first part of it shews him to be a perfect master of the tender passions. Achilles receives the news of the death of Patroclus, with a mixture of fury and tenderness suitable to his character. We begin to love him; and the very excess of his rage, though terrible, pleases us, because it is directed only against the murderer of his friend. The second part, or the description of the shield, is a fine landscape. I read the description of the shield of Æneas in Virgil, l. viii. v. 369—454, and 597—731. Virgil's description is the finer piece of poetry; Homer's, the juster representation of a work of art. I read, with the same view, some remarks of the Abbé Fraguier on the origin of painting. *Hist. de l'Académie des Belles Lettres, tom. i. p.* 75—89. Elegant and instructive, but somewhat vague. I likewise read the whole nineteenth book of the Iliad, v. 1—424, the end, and consulted *Potter's Archæologia Greca*, vol. i. p. 246—261, in relation to the ceremonies observed by the ancients in their oaths. I also finished, today, *the Journal des Savans, and the Mémoires de Trevoux for December*, 1761. They contain little more than *de Inscriptione quâdam Egyptiacâ*

Taurini inventâ Decembre, p. 334—345. Mr. Needham pretended that these Egyptian letters were the same as the old Chinese characters. The similitude is here contested.—*Observations sur les Systèmes des P. P. Hardouin et Berruyer.* The object is to prove, the society always disapproved the visions of these two writers. There is much artifice, and some curious anecdotes, in these observations. I believe that the Jesuits were innocent in this respect.

July 7th.]—I finished the *Mémoires de Trevoux*, and the *Journal des Savans for Januury*, 1762. The Journal contains *Tragédies de Sophocle, traduites, par M. Dupuy de l'A. R. des I. et B. L.* p. 3—15. Elegant, exact, and a great addition to French literature.—*L'Antro Eleusino, &c. par M. Bartoli*, p. 49—58. Ingenious, but very doubtful.—The Memoirs *Anniæ Senecæ de Brevitate Vitæ*, p. 149—163. One of the best extracts I ever read.—*Le Pitture Antiche d'Hercolano*, p. 216—225. Ancient, and therefore curious.

8th.]—I reviewed the first hundred and fifty lines of the nineteenth book of the Iliad. The generous character of Achilles raises him every moment higher in the esteem of the reader; his care for the dead body, the spirited frankness of his reconciliation, and his impatience for the combat. I finished the *Journal des Savans* and *Mémoires de Trevoux for February*, 1762. The Journal contains *Thom. Hyde de Religione veterum Persarum*, p. 289—301; a new edition, with long and trifling notes on an excellent book. *Idylles*

de

de Gesner traduites de l'Allemand, p. 380—397. Un Allemand ne peut-il pas être bel esprit? The Memoirs contain *Explication d'un Passage d'Hérodote*, 405—427. A happy solution of a difficult passage in l. ii. c. 142, only by explaining the word Ηλιος, an annual revolution of the sun.

July 9th.]—I finished the *Mém. de Trevoux for March*. They contain little more than *la Bibliomanie*, p. 167—176; severe and spirited; and *Dissertation sur l'Ecriture Hiéroglyphique*. Original. He pretends that there never were any; but I think his proofs too weak for such a paradox.

11th.]—I reviewed the remaining two hundred and seventy lines of the nineteenth book of the Iliad, and think the long debate between Achilles and Ulysses might have been shortened, though the speeches of the first are highly characteristical; nothing can surpass the sublime description of his arming himself for battle. I likewise read the twentieth book of the Iliad, v. 1—258; and when I was at church, followed the second lesson with my Greek Testament in my hand; it was the 23d chapter of St. Luke. I find this method both useful and agreeable, and intend to keep it up whenever I go to church. I finished the *Journal des Savans*, and *Mémoires de Trevoux for April*, 1762. The first contains *Aristophanis Comœdiæ à P. Burmanno*; good, but inferior to Kuster's: and the *Grammaire Françoise Philosophique de M. d'Acarq*, truly deserving of that name; the second *République de Platon*. The translation appears good; I am sure the extract is so.

July 12th.]—I read the twentieth book of the Iliad, v. 258—503, the end.

13th.]—I reviewed the whole twentieth book of the Iliad. The battle of the gods is worthy of every thing Longinus says of it. It would be difficult to find another example which reunites so thoroughly every part of the sublime, both as to thoughts and language. The combat of Achilles and Æneas is very animated and picturesque; and the long speech of Æneas, though faulty, and even ridiculous upon the whole, does honour in its details both to the poet and the historian. I finished the *Journal des Savans, et Mém. de Trevoux for May*, 1762, *part the first*. The Mem. contain nothing: in the Journal there is *Callimachi Hymni ab Ernesti. Lugd. Bat.* The text is exactly reviewed, and the version is a new one.—*Vie de M. Bossuet par M. de Burigny.* Exact and judicious.

14th.]—The twentieth book of Homer, and particularly the speech of Æneas, drew on a variety of discussions. In order to understand the genealogy of Dardanus, I read *Apollodori Biblioth.* l. iii. c. 11. p. 205—215, in Greek; I then consulted Strabo, l. xiii. p. 607—608; and some difficulties arising about the word υπωρεια, as Plato explained it, the lower part of the hills, which were inhabited after the deluge, before men dared venture down into the plain, I read a dissertation upon the deluges of Ogyges and Deucalion, by the learned Freret, *Mém. de l'Académie des Belles Lettres*, tom. xxiii. p. 129—148, who, from a chain of authorities,

thorities, shews, incontestibly, that a deluge was unknown to Homer, Hesiod, and Herodotus; that the first who speak of it (Plato himself, Pindar, and Apollodorus) expressly confined it to Greece, and intimate that a great number were saved; that afterwards, the Greeks mixing their traditions with those of the Jews and the Chaldeans, swelled the deluge of Deucalion into an universal one; but that it never obtained general credit before the time of Plutarch and Lucian. Afterwards, to be well acquainted with Æneas, I read *Strabo, l. xiii. p.* 692—693; *Mezeriac's Ovid, vol. ii. p.* 142—146, *and* 153—168; and a Dissertation upon the Julian family, by the Abbé Vatry, *Mém. de l'Académie*, vol. xvi. p. 414—424. Mezeriac, as usual, compiles without a thought of reasoning; but from the sensible criticisms of the others, it appears that Æneas's posterity probably reigned in Phrygia in the time of Homer, and that his voyage to Italy is a fable invented by the Greeks about the time of Alexander. *N. B.* The Greek authors whom I consulted, I read in Greek. I likewise read the twenty-first book of the Iliad, v. 1—135, and finished the second part of May, *Journal des Savans*, and *Mém. de Trevoux*. The first contains a better extract of the *Dissertations sur l'Ecriture Hiéroglyphique* than the Memoirs had given. I now see that the new system is absolutely indefensible. The second speaks of *Histoire du Siècle d'Alexandre, par M. Linguet:* I suspect that they speak too slightly of the book. However that may be, the

the author is certainly a man of genius, whom I should like to know.

July 15th.]—I read only that most contemptible performance the *Vie du Maréchal Duc de Belleisle, par M. de C . . . . .*

16th.]—I read the twenty-first book of the Iliad, v. 136—611, the end.

18th.]—I did nothing but go to church. The lessons were the 12th of 2 Samuel, and the 5th of St. John's Gospel, both of which I read in Greek.

23d.]—I finished the third volume of *Le Clerc's Bibliothèque Universelle*, which concludes the year 1686. It contains *Explication Historique de la Fable d'Adonis.* He thinks that Adonis, or Osiris, was the son of Hammon or Cham, and grandson of Cinyras, or Noah; and that the incest of Myrrah with her father, was the discovery of Noah's nakedness by his children. But this interpretation is very far-fetched, and can only suit the followers of Ephemerus.—*Bibliothèque Universelle des Auteurs Ecclésiastiques, par Dupin.* Curious and impartial. —Life of Hai Ebn Yokhdan. A fine, though irregular, production of Arabian genius and philosophy.—*The Works of Dr. Barrow.* Barrow was as much of a philosopher as a divine could well be.—*Commentaire Philosophique.* The most useful work Bayle ever wrote, and the least sceptical.—*Puffendorfii Commentarius de Rebus Suecicis.* Exact, heavy, and partial.

24th.]—In order to get a clear idea of those oracles so often mentioned by Homer, and so essential a part of the Grecian religion, I read three dissertations

tations of M. Hardion, inserted in the third volume of the Memoirs of the Academy upon the Oracle of Delphi, p. 137—191; and some observations of M. de Valois, tom. iii. historical part, p. 73—79; and, drawn away by the affinity of the subject, I likewise read two dissertations of the same M. de Valois, upon the Amphictyons, the guardians of this temple, tom. iii. p. 191—228, and tom. v. p. 405—415.

July 25th.]—I read the history which M. de la Valois has given us of the two sacred wars, which the Amphyctions decreed to avenge the sacrileges committed at Delphi, tom. vii. p. 201—239; tom. ix. p. 97—113, and tom. xii. p. 177—204. Besides the light that these pieces throw on the Greek religion, they are valuable for the knowledge they give us of that civil and religious bond of union in the Hellenic body, which for some ages rendered it invincible.

28th.]—I read the articles of Jupiter and Juno, in Bayle's Dictionary. That of Jupiter is very superficial. Juno takes up seventeen pages; but great part of it, as usual, very foreign to the purpose. A long inquiry when horns began to be an emblem of cuckoldom; numberless reflections, some original, and others very trivial; and a learning chiefly confined to the Latin writers. When he doubted if Juno was really worshipped at Carthage, why did not he quote Minucius Felix? *V. octav. p. 259, edit. Gronov.* Upon the whole, I believe that Bayle had more of a certain multifarious reading, than real erudition. Le Clerc, his great

great antagonist, was as far superior to him in that respect, as inferior in every other. I reviewed the first two hundred lines of the twenty-first book of the Iliad. There is great dignity of sentiment, and a calm sternness, in the answer of Achilles to the moving prayers of the unfortunate Lycaon.

July 29th.]—I reviewed the remaining four hundred lines of the twenty-first book of the Iliad. The combat of Achilles and the Scamander is finely described. If Homer, when he speaks of the Gods, does not rise in his sentiments, at least he does in his language and poetry. I likewise read some very sensible and curious observations of the Abbé de Fonterne, *Sur le Culte des Divinités des Eaux; Histoire de l'Académie des Belles Lettres*, tom. xii. p. 27—49.

30th.]—I read the twenty-second book of the Iliad, v. 1—515, the end.

August 1st.]—I read the lessons at church in Greek, viz. the thirteenth chapter of the first book of Kings, and the twenty-first of St. John's Gospel. How very free a version the Septuagint is! for I imagine ours is a very literal one.

2d.]—I reviewed the whole twenty-second book of the Iliad, in which the whole interest of the preceding books is wound up in the lives of Hector and Achilles. Notwithstanding the reasons given by Mr. Pope, every reader of taste must be disgusted with Hector's flight. The true grounds of courage were not well understood, and poetry had not learnt the art of raising an hero without debasing his enemies. The fears and lamentations

of

of Hector's family are beautifully pathetic; but I think that Andromache is rather too much the mother, and too little the wife. As I am now entering upon the twenty-third book, which contains the funeral of Patroclus, I read the eight first chapters of the fourth book of Archbishop Potter's Grecian Antiquities, vol. ii. p. 160—241, upon the Grecian Funerals. They contain a great fund of learning, without any useless digressions.

August 3d.]—I began M. de Burette's set of Dissertations in the Memoirs of the Academy, on the Gymnastics of the Ancients: they are learned and judicious, but too full of fruitless, and therefore frivolous, inquiries into the origin and etymology of every art. I read to-day, only *Observations générales sur la Gymnastique,* Hist. tom. i. p. 89—104; and first *Mémoire sur la Danse,* Mém. tom. i. p. 93—117.

4th.]—I read second *Mémoire sur la Danse,* tom. i. Mem. p. 117—136; *Mémoire sur la Sphæristique,* p. 117—153; and first *Mémoire sur les Athlètes,* p. 211—237.

5th.]—I read second and third *Mémoires sur les Athlètes,* p. 237—291; and *Mémoire sur la Lutte,* tom. iii. Mém. p. 228—255.

6th.]—I read the several Mémoires of M. de Burette, *sur le Pugilat, la Course, le Pentathle, et le Disque,* tom. iii. Mém. p. 255—343. Having finished these, I read three Dissertations of the Abbé Gedoyn, *sur les Courses des Chevaux et des Chars, surtout au Jeux Olympiques, tom. viii. p.* 314—330; and 330—341; and *tom. ix. Mém. p.* 360

360—376; and *a Mémoire of M. de la Barre, on the same subject; tom. ix. Mem. p.* 376—397. Gedoyn is polite and curious, but somewhat pert and superficial. De la Barre is difficult to be understood, but is worth studying, for he is very ingenious as well as learned. There is a great dispute what was the length of the Olympic course for chariots. Burette makes it twenty-four stadia, or twelve revolutions of one stadium: Gedoyn, eight stadia, or one revolution of four stadia: De la Barre, forty-eight stadia, or six revolutions of four stadia: Mr. West, (v. West's Pindar, vol. ii. p. 135.) forty-eight stadia, or twelve revolutions of two stadia. I have not room for their reasons; but I am of De la Barre's opinion. When one reads these Dissertations, one admires the active spirit of the Greeks, sensible to every species of entertainment and glory; who could at the same time, and with the same application, bring to perfection, dancing and philosophy, boxing and poetry.

August 7th.]—I read the twenty-third book of the Iliad, v. 1—257.

8th.]—I read the twenty-third book of the Iliad, v. 257—897; and the articles of *Lemnos, Hercules,* and the greatest part of *Helena,* in Bayle. If Bayle wrote his dictionary to empty the various collections he had made, without any particular design, he could not have chosen a better plan. It permitted him every thing, and obliged him to nothing. By the double freedom of a dictionary and of notes, he could pitch on what articles he pleased, and say what he pleased on those articles. When I con-

I consider all that Homer says of the isle of Lemnos, and the extensive trade it carried on, both with Phœnicia, (Iliad, xxiii. v. 743.) and with the Greek army before Troy, (v. Iliad, l. vii. v. 467—475, and l. xxi. v. 40.), I am amazed to see the more modern poets represent that habitation of the unfortunate Philoctetes as an island totally desolate and uninhabited.

Aug. 10th.]—I reviewed only the first hundred lines of the twenty-third book of the Iliad. The sullen grief into which Achilles sinks, is not less expressive of his character, than his violent rage in the preceding books. The apparition of Patroclus is the opening of a new world, of Homer's creation.

11th.]—I reviewed the next two hundred lines of the twenty-third book of the Iliad. This day I finished the *Mémoires d'Anne d'Autriche, par Madame de Motteville,* one of her greatest favourites. They are written in a natural, unaffected style; and it is a proof of the author's sincerity, that though she had a very high opinion of her mistress, the candour with which she relates facts shews us Anne of Austria as she really was; a proud and silly woman, who abandoned herself to a favourite out of indolence, supported him through obstinacy, and began at last to hate him, when he began to affect an independence. There is perhaps no period of history for which we have better materials than for the minority of Lewis XIV. The fashion of memoir-writing was very prevalent, and many of all ranks and all parties have left us accounts, both of those troubles and of their secret springs.

springs. The character of the French nation, neither soured by religion nor constrained by slavery, appears with freedom and boldness; brave and inconstant; obsequious to the ladies; treating the greatest events with a careless gaiety; running into civil wars without principle, and supporting them without rancour or cruelty. None of these wars ever were founded on any settled plan of liberty; the princes and the noblesse made it only in hopes of obtaining (as they commonly did) advantageous conditions in the treaty of peace. The honest part of the parliament were affected only by present evils, and thought only of temporary reliefs. They inveighed against a new tax, and demanded the removal of a disagreeable minister. The only law of a durable kind which they ever planned, was in the nature of a Habeas Corpus bill; that every prisoner, in twenty-four hours after his confinement, should be interrogated by the parliament as to the nature of his crime. But they supported this salutary proposal very feebly; suffered the ministry to extend the term to six months, and at last neglected it so far as not to have it ratified by the peace of *Ruel.* V. *Mémoires*, tom. ii. p. 139. 337. 363. and tom. iii. p. 51, &c. These Mémoires are printed at Amsterdam, 1723, in five volumes 12mo.

August 12th.]—I reviewed the remaining six hundred lines of the twenty-third book of the Iliad. It is a fine picture of the manners of the heroic ages: the games celebrated at the funeral of Patroclus contain a great variety of both their civil and religious customs, related with a clearness and a cir-

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cumstantialness very disagreeable to the taste of a true commentator. Indeed, the more I read the ancients, the more I am persuaded that the originals are our best commentators. In this article of ancient gymnastics (for instance), when I have read with care Homer, Pausanias, and some few more ancients, M. Burette has little to teach me, excepting perhaps what he may have picked up from some obscure passages of some obscure lexicographer. What I say is not, however, to proscribe the use, but to re train the abuse, of modern critics. As to the poetical beauties of the twenty-third book, they are great and various. I know of few better proofs of the fertility of Homer's invention, than the variety of natural incidents which he has introduced into the chariot-race. That of Menelaus and Antilochus is beautiful in the *manners*. I wish that I could say as much of the quarrel of Idomeneus and Ajax. I think, however, that the chariot-race bears no proportion to the rest, which indeed appears to a disadvantage, both by being placed after it and a little *étranglé*.

Aug. 13th.]—I read the twenty-fourth book of the Iliad, v. i—361. We returned to Beriton. I read the reign of King James I. in Hume's first volume of the Stuarts, with a view to Raleigh; and afterwards perused the sixth book of Virgil, and the system of Warburton upon it, in the first volume of his Divine Legation, and found many things to say, to explain the one and destroy the other.

14th.]—I think it was pretty well to read the twenty-fourth book of the Iliad, v. 361—457, con-

sidering I was out from seven in the morning to ten at night.

Aug. 15th.]—I read the twenty-fourth book of the Iliad, v. 467—805, the end; and reviewed the first hundred and fifty lines of it. The saving Hector's body, and the appeasing Achilles's wrath, seems to be the great object both of heaven and earth, excepting of the implacable Juno. Indeed, the great attention of the gods towards Achilles, seems rather a fear of offending, than a desire of favouring him. The last sentiment would exalt the hero, the first would debase the gods, and be highly ridiculous even in the Pagan mythology. I likewise read in Bayle the articles of *Achillea*, *Achilles*, *Ajax Telamon*, *Ajax Oïleus*, *Alcinous*, *Andromache*, *Amphitryon*, and *Alcmena;* all, excepting Achilles, very short ones. Bayle is as exactly circumstantial in these important trifles, as Mezeriac himself. How could such a genius employ three or four pages, and a great apparatus of learning, to examine whether Achilles was fed with marrow only; whether it was the marrow of lions and stags, or that of lions only, &c.? Bayle does not, in my opinion, sufficiently esteem Homer.

16th.]—I reviewed the remaining six hundred lines of the twenty-fourth and last book of the Iliad. The interview of Achilles and Priam is (in my opinion) superior to any part of the Iliad. It is at once the *coup de théâtre* and the *tableau* of *Diderot*. Nothing can be a more striking *coup de théâtre* than the unhappy monarch, who appears at once in the enemy's camp and at the feet of the mur-

murderer of his son. At the same time the various passions and the fine philosophy that distinguishes the conversation between them, form a most beautiful *tableau*.

I have at last finished the Iliad. As I undertook it to improve myself in the Greek language, which I had totally neglected for some years past, and to which I never applied myself with a proper attention, I must give a reason why I begun with Homer, and that contrary to Le Clerc's advice. I had two, 1st, As Homer is the most ancient Greek author (excepting perhaps Hesiod) who is now extant; and as he was not only the poet, but the lawgiver, the theologian, the historian, and the philosopher, of the ancients, every succeeding writer is full of quotations from, or allusions to, his writings, which it would be difficult to understand, without a previous knowledge of them. In this situation, was it not natural to follow the ancients themselves, who always begun their studies by the perusal of Homer? 2dly, No writer ever treated such a variety of subjects. As every part of civil, military, or economical life is introduced into his poems, and as the simplicity of his age allowed him to call every thing by its proper name, almost the whole compass of the Greek tongue is comprised in Homer. I have so far met with the success I hoped for, that I have acquired a great facility in reading the language, and treasured up a very great stock of words. What I have rather neglected is, the grammatical construction of them, and especially the many various inflexions of the

verbs. In order to acquire that dry, but necessary branch of knowledge, I propose bestowing some time every morning on the perusal of the *Greek Grammar of Port Royal*, as one of the best extant. I believe that I read nearly one half of Homer like a mere schoolboy, not enough master of the words to elevate myself to the poetry. The remainder I read with a good deal of care and criticism, and made many observations on them. Some I have inserted here, for the rest I shall find a proper place. Upon the whole, I think that Homer's few faults (for some he certainly has) are lost in the variety of his beauties. I expected to have finished him long before. The delay was owing partly to the circumstances of my way of life and avocations, and partly to my own fault; for while every one looks on me as a prodigy of application, I know myself how strong a propensity I have to indolence.

About the 26th or 33d Olympiad, Terpander of Lesbos composed the νομοι, the airs or tunes proper for singing to the cithara the verses of Homer in the public games. See the Treatise of Plutarch on Music, with the Remarks of Burette, in the Mémoires de l'Académie, tom. x. p. 116, 213—224.

Aug. 19th.]—As my books were not come, and Madame de Motteville had left my head full of Louis the XIVth and his court, I took in hand my friend Voltaire's *Siècle de Louis XIV.* It will employ some few leisure hours, and will afford me great entertainment.

Once more in possession of some necessary books,

books, I returned to my present great object, the study of Homer; but before I proceed to the Odyssey, I determined to read several things which might conduce to the better understanding him. I read this morning, *Sir John Marsham's Canon Chronicus, &c.* p. 433—446, edit. Franquer, 1696; where he treats of Homer and Hesiod; and in speaking of the first, explains, in a few words, all that is to be found in the ancients concerning his country, age, fate of his writings, and progress of his reputation. I cannot help wondering at the blind deference which he pays to the oracular authority of the Parian marble: "*De eâ re agitur* (the age of Homer) *non est amplius ambigendum.*" I respect that monument, as an useful, as an uncorrupt monument of antiquity; but why should I prefer its authority to that of Herodotus, for instance? It is more modern, its author is uncertain. We know not from what sources he drew his chronology, nor how far he was qualified to draw it properly. However, as to the age of Homer, I abide by his decision; because I can (whatever diversity appeared to Sir John) reconcile it with several of the most approved authors. That learned writer did not consider, that in fixing the time when a great man flourished, several historians may differ from one another, without differing from truth; because they fixed it from different eras of his life. In that of Fontenelle, the fixing his date either from his birth (1657), or from his writing the Worlds (1686); from his reception into the French Academy (1691); from his being made Secretary to

that of Sciences (1699); from his resigning that post (1740); from his death (1757), would produce the difference of a century; so that we may establish for a rule of criticism, that when these diversities do not exceed the natural term of human life, we ought to think of reconciling, and not of opposing them. In this instance, five of the most respectable authorities may be confined within the small period of sixty-eight years. The eldest Apollodorus, who places Homer 250 years after the Trojan war, A. C. 934, must be naturally understood to speak of his birth: Cornelius Nepos, the second, whose date is 160 years before the foundation of Rome, A. C. 914, of the time when Homer, then twenty, was arrived at the years of manhood: the era of the marbles (643 years before the archontat of Diognetus) A. C. 907, of the time when Homer, then twenty-seven, began to distinguish himself; perhaps when, according to the Colophonian tradition, he wrote the Margites, his first poetical work. When Herodotus places Homer 400 years before his own birth, A. C. 884, he may mean, that, being then fifty, he was arrived at the highest pitch of his reputation, and perhaps wrote the Iliad. Lastly, if Socibius, the Laconian, brings him down to the last year before the first Olympiad, Homer might then die aged sixty-eight years, A. C. 866. This calculation agrees very well with the vague reckoning of Pliny and Juvenal, and pretty nearly with the more precise one of Velleius Paterculus. There are, indeed, many writers, whom it is impossible to conciliate, since

since they take in so enormous a period as 416 years, from the return of Heraclides, A. C. 1104, to the twenty-third Olympiad, A. C. 688. But besides that they are of inferior note, the great difference amongst them leaves the authority of each to stand singly by itself.

I likewise began to-day a Greek life of Homer, or rather a dissertation upon his writings, by an anonymous writer, inserted in the *Opuscula Mythologica, Physica, et Ethica, published at Amsterdam* 1688, *by Mr. Gale.* It takes up p. 283—404 of those Opuscula. As I intend to make an abstract of it, I shall only say here that I read *p.* 283—303.

Aug. 20th.]—I read the *Life of Homer*, 304—314. The Greek is easy, though I met with many words of the only species (perhaps) not to be found in Homer,—grammatical and metaphysical terms, which are the more difficult at first, because, as they are all metaphorical, it is the literal meaning which presents itself to an unexperienced reader.

21st.]—In order to save some part of this day for study, I passed the evening in my lodging, and read the *Life of Homer*, *p.* 314—341.

24th.]—I read the *Life of Homer*, *p.* 341—357.

27th.]—I read the *Life of Homer*, *p.* 387—394.

28th.]—I finished the *Siècle de Louis XIV.* I believe that Voltaire had for this work an advantage which he has seldom enjoyed. When he treats of a distant period, he is not a man to turn over musty monkish writers to instruct himself. He follows some compilation, varnishes it over

with the magic of his style, and produces a most agreeable, superficial, inaccurate performance. But there the information, both written and oral, lay within his reach, and he seems to have taken great pains to consult it. Without any thing of the majesty of the great historians, he has comprised, in two small volumes, a variety of facts, told in an easy, clear, and lively style. To this merit, he has added that of throwing aside all trivial circumstances, and choosing no events, but such as are either useful or entertaining. His method of treating every article in a distinct chapter I think vicious: as they are all connected in human affairs, and as they are often the cause of each other, why separate them in history? The first volume is much less interesting than the second; arts and manners were a subject almost untouched; but so many writers had exhausted the battles and sieges of Lewis the XIVth's reign, that it was impossible to add any thing new, especially in so confined an abridgment. Besides, those detached particulars wanted less that art of narrating, which Voltaire never possessed, with all his other talents: I mean in prose, for there are some very fine narrations in his tragedies. That of *Ismene*, in the last act of Merope, is equal to the famous ones of *Racine*. As to his hero, I think that he performed great actions without being a great man. France, notwithstanding his wars and persecutions, ought never to forget him. But when Condé, Turenne, Vauban, Louvois, Colbert, &c. have claimed their share of fame, little more will remain

remain to the monarch, than the having chosen and employed those great men: I can hardly add that of persisting in his choice. A prince, diffident or inconstant, may claim great merit for having persisted in a good choice. A monarch, proud, vain, or obstinate, is only to be praised if he renounces a bad one. And every one must know to what a degree Lewis carried those last-mentioned qualities.

Sept. 3d.]—I returned to the Life of Homer, and read p. 394—404, the end.

4th.]—I reviewed, but in a cursory manner, the Life of Homer, without having so exalted an idea of it as Mr. Gale, who, like a true editor, calls it *Liber Aureus*. I think it a valuable piece, written with art, and containing many ingenious, and some useful observations upon Homer. I then began to look into the Greek Grammar of Port Royal, that learned society which contributed so much to establish in France a taste for just reasoning, simplicity of style, and philosophical method. I began, contrary to the general method, with the verbs, and read with attention the first chapter of the third book, which treats of the nature and proprieties of the verb. I think that method the most natural and philosophical which begins with the operations of the mind, or the action or passion of the body, and thence passes to foreign objects.

5th.]—I read the second chapter of the third book, which treats of the characteristic letter, and the termination of verbs; and to impress the several modifications of the active verb upon my memory,

mory, I copied them out. I finished to-day every thing in the *Bibliothèque Choisie*, relative to Erasmus, viz. *tom. iv. p.* 379—397; *tom. v. p.* 145—283; *tom. vi. p.* 1—238; *tom. xii. p.* 1—57. The first and last are very good reflections, and exact judgments, upon Erasmus's works, but are too short: the others are long extracts of his epistles, which, translated in a very bad style, and unconnected method, have neither the *agrémens* of original letters, nor the merit of a complete life. When I had finished them, (according to a maxim I have laid down elsewhere,) I began *Vie d'Erasme, par M. de Burigny*; and so preferred the *suite* of my ideas to that of my books.

Sept. 6th.]—I read the Grammar, l. iii. c. 3. which treats of the augmentation, both syllabic and temporal.

7th.]—I read the Grammar, l. iii. c. 4—14. I saw the various forms into which every verb changes itself, from the indicative to the participle, and from the present to the second perfect. Indeed, I think the chain has too many links, as well as groundless exceptions without number; but this last is the vice of all languages, none of which have been the work of reason.

8th.]—In the evening I found means to look over, in a cursory manner, the passive and middle moods of the barytone verbs in ω. They depend so much upon the active, that when one has a clear idea of it, the genealogy is very easy to follow. I now see clearly the advantage of paying little attention to the Grammar, till you have made some

some progress in the language. Instead of having both precepts and examples to learn, I need attend only to the general rules of what I have already seen in a variety of particular instances. It is examining the map of a country through which I have before travelled.

Sept. 9th.]—I looked more closely into the passive and middle moods of the barytones in ω. If the *vox media* is not very useful and ingenious, it is highly ridiculous.

10th.]—I read the Greek Grammar, l. iii. c. 21—27, containing a very clear account of the circumflex verbs in ω, and of the rules by which they contract themselves.

11th.]—I read the Greek Grammar, l. iv. c. 1—5, which treats of the regular verbs in μι. I approve extremely of the intention of M. M. de Port Royal, who, to simplify things as much as possible, have reduced the thirteen conjugations of the Greek grammar to two, or rather to three. But the variety of these conjugations is so great, and the differences so real, that the ancient division was, perhaps, clearer, in having many rules with few exceptions, than the modern ones of few rules and many exceptions. For instance, in explaining the barytone conjugations in ω, there is hardly a tense without exceptions for the peculiar formation of the liquids. At least I would have a separate conjugation for them. Another defect I have observed is, the example they have fixed on for the barytone conjugation. 1. They pitch upon the verb τιω, and make use of it in their table; but when

when they come to the detail of the moods and tenses, they then employ τυπτω. This alteration destroys the unity of their plan, and must breed some confusion; especially in a young head. 2. They boast in their preface of having chosen (with Sanctius) τιω as a very simple verb; but I own I think the choice ill judged. The great object should have been to have chosen a verb perfectly regular, every one of whose different modifications should have been the example of the general rule, which they laid down for that mood or tense. Τιω does not answer that character. In the first future passive (for instance), according to the general rule * of changing the ω of the first future active, into ησωμαι, τισω would make τισθησομαι. However, by a common exception of the verbs in ω pure,† it drops the σ and makes only τιθησομαι.

To-day I began the small but valuable treatise of Longinus, περι ΥΨΟΥΣ *in the variorum edition of Tollius, printed at Utrecht,* 1694, *in* 4*to.* The edition appears to be a very complete one. It contains the Greek text of the author, with a Latin version by Tollius, and a French one by Boileau, with the notes of Robortellus, Petra, Portus, Langbænius, le Fèvre, and Tollius himself; and the French ones of Boileau and Dacier. I read the dedication of Tollius to the Electoral Prince of Brandenburg, afterwards king of Prussia, and father of the present monarch; the prefaces of Tol-

Dr. Langbaine.

* V. Nouvelle Méthode, l. iii. c. 16. Reg. 52. p. 182.

† V. Nouvelle Méthode, l. iii. c. 16. Except. 3. p. 183.

lius,

lius, de Petra, Langbænius, and Boileau, with the list of *Testimonia*, and the greatest part of the first chapter of Longinus himself. Tollius, though a commentator, was a man of taste and genius; though the style of his dedication is somewhat timid, yet there are pretty thoughts in it. He quibbles a little about *Victoria Elata*, and *Fama Pinnigera*, when he speaks of the great Elector; but his compliment upon the battle of Ferbelin is just, and well expressed. When I reflect on the age in which Longinus lived, an age which produced scarcely any other writer worthy of the attention of posterity; when real learning was almost extinct, philosophy sunk down to the quibbles of grammarians and the tricks of mountebanks, and the empire desolated by every calamity, I am amazed that at such a period, in the heart of Syria, and at the court of an Eastern monarch, Longinus should produce a work worthy of the best and freest days of Athens. I read with the sincerest regret the titles of the other works which are now lost; but none more than his *Odenathus*. I should have seen, though probably with some partiality, the character and actions of that great man, and of the greater Zenobia, who both (contrary to the other tyrants) proposed less making themselves Roman emperors, than detaching the East from the empire, and erecting a new monarchy upon quite different foundations.

Sept. 12th.]—I finished the first chapter of Longinus, with Boileau's translation, and all the notes. The Greek is, from the figurative style, and bold meta-

metaphors, extremely difficult: I am afraid that it is rather too difficult for me; but now I have entered upon it, *jacta est alea*; and I have nothing to do but to redouble my application to understand him correctly. Is it vexation at those difficulties, or reason, which makes me wish, that in the room of those poetical figures, he had given us a definition of the sublime? Though this had been done by Cæcilius, yet it was still necessary, and would have taken him but a few lines. I then read a dissertation of M. le Clerc, inserted in the *Bibliothèque Ancienne et Moderne, tom. v. p. 237—290, sur les Verbs moyens des Grecs.* As it is (which I did not know at first) in opposition to another of M. Kuster, I can decide nothing about the dispute till I have seen that, which I will do as soon as possible, for his idea is a very ingenious one. He thinks that those verbs, as distinct from the active and passive ones, are made use of by the pure Attic writers to signify, 1. An action which passes entirely within the agent, such as thinking, willing, &c. 2. An action which, though exterior, has the agent himself for the object; such as, I feed myself, I undress myself, &c. M. le Clerc, on the other hand, not only denies their use, but even disputes the existence of the *vox media*; which he treats as a corruption only of the active and passive. As to the pretended difference of sound and sense, he says, that the first are not greater than many occasioned by the dialects, or by poetical licences, for which the grammarians have never established new voices or moods: that by M. Kuster's

ter's own confession, the deponents in Latin, and many verbs in Greek, have an active signification, with a passive termination, without belonging to any *vox media;* that this mystery is unknown to the best Greeks, and that many of them express those actions by an active verb; nay, sometimes in the same period employ an active and middle verb. This he illustrates by a variety of examples.

I began to-day my *Extract of the Life of Homer, in French,* and wrote the first folio page, with a long note.

Sept. 14.]—I read the *second chapter of Longinus,* with the versions and notes as usual. As yet I read my author more as a man of genius, than as a man of taste: I am pleased and astonished rather than instructed. I observed in this chapter a licence more than poetical, into which the fire of his imagination hurried him, that of leaving the reader to supply one part of a first comparison, whilst he hastens to a second. There was an *hiatus* at the end of the chapter, which Tollius supplied from a manuscript in the Vatican. It is amusing to peruse the conjectural supplements of the critics; how various, how ingenious, and how distant from the truth. They are probably often as much so, though we have it not in our power to confute them in the same manner.

15th.]—I went through the whole series of the irregular verbs in Greek. Some of them are defective by the want of some particular tenses or persons; and others are irregular, as forming their tenses not from their own natural theme, but from some

some other which bears some affinity with it, and is commonly either derived or contracted from it. These irregularities are necessary to be known; but we should be cautious of erecting them too hastily into general rules, the first sort especially; where the supposed defect may arise only from the Greek authors now extant not having had occasion to employ that particular modification of the verb.

Sept. 27th.]—I have not, almost this fortnight, set down any thing in the literary way. Indeed, I was very idle. In that time, I went through only the *Life of Erasmus;* which ought only to have been an amusement, and not to have broken in upon Longinus. To-day I finished the Life of Erasmus. It is a work of great reading. As M. de Burigny proposed connecting with his history, a general account of the sciences and religion during his time, he has very deeply considered his subject. His style and reflexions are suited to a man of sense and modesty, who neither pretends to, nor possesses the least share of genius. Upon the whole, the book is a perfect contrast to most fashionable French ones, since it is useful without being brilliant. If we consider the character of Erasmus, we shall be immediately struck with his extensive erudition; and that heightened by two circumstances: 1. That he was scarcely ever fixed six months in a place (excepting at Basil); that to this wandering life, which deprived him both of books and leisure, must be added, a continued bad state of health, and the constant avocation of a vast correspondence. 2. That his learning was all real,

real, and founded on the accurate perusal of the ancient authors. The numerous editions he published sufficiently evince it; and besides, those convenient compilations of all sorts, where a modern author can learn to be a profound scholar at a very small expense, did not then exist; every thing was to be sought for in the originals themselves. But besides this learning, which was common to many, Erasmus possessed a genius without which no writer will ever descend to posterity; a genius which could see through the vain subtleties of the schools, revive the laws of criticism, treat every subject with eloquence and delicacy; sometimes emulate the ancients, often imitate them, and never copy them. As to his morals, they had the poor merit of being regular. In the nobler part of his character I find him very deficient. Delicacy of sentiment he had none. A parasite of all the great men of his time, he was neither ashamed to magnify their characters, by the lowest adulation, nor to debase his own by the most impudent solicitations to obtain presents which very often he did not want. The adventure of Eppendorf is another proof how much dearer his money was to him than his character. Notwithstanding these faults, never man enjoyed a greater personal consideration. All the scholars, and all the princes of Europe, looked upon him as an oracle. Even Charles V. and Francis I. agreed in this. If we inquire why this happened to him rather than to some other great men, of a merit equal, and perhaps superior to Erasmus, we must say that it was

owing to the time when he lived; when the world awaking from a sleep of a thousand years, all orders of men applied themselves to letters with an enthusiasm which produced in them the highest esteem and veneration for one of their principal restorers. Besides, as the general attention, from piety, from curiosity, from vanity, and from interest, was directed towards the religious disputes, a great divine was the fashionable character; and all parties endeavoured to attract or to preserve him. But to which of those parties did Erasmus adhere? His writings, and even his conduct, were often equivocal. The Catholics claim him, though they acknowledge that he was often indiscreet. Le Clerc challenges him for the Protestants, though he blames him for not professing what he knew to be the truth; and attributes his reserve solely to timidity and self-interest. Erasmus had certainly exposed all the grosser superstitions of the Romish worship to the ridicule of the public; and had his free opinion been taken, I believe that he was a Protestant upon most of the contested points. But many other motives might restrain him from a declaration. He was always persuaded, that any speculative truths were dearly purchased at the expense of practical virtue and public peace. Besides, many considerations might often make him balance as to those truths; prejudices of education, the authority of the fathers, and a natural inclination to scepticism. Add to all this, that really disapproving many things in the Protestant communion, though more in the Romish, by remaining

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ing in the loose situation of a man who was unwilling to quit the religion of his ancestors, he could blame many things in it with freedom; whereas, had he deserted it, he must either have set up a standard himself, or else have enlisted blindly under that of Luther or Æcolampodius. It is surprising that Erasmus, who could see through much more plausible fables, believed firmly in witchcraft.

Sept. 30th.]—I began the *Ciceronianus*, and read p. 1—80.

Oct. 1st.]—I read *Ciceronianus*, p. 80—230, which finished it; and perused 47 pages of Extracts from Erasmus's Letters, which related to it; and which turn principally upon the great scandal which the comparison between *Ascensius Badius* and the great *Budæus* had given in France. The object of this dialogue is to attack some blind admirers and copiers of Tully's style; who, at the revival of letters, formed, especially in Italy, a very considerable sect, of which the principal leaders were *Bembo*, *Sadolet*, and *Julius Scaliger*. In this attack he employed every arm both of argument and pleasantry. It may be divided into three parts; in the first, *Nosoponus* the Ciceronian is introduced; and with that exquisite species of humour, of which the *Lettres Provinciales* offer so fine a specimen, ridicules his own party by a bare exposition of those maxims which he himself venerated and practised. His exclusive devotion to Cicero, his three Indices, his never writing but in the dead silence of the night, his employing months upon a

few lines, his religious caution about the words, and his total indifference about the sense, are truly and highly comic. In the second, Erasmus himself appears under the name of *Boulephorus;* and entering into a great detail, establishes, victoriously, that Cicero, though worthy of our attention and imitation, is not the only one worthy of it; that so servile an attachment to any author, destroys all freedom and originality of genius, and produces only a set of tame writers, who, perhaps, will copy only the faults, but who will surely never attain to the perfections of their great model; and that finally, we should rather endeavour to speak as Cicero would do if he lived at present, than as he did in his time; that since words are made for ideas, and not ideas for words, it is infinitely more reasonable to coin new words to express a variety of things unknown to Cicero, than, out of a vain ambition for purity, to call excommunication, *interdictio aquæ et ignis*, and to express all the objects of Christianity by the terms of the Pagan rituals. It must be confessed, that the Ciceronians laid themselves very open to ridicule, were it only by their looking on Tully not only as the best but as the sole model, and that of language as well as of eloquence. In a polite age, in which a language is thoroughly cultivated, every writer who is a man of education, of letters, and of taste, speaks nearly the same language; and very often, genius and eloquence, instead of being companions to purity, are enemies to it, by diverting the attention to nobler aims. Bouhours is much purer than either Corneille

Corneille or Bayle. Why therefore should we exclude all other writers of the Augustan age, and confine our imitation to Tully alone; who was not a native of Rome, and who, from the fire of his imagination, the variety of his occupations, and the multiplicity of his writings, could not always attend nicely to his expression. Why is not Cæsar (for example) as safe a model? A Ciceronian must believe Cicero's own account of him. *Cæsar autem rationem adhibens, consuetudinem vitiosam et corruptam purâ et incorruptâ consuetudine emendat. Itaque . . ad hanc elegantiam verborum Latinorum . . . . . adjungit illa oratoria ornamenta dicendi.* But the same Ciceronian, if he would condescend to admit the other Latin writers of that age into a partnership with Tully, would be much more formidable than Nosoponus. He would observe, that in all languages, rules and analogies are very treacherous guides; that in modern tongues, we see them give way every day to custom. That in the dead ones, that custom is to be met with only in the most correct writers; and that whenever we deviate from them, we risk offending against the idiom of the language. That the boldest moderns did not carry their privilege of making new terms so far as they ought, to have made it really useful, since they express many modern ones by very loose periphrases. That as they are themselves still fond of copying and alluding to the ancients, the writings of Erasmus himself are an incoherent mixture of Roman manners and expressions with Batavian ones; a mixture not less

ridiculous than their scrupulous antique idiom. Perhaps the natural conclusion from these various difficulties, where either freedom or correctness must be sacrificed, was, that instead of that ungrateful labour upon a dead language, it would be better to improve and cultivate the living ones. But this conclusion was too much for the age of Erasmus. The third part of the Dialogue, which contains Erasmus's opinion of the style of the principal Latin authors, both ancient and modern, shews great learning; but his judgments are too superficial, and not so much varied as the nature of the subject required. The style of the *Ciceronianus* itself is lively and easy; but the spirit of the Dialogue is but indifferently kept up. Nosoponus makes no defence, and Hypologus is quite a useless personage.

Oct. 2d.]—After a long absence, I returned at last to Longinus, and read the third and fourth chapters, περι ΥΨΟΥΣ. After Longinus had, in the two former chapters, opened his design, and shewn that though the true sublime is a gift of nature, yet nature may, as in other things, be assisted by art; he treats of two vices different from each other, but equally opposite to it; the one a turgid style and inflated figures, springing from an exuberance of genius or a vain ambition: the other a frigid poor labour after puns and little affected beauties. I approve very much of this inverted method of shewing first what a thing is not, and then what it is. In these refined inquiries nothing contributes more to assist our imagination and dispel prejudices.

dices. I likewise admire that noble freedom with which he discovers the faults of those heroes themselves,* Plato and Xenophon.

Oct. 3d.]—I employed my morning very well, since I read the fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth chapters of Longinus. The two first are inconsiderable; the seventh, in which he points out the way to discover the true sublime, is the work of a man of strong feelings rather than of a clear head; the eighth begins to enter more deeply into the subject, and points out five sources of the sublime. The ninth chapter, which treats of the first of these, (the elevation of the ideas,) is one of the finest monuments of antiquity. Till now, I was acquainted only with two ways of criticising a beautiful passage: the one, to shew, by an exact anatomy of it, the distinct beauties of it, and whence they sprung; the other, an idle exclamation, or a general encomium, which leaves nothing behind it. Longinus has shewn me that there is a third. He tells me his own feelings upon reading it; and tells them with such energy, that he communicates them. I almost doubt which is most sublime, Homer's Battle of the Gods, or *Longinus's* Apostrophe to *Terentianus* upon it. The chapter concludes with some very ingenious observations upon the different character of the *Iliad* and of the *Odyssey*. I am sorry to criticise such a chapter, but what would Longinus have said, had another made his observation upon that passage of Homer, where the celestial

* Οι πρωες εχεινον. LONGIN. Περι Υψους, p. 32. Edit. Toll.

horses leap at one bound the extent of the visible horizon? One would think, says he, the world could not have afforded space for such another leap. To what faculty does the visible horizon appear above half the world? To the eyes it appears the whole; to the understanding, and even to the imagination, a very small part.

Oct. 4th.]—I read the *tenth chapter of Longinus*, p. 72—88. Its subject is but obscurely marked, and appears at first to run into the former. The distinction however appears to be, the first treats of those great and simple ideas, which require only to be fully conceived and expressed; the second, of such ideas as though not sublime in themselves, may be rendered so by the artful introduction of accessory circumstances. But I hardly think that the Ode of Sappho was a proper example. It may be beautiful, it may be passionate; but surely there is nothing in it which elevates the mind? Longinus's own characteristic of the sublime. This morning Mr. M . . . . returned my visit, and stayed nearly two hours with me. I have not yet seen any great proofs of his taste or genius, but he is certainly a scholar, and a very communicative one. Observing I had only *Hederici Lexicon*, he offered me *Scapula* as much better, and sent it to me in the evening. It is in fact infinitely more copious; and I like much the disposition of it by roots. It gives you a much clearer idea of the language, by reducing it to a small number of primitives; which, by their various compositions, produce all the riches of that copious tongue.

Oct.

Oct. 5th.]—I read the *eleventh and twelfth chapters of Longinus*, p. 88—94. They treat of *Amplification;* of that art in poetry and rhetoric by which things are made to appear greater than they really are. Perhaps, had he known the magnifying glasses, he would have said that the merit of that art was, like those glasses, to increase the magnitude, but preserve the proportions. He then draws a comparison between Cicero (who excelled peculiarly in it) and Demosthenes; a comparison framed with his usual eloquence, and with a candour for the Roman's merit very uncommon in a Greek.

11th.]—I read the *thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth chapters of Longinus*, p. 94—118. The two first, which treat of imitation, are true pictures of the impetuous genius of the author. He enters on his subject by a quotation from Plato, which is very remotely connected with it. Then, though he recommends as a road to the sublime, the imitation of the great ancients; yet imitation is too lame a practice to be agreeable to him. He first extends it to an advice to us to consider how Homer or Demosthenes would have expressed such an idea, not how they would express any one: then to think how they would approve of the manner in which we ourselves are going to express it; that is, to make them not our models, but our judges; and at last, disclaiming all particular imitation, he advises us only to catch their fire, and to imitate the noble confidence with which they looked forward to the latest posterity. The fifteenth chapter contains some fine examples of poetical figures, distinguishes

distinguishes them from rhetorical ones, and observes, that the mistaken taste of his age makes them be often confounded.

Oct. 12th.]—I read the *sixteenth chapter of Longinus*, p. 118—126. He speaks of the phrase and elocution. This is his third source of the sublime. The *pathos*, which was the second, he has almost totally forgotten. This chapter is taken up chiefly by the example of the famous oath of Demosthenes; by the heroes of Marathon and Plateæ. He examines it very nicely, discovers all the art and energy of it, and shews how much it differs from a similar expression of the comic Eupolis. If the ninth chapter shews Longinus the most as a man of genius, he no where appears a more excellent critic than in this.

14th.]—I began the *Colloquia* of *Erasmus*, and as far as I have gone, think them full of entertainment.

16th.]—I read several chapters of *M. de Tillemont's Histoire des Empereurs*, in relation to Longinus's Patrons Odenathus and Zenobia, tom. iii. p. 3; 947—952; 976, 977; 983—988; 1039—1062; and 1078—1082. It is much better to read this part of the Augustan history in so learned and exact a compilation than in the originals, who have neither method, accuracy, eloquence, nor chronology. I think them below the worst monkish chroniclers we have extant. We may observe that Odenathus, who was an Arab, began to shew the superiority of his brave barbarians over the corrupted Romans; a superiority which Mahomet improved

proved by the additional spur of religion, but which he did not create.

Oct. 18th.—I read the seventeenth, eighteenth, nineteenth, twentieth, twenty-first, twenty-second, twenty-third, twenty-fourth, twenty-fifth, and twenty-sixth chapters of Longinus, p. 126—154. He continues to treat of the various kinds of figures, which, when properly employed, give force and beauty to the discourse: the interrogation, the omission of copulatives, the mixture of figures, the transpositions of ideas, and the alterations of number and tense. This is perhaps the least shining part of his book; as it is the more mechanical part of criticism. However, Longinus enlivens the dulness of it, by the magic of his style; and corrects the dryness by the clearness of his reasons, and the accuracy of his distinctions. I shall give an instance of each. Speaking of that rhetorical figure by which a writer, addressing himself to his reader, employs the second person, he himself makes use of it in a most beautiful manner, in animadverting to Terentianus upon a passage of Herodotus.* The second is, where treating of the change of the singular into the plural he distinguishes, with great justness, between those words which, singular by their termination, by their sense may be considered as plural, without any effort of, or effect upon, the imagination; and those which, in themselves strictly singular, are magnified and multi-

* Longinus, c. xxvi. p. 152.

plied,

plied, when, upon certain occasions, they are spoken of as plural.* I must just mention a mistake of *Tollius*. Herodotus makes use of the words Δικλοις δρεπτέῃσι. Tollius owns that it signifies *servis fugitivis;* but thinks it not elegant enough, and therefore renders it by the vague expression of *servitutem acerbissimam.*† However, the other has certainly more elegance, as well as truth and propriety. The Ionians had revolted from the Persians; if they were again subdued, they would not only be, as before, oppressed like slaves, but punished as fugitives.

Oct. 19th.]—I read Longinus, chapters twenty-seven, twenty-eight, twenty-nine, and thirty, p. 154—168. He continues his enumeration of figurative expressions, and mentions their sudden transition from one person to another, of which the poets and orators have left us some fine examples. It may, however, be remarked, that as this figure is infinitely violent and abrupt, it is suitable only to the strongest passions, and therefore commonly suits better the poet's heroes than himself. Longinus then proceeds to the periphrasis, and gives some very sensible rules about it. However, he has forgotten to observe, that though, when well employed, this figure gives light and grace to a discourse; yet in itself it is an enemy to the sublime, of which a concise expression is always the best vehicle. If we inquire into the reason of it,

* Longinus, c. xxiii. p. 144.

† Ibid. c. xxii. p. 142, notasque Toll. in loco.

we

we must say, that it presents the idea at once, gives as little as possible to the tediousness and deficiencies of language, and comes the nearest to the operations of thought. In the thirtieth chapter, he enters upon the choice of words, which he has laid down as the fourth source of the sublime. There appears to be here a considerable chasm.

Oct. 20th.]—I read Longinus, chapters thirty-one, thirty-two, and thirty-three, p. 168—186. The thirty-first seems to be very defective; however we see that he proves that the common expressions, when introduced properly, have often more strength and meaning than more elaborate ones. I believe his position just, and his examples from Herodotus explain his meaning very well; but I think that from Demosthenes ill chosen. The idea is indeed very *idiotic*, but it is expressed by a very uncommon and metaphorical word. The thirty-second chapter treats of the multiplicity of metaphors, for which Longinus is a great advocate, and admires very much a laboured description of the human body by Plato. I wish I could admire it too. However, as Plato has certainly faults, our critic examines in the twenty-third chapter, which is preferable, a sublimity often faulty, or an unblameable mediocrity. He treats his subject with an eloquent and becoming enthusiasm. His decision is that of a man of taste. I likewise read a Letter of Pliny on the same subject, L. ix. Ep. 26; which is full of very pretty thoughts and expressions. I am of the same opinion with both these great writers; but think neither of them has

gone

gone deep enough. I take the reason to be, not that we are more strongly affected with beauties, but that we are longer so: the pleasure we feel in the sensation prolongs it, by making us dwell upon it with satisfaction; whereas the disgust we conceive from faults shortens the sensation, by causing us to call off our attention immediately. There are, besides, two other collateral reasons, but I take this to be the principal, and I must not write dissertations in my journal.

Oct. 21st.]—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. The cycle of Meton had for its object, to reconcile the course of the sun with that of the moon, which it accomplishes in a cycle of 19 solar years, 235 lunar months, and 6940 days. The years should be regularly twelve months, and the months thirty days; but as the first would not be enough, it is necessary to add seven *menses embolimi* in the third, fifth, eighth, eleventh, thirteenth, sixteenth, and nineteenth years of the cycle; and as the second would be too

* Vide Journal, August 25th and 26th, 1761.

† At the end of the second volume of the Life of Mr. Dodwell. *London*, 1715.

much,

much, 110 months are *cavi*, or of 29 days only, which is determined by leaving out every sixty-fourth day. The first cycle begins with July 15th, Ant. Chr. 432.* To reduce them to the Julian account, you must observe the following rule. Collect the number of months elapsed since the beginning of the period; multiply them by 30; add the number of days elapsed in the current month; divide the whole number by 64; subtract the quotient from it; add as many times 6940 as there have been complete cycles, with the constant number 196, and you have the whole number of days elapsed since the 1st January, Ant. Chr. 434; which number you may easily reduce into Julian years, months, and days. This dissertation gives me a very clear, and, I believe, a very true notion of Meton's Attic year. As to that of Calippus, it was only a reformation of that of Meton, who had reckoned the solar year too long by about one seventy-sixth of a day; to obviate which, he added another *dies exemptilis;* but as it is at the end of his period of 76 years, we need pay no attention to it in our calculations: otherwise it is the same months regular and *embolimi*, and the same *dies exemptilis*. We must only observe two differences in our reductions of it. 1. That instead of 196 days to be added, there are 552 always to be subtracted, being the number of days between the 1st July, Ant. Chr. 330, when the cycle begins, and January 1st, 328, being the first after Bissextile.

* It was the first after the *Bissextile*.

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Indeed, to perform the reductions exactly, we ought to have all our dates in olympiads or archontats, compared with years of the cycles; but if we meet with any modern author who reckons by Julian years anticipated, we may venture (after subtracting his number from 432*) to look upon the last year of it as complete, if the date fall into the six first Attic months, or as commenced only into one of the last six. Should we be mistaken, which may happen, our calculation itself will discover our error. I say the same of the cycle of Calippus. 2. In the last mentioned cycle we need attend only to the current one, and pay no attention to those that are complete, as every cycle answers exactly to 76 Julian years. I cannot say I received the same satisfaction as to the Macedonian calendar. Far from being supported by the necessary proofs, Mr. Dodwell's opinion is not even clearly laid down. Dr. Halley owns himself, that there are great disputes about the order of their months, and the time when their year began. I know, besides, that there is another very prevalent system of Archbishop Usher, who makes the Macedonian year not luni-solar, but solar. I must, therefore, suspend my judgment tlll I have seen *Mr. Dodwell de Cyclis*, and *Usher de veteri Anno Macedonum et Asianorum solari.* As to the Roman year, M. de la Nauze is still my master.

* If he reckons by years before Christ, the reduction would be very easy.

Oct. 23d.]—Continuing my study and meditation of the Greek calendar, I resolved to verify some remarkable date. I immediately recollected the battle of Arbela, which, according to Plutarch, was fought eleven days after a total eclipse of the moon, that happened on the 14th of the month Bædremion. This eclipse answers to the 20th of September, Ant. Chr. 331. The battle was fought, therefore, the 1st of October. Now, according to Mr. Dodwell's system, the 25th of Bædremion answers exactly to that day. This is a strong presumption in its favour. The calculation, though sure, is however so tedious, that I wish some way could be thought of to shorten it. I could construct a table, in which, marking the olympiads, the archontats, the years of the cycle, and the month and day of the Julian, the beginning of each answers to * * * *. The *dies exemptilis* would be the most troublesome, as being not fixed to any months or years, but running regularly through the cycle. However, by some trials I made, I found I could manage them.

24th.]—I read Longinus, chapters thirty-four, thirty-five, thirty-six, thirty-seven, thirty-eight, thirty-nine, forty, and forty-one, p. 186—222. Our author continues his comparison of the sublime often faulty, and the mediocrity always irreprehensible, in the three first. His characters of Hyperides and Demosthenes are finely marked. He expatiates with pleasure on the various merits of Hyperides, and distinguishes them by epithets always just and always different, which display

both his own penetration, and the accurate fertility of the language in which he wrote; but all these encomiums are only garlands, which make him a victim worthier the object of his divinity, Demosthenes; who, inferior in every other respect to Hyperides, surpasses him infinitely by those sublime and terrible beauties with which his writings abound. This chapter gives perhaps a clearer idea of the sublime than any other in Longinus; since it is not only distinguished from the faults which are contrary to, but likewise from the beauties which are different from it. But still this is not enough. I wish that I had time to explain the fine poetical comparisons of the thirty-fifth chapter, and to give a better reason than Longinus does, why the rule, that greatness is preferable to exactness, does not hold good in sculpture as well as in poetry. In the thirty-seventh I agree with Le Fèvre and Dacier, that the common reading of Herodotus is highly absurd; but if Longinus could praise that absurdity, why might not Herodotus write it? In the thirty-eight chapter he enters upon his fifth source of the sublime, the arrangement of words. We see something, though a small part, of the attention which the Greeks paid to the harmony of their periods. That not satisfied with the judgment of the ear, they had established for prose a measure of dactyles and spondees, less exact, but more varied than in verse; by which, without confining themselves to the precise form of feet, they could render the whole period abrupt or flowing, slow or precipitate. In the fortieth and forty-

first

first he blames the affectation of giving every period the same cadence; or of making the periods too short, and disjointed from each other

October 25th.]---I read *Cicero in Orator. C.* 63 —66, in relation to the harmony of prose. Although the Latin tongue was not perhaps so susceptible of it as the Greek, yet we may discover how attentive the Romans were to it. The end was to give to prose an harmony equivalent, but not similar to verse. The means employed were, 1. To consider syllables abstracted from feet, and to make long or short ones prevail in a period in the degree and manner they chose. Thus, in the famous passage of Demosthenes, we hear the sound of dactyles, or of something still more rapid; since out of twenty-nine syllables, twenty-one are short. 2. The ancient metre has this advantage over ours, that in modern tongues the harmony consists only in the composition of a verse, or at least of a *hemistich;* whereas, if you take an ancient verse to pieces, the feet of which it is composed give you, by their peculiar and distinct harmony, *disjecta membra poetæ.* The great variety of these feet furnished the orators with innumerable ways of harmonizing their periods, without ever deviating into verse. I likewise read *Longinus,* chapters forty-two and forty-three, which finished him. The forty-second contains some examples of fine descriptions, degraded by one or two low words. In the last chapter of this small, but valuable treatise, Longinus examines the reason why no sublime writers were to be found in his age.

He treats this question (which, taken in the utmost latitude, is perhaps a Gordian knot) with more eloquence than accuracy. It is, however, worth remarking, that he still continues to enforce his precept by his example. He appears pretty plainly to have been of opinion, that the true sublime, especially in eloquence, could never belong to slaves; and that it could be found only in geniuses nursed under a popular government, whose writings breathed the same liberty as their actions. These ideas are noble, and perhaps true; but they were too harsh for the court of Palmyra. Longinus was forced to enervate them, not only by the term Δικαιοτατη, which he takes care to apply twice to the present despotism; but by employing the stale pretence of putting his own thoughts into the mouth of a nameless philosopher. I read on the same question Seneca, *Epist. cxiv. p.* 646—651; *Edit. Lips. apud Plantin.* He considers it in another, and, I think, a better light than Longinus. Both attribute the decay of taste to luxury and its attendant vices; but the Greek, considering them almost as passive, thinks that they only extinguish all emulation and application; while the Roman looks upon them as very active, by accustoming our taste to relish only the tricks of novelty and affectation, and to despise genuine and simple eloquence. The character of Mæcenas is a fine *caricature.* How different is he from the Mæcenas of Virgil and Horace! As to Longinus in general, after what I have observed upon almost every chapter, I have little left to say. It is certainly a fine

a fine performance; the style is faulty only by being rather too poetical for a didactic work. In general, I should adopt most of his decisions; only I think that for want of having a clear idea of the sublime, he has sometimes blamed passages for being deficient in that respect, or praised them for excelling in it, whose nature and design neither had, nor required, that kind of beauty. I could likewise have wished that Longinus had not always confined himself to single passages, but had pointed out that sublime which results from the choice and general disposition of a subject. I think that Longinus shews real taste and genius, by his indulgence in the sallies of a warm imagination, and by his severity to the prettinesses of the art; though, like most men of genius who possess more force and elevation than delicacy, he may sometimes have confounded refinement and affectation. As to his commentators, Langbænius is ostentatiously pedantic, and learnedly absurd; Le Fèvre is, as usual, vain, bold, and ingenious; the notes of Tollius are full of taste, good criticism, and real erudition. There are a number of corrupted passages in Longinus, which, by the help of manuscripts, or from his own conjectures, he has restored extremely well.

October 26th.]—I intended to have composed a long abstract of that Greek Life of Homer, which I finished September the fourth, and actually wrote a page of it; but other things intervening, I went no further. As it is now too late, I shall take this occasion of giving a short account of it. Its title

is improper enough; after an history of Homer, comprised in a few lines, and full of blunders, the author proceeds to his main design, which was to shew that there was no art or science of which Homer was not the father and laid the foundations; a design which proves the excessive veneration of the Greeks still better than the temples they erected to him. To support so vain an argument, much sophistry and false reasoning was necessary. The following are some specimens of them which struck me. 1. It is almost impossible to follow him through his innumerable divisions and subdivisions, which, instead of easing our attention, and fixing our memory, perplex the one, and overburthen the other. This is a sufficient inconvenience in this method, but another infinitely greater results from it. Those divisions, by treating every minute part of a subject separately, often pass over the most essential notions of it, because they are common to the whole. Nay, as they are commonly the work of a trifling genius, they are sometimes founded only upon some very trivial and accessory ideas, without ever reaching the fundamental principles. Thus, when our critic wants to prove Homer an historian, he accurately divides the requisites of history into the mention of person, cause, place, time, instrument, passion, action, and manner; proves that in some part of his works the poet mentions each of these, and then very accurately concludes that he was an historian. What a minute division of history, which forgets all the most important parts of it, accuracy, impartiality, and

and an hundred more!* 2. To prove Homer's knowledge universal, he is forced, in several sciences, to instance things hardly above the rank of self-evident ideas, with which no peasant in a civilized country is unacquainted. Thus he is the father of arithmetic, because by saying that fifty men guarded each of the thousand Trojan fires, he does not compute himself, but furnishes the occasion of computing the Trojan army at fifty thousand men.† 3. One would think it sufficient for Homer's honour, to have been the father of all known truth; and that it was rather lowering, than raising his character, to make him acquainted with all the opinions of latter ages, however extravagant or contradictory to one another. The system of Thales, who makes water the universal principle; that of Xenophanes, who to water adds earth; and the general opinion which acknowledges four elements, are all borrowed from Homer;‡ though to have aserted all these opposite principles, implies more learning than judgment. Indeed, when he speaks of the Stoics and Peripatetics, he saves the contradiction very ingeniously. Homer was acquainted with both systems; but he looked upon the first as more exalted and conformable to reason; on the latter, as more practicable, and conformable to experience.§ 4. When the plain text of Homer appears absurd, or at least furnishes no proofs of science, he has recourse to the alle-

* Vit. Homer. p. 315—318. † Vit. Homer. p. 360.
‡ ———— p. 324. § ———— p. 352—354.

gorical sense, where he discovers a thousand mysteries.* I cannot here explain my sentiments on that head, nor illustrate and enforce a distinction which has not been enough attended to, viz. of what was allegory to Homer, and what was indeed allegory in its origin, but, through various mixtures and length of time, appeared then in a quite different shape. I have the less occasion to do it here, as my author is much soberer on this head, than many others of the ancients; some of whom (Heraclides for instance) have written whole books upon Homer's allegories. 5. My author, like many of the ancients, is very fond of drawing philosophical conclusions from a resemblance of words and fanciful etymologies; a method, which, with reason, would give one a poor opinion of their logic. Thus our author, from the resemblance of Δεμας and Δεσμος, would infer that Homer looked upon the soul as shackled and imprisoned by the body,† without ever considering that such grammatical conjectures want proof themselves, instead of being able to furnish it to other positions. Indeed it is more excusable to employ such arguments for the existence, than for the truth of an opinion. 6. These two last faults are common to him with many; his reasonings about numbers are more peculiar to him. He runs, and carries Homer with him, into all the Pythagorean whimsies,‡ the perfections of the *monade* and odd numbers, and

* Vit. Homer. p. 325—330. † Vit. Homer. p. 342.
‡ ———— p. 358—360.

the

the imperfections of the *duade* and even ones. He quotes several passages of Homer where the *monade* is praised, such as the Εις κοιρανος εσω, without once inquiring whether it is praised for an absolute or for a relative merit. Notwithstanding these criticisms, I am far from despising this life of Homer. The author was a man of much subtility and ingenuity; so that you are often pleased with the imagination, though you despise the reasoning. Nay, the reasoning is often more the vice of his subject than his own. When he treats of those arts of which Homer was really a master, language, rhetoric, and morality, he is very solid and instructive. You find many nice observations concerning Homer's style, his use of the various Greek dialects, his deviations from the common rules of grammar, and the different figures he employs. One that struck me relates to the genders. He often, for the sake either of metre, or energy, employs a masculine epithet to a feminine substantive; but it is only speaking of those qualities of the mind which are of no sex, or if of any, which appertain rather to the male, such as κλυτος Ιπποδαμεια.* In treating of Homer's rhetoric, he explains very well the artifice of the speeches of the second Iliad; the various eloquence of the ambassadors to Achilles, and the gradations by which he gave way to them.†. So much for the original. The editor was mighty negligent in not distinguishing properly Homer's verses from the prose, which is full

* Vit. Homer. p. 303. † Vit. Homer. p. 371—377.

of

of them, and not referring us to the places where they are to be found. The translator, whom I can scarcely believe to be Dr. Gale, has committed numberless blunders. I shall mention a curious one. He translates this verse of Homer,

Ἀρνειόν, ταῦρόν τε, συῶν τ' ἐπιβήλορα κάπρον, Odyss. Λ. 130.

by *Arietem porcorum custodem.** Besides the nonsense of the expression, and the absurdity of making one animal only, where grammar and the sense of his author required three; need I quote Constantine and Pollux to shew that Ἐπιβήλορα signifies *ascensorem*, and is metaphorically applied to the copulation of animals?† Why not translate it at once,

Agnum, et taurum, suisque ascensorem aprum?

Oct. 29th.]—I read Tollius's *Gustus Animadversionum Criticarum*, at the end of Longinus, p. 348—360. I cannot say that they any ways answered my expectation. Tollius was not equal to such critical parallels as they are designed for, between some of the ancient writers. The first is between a passage of Pindar and another of Horace. It results from his laborious inquiry, that the Greek tongue is more harmonious than the Latin. The second, between Theocritus and Virgil, teaches me, 1. That among the ancients, presenting or throwing apples was customary between lovers. 2. That Virgil is far inferior to the Greek poet,

* Vit. Homer. p. 359.

† Constant. in Voc. Jul. Poll. Onomastic. l. v. c. 15. p. 92.

since

since his Polyphemus boasts of having only milk all the year, whereas the Cyclop of Theocritus boasts that he has both milk and cheese. The third is between Apollonius and Ovid. As the Greeks are always to have the advantage, and Ovid is very open to criticism, Tollius talks rather more to the purpose.

Oct. 30th.]—I read Tollius, p. 360—371. A comparison between Virgil and a little poem of Petronius. Very bad indeed. However, I must now go through these comparisons.

31st.]—I went to church, heard a pretty good sermon from Mr. L*****, and read the second lesson, the fourth chapter of St. Luke, in Greek.

November 1st.]—I read Tollius, p. 371—381, the end. He compares Homer and Virgil as to the manner of Turnus' and Hector's deaths. He reasons better than usual, but did not consider that Hector's not asking for mercy like Turnus, is no proof of his superior courage. Turnus was slightly wounded; Hector mortally. I began to-day, as a natural supplement to Longinus, a philosophical inquiry into the nature of our ideas of the sublime and beautiful, and read the Introduction upon Taste, p. 1—40, which, like all other researches into our primary ideas, is rather loose and unsatisfactory. The division, however, of the passive impression which is common to all men, and relates chiefly to positive beauty or faultiness, and the active judgment which is founded on knowledge, and exercised mostly on comparison, pleased me;

me; perhaps because very like an idea of my own.

Oct. 2d.]—I read the Inquiry, p. 40—95, which comprises the first part. The author's object is to class our various passions and sensations, and to investigate our affections, in order to discover how we are and ought to be affected. All those of the mind he refers to two classes;—self-preservation and society. The former renders us sensible of pain and terror; the latter in their various branches, (of sympathy, imitation, and terror,) of pleasure, love, and joy. Their nature is eternally distinct; and they never can run into one another. This naturally leads Mr. Burke to deny that the priva tion of pleasure ever produces positive pain; and *vice versâ*, the sensation produced by the absence of pain he calls delight, a solemn, awful feeling, very different from positive pleasure.

Nov. 4th.]—I finished the Inquiry, which contains in all 342 pages. The author writes with ingenuity, perspicuity, and candour. His reigning principles are, that pain, when absent, and moderated to terror, is productive of that solemn delight which forms the beauty of the sublime; this idea he pursues through its various shapes of immensity either of time or place, power, darkness, &c. It is surprising how much Longinus and Mr. Burke differ as to their idea of the operations of the sublime in our minds. The one considers it as exalting us with a conscious pride and courage, and the other as astonishing every faculty, and depressing the soul itself with terror and amazement.

ment. If it should be found that the sublime produces this double, and seemingly contrary effect; we must look out for some more general principles which may account for it, though we may adopt still many particular materials and observations of both writers in the investigation of it. Such is Mr. Burke's system of the sublime: his notion of the beautiful is, that it is produced by whatever gives us pleasure. Perhaps his idea, confined as it is to the pleasures of sense, (heightened indeed by the imagination,) is yet too general. What connexion can he discover between the pleasures of the taste and the idea of beautiful? However, he thinks, (and I believe with reason,) that any thing, to appear beautiful either to the sight or touch, must convey to the sense an idea of softness and gradual variation, and to the imagination those of gentleness, delicacy, and even fragility. The ideas of beauty being in the least founded on those of order, proportion, or utility, he entirely explodes. I cannot help observing here, that in speaking of any thing beautiful, we consider the figure as so essential to it as not to be altered without changing the nature of it; and the colour as an accessory quality which may be varied at pleasure;—a proof that sometimes common feelings are conformable to philosophical speculations, where we should the least suspect it. Mr. Burke employs his last part in considering words as the signs of ideas. He remarks that they do not commonly, when pronounced, call up in the mind a picture of the idea for which they stand; and that consequently

quently in poetry or eloquence we are as often affected by the words themselves, as by clear images of what they are designed to represent. I began to-day Ubbo Emmius' Geographical Description of Greece, (which will be very useful for all my Greek authors, but particularly for the Odyssey,) and read p. 1—18.

Nov. 5th.]—I read Emmius, p. 18—40.

6th.]—I read Emmius, p. 40—45.

7th.]—I read Emmius, p. 45—54.

8th.]—I read Emmius, p. 54—194, the end. It is a short, and consequently a dry abridgment; but it is concise, clear, and exact. It contributed a good deal to confirm me in the contemptible idea I always entertained of Cellarius. 1. In comparing this abridgment with the single map of Grecia Propria, I found above 130 places omitted in Cellarius, and among them some of such note as Tiryns, Helos, Ithome, Pisa, the province of Acarnania, and the valley of Tempe. What would it have been had I entered into the minute detail of any one region?

17th.]—I read *Les Observations de l'Abbé de Mably sur les Grecs.* They are not ill written; but I think a capital fault of them is, attributing more consequences to the particular characters of men, often ill drawn, than to the general manners, character, and situation of nations.

30th.]—I began the Odyssey of Homer, and read l. i. p. 444, the end.

Dec. 1st.]—I read the Odyssey, l. ii. v. 1—128.

Dec.

Dec. 2d.]—I read the Odyssey, l. ii. v. 128—434, the end.

3d.]—I read Potter's Greek Antiquities, v. ii. p. 120—160, where he treats of the naval affairs of the Greeks, in order to understand the voyages of Telemachus. As, while I was reading, I saw from my window some of the finest ships in the world, I could not very much admire the small barks, with a mast occasionally set up and taken down, which they run ashore every night.

5th.]—I read the Odyssey, L. iii. v. 1—497, the end, and finished some new Journals, the *Bibliothèque des Sciences et Belles Lettres, from April to September*, 1762, and the *Journal des Savans combiné avec les Mémoires de Trévoux, from June to September*. There is a curious Dissertation of Mr. Beyer upon the Atlantic Island of Plato. He pretends it is Judea. Some circumstances and etymologies are as usual favourable to him, others totally opposite. However, calling in allegory and romance to support allegory and romance, he seems to think he has entirely confounded the Infidels. The other is the Voyage of M. Anquetil du Perron to the East Indies, with the sole view of studying the language and religion of the ancient Persees. He is just returned to France, with a prodigious number of manuscripts, which may perhaps throw some light upon one of the most obscure but most curious branches of ancient history.

6th.]—I read Potter's Antiquities, vol. ii. p. 209—237,

—237, in relation to the sacrifice offered by Nestor, and so exactly described by Homer.

Dec. 12th.]—I had borrowed of M. B. . . a French Moral and Political Romance of the Abbé Terasson, called *Sethos*. The beginning is fine, the description of the manners of the court of Memphis is worthy of Tacitus; and the system of the Egyptian initiation is a very happy thought; but, unluckily, the interest of the piece gradually diminishes in every book, till you arrive at the catastrophe, which is very cold and unnatural. As to the style, it is pure and elegant, scarcely ever elevated, and never animated. The Abbé Terasson had too mathematical a head to excel in the language of description, and too stoic a heart to shine in that of the passions. His feelings, however, are just, though not warm: the whole work breathes a spirit of virtue and humanity which renders it very amiable.

EXTRAITS

EXTRAITS DE MON JOURNAL.

I MUST renounce the design of a regular and minute journal, of which I flattered myself with the plan, but of which I should find the constraint too great on my natural laziness to continue the execution. I had interrupted my labours for a few days; this little negligence might be so easily repaired! but these days have imperceptibly become weeks. The more I had to do, I was the more reluctant to begin the work. The time still left to me was spent in useless regret; and now that I ought to write my history for six months, reason tells me that I must no longer think of the undertaking.

But the same reason enjoins me not entirely to neglect the most curious occurrences, perhaps, of my whole life. I shall collect, therefore, not in the order of time, but according to the distribution of subjects, the new ideas which I acquired during my residence in Paris. These subjects may be arranged under the following heads: 1. My own personal concerns; expenses, connexions, friends. 2. The state of literature in France, the men of letters, academies, theatres. 3. Detached observations; military, political, and moral. 4. The public buildings and works of art.—I will allow, however, some pages of my journal, which were written at the time, to remain in their original state;—a vain undertaking, forsaken almost as soon as begun.

Lausanne, August 17th, 1763.]—I wrote a small part of my discourse on the ancient nations of

Italy; small indeed, for a whole morning spent in the country. But of late I scarcely do any thing. My trifling avocations in town, the continual bustle at Mesery, and the frequent removals from the one to the other, produce greater distraction at Lausanne, than I ever experienced in London or Paris. I must seriously resume my labours.

Aug. 18th.]—I read the third *Satire of Juvenal*, consisting of three hundred and twenty-two verses. How judiciously does it set out! The honest Umbricius stops in the wood of Egeria, a sacred monument of the primitive Romans, but then inhabited by wretched Jews, to complain to Numa of the luxury of foreign manners, which had overflowed a nation whom he had instructed in laws and religion. The awkward meanness of the Romans, opposed to the address and suppleness of the Greeks, who made themselves slaves to become masters, forms a striking contrast. After such a beautiful picture, Juvenal, I think, would have done better not to have dwelt so long on the little inconveniences and disorders common to all great cities, and which are unworthy of exciting the serious indignation which he expresses against them.

20th.]—I read, for the first time, the fourth *Satire of Juvenal.*

24th.]—I read the fourth *Satire of Juvenal*, consisting of one hundred and fifty-four verses, for the second time. The council of Domitian is, perhaps, the most striking passage of satire to be met with in any ancient author. This subject perfectly suited our poet's genius; that seriousness of

of indignation, and that energy of expression, of which he is sometimes too lavish, are here in their proper place; and they forcibly impress on the reader's mind that detestation for the tyrant, and contempt for the Romans, which both so richly merited. Unfortunately this piece is left unfinished. After having described the principal counsellors with the pen of Sallust, the very moment they ought to begin their deliberation, the principal personage disappears, the poet's fire extinguishes, and the end of the piece is mangled. I also read, twice, the fifth satire, consisting of one hundred and seventy-three verses. How gross were the manners of the Romans amidst all their luxury! The most insolent financier would not now venture to make such humiliating distinctions among his guests. At Rome, the elegant Pliny considers his being disgusted with them almost as a merit in himself.* How different were the characters of Horace and Juvenal, although both sons of freedmen! The latter disdained to bend to the pride of the great; and the former, while he cured them of that pride, lived with them not as a parasite, but as a friend.

Aug. 25th.]—I read, for the first time, the sixth Satire of Juvenal, consisting of six hundred and sixty verses; and finished the thirteenth volume of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée.* It contains extracts from many excellent works; such as *Cudworth's Intellectual System, translated by Mosheim;*†

* Vide Plin. Epist. L. ii. Ep. 6.

† The translation appears to be superior to the original.

Sale's Alcoran, &c. Critical Histories of Manicheism, and of the French Monarchy, by Mr. Beausobre and the Abbé Dubos. These extracts are rather superficial; but the *History of the Roman Laws, by Heineccius*, is highly interesting; for those who consider jurisprudence only in its relations to general literature.

Aug. 26th.]—I read over again the first hundred and sixty verses of the sixth Satire of Juvenal. After breakfast I went to the library, to consult *Mr. Bochat's Treatise on the Worship of the Egyptian Divinities at Rome*, so often mentioned by Juvenal. It is to be found in the Neufchatel Mercury for the year 1742. This treatise is merely a hypothesis, and that very chimerical; namely, that the worship of these divinities was brought from Egypt to Greece, and from Greece to Italy, by colonies established in that country long before the age of Romulus. I consulted the first volume of the *Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres*, p. 140, concerning the signification of the word "Attonitæ" in the fourth Satire of Juvenal, v. 77. Mr. Valois applies it to the astonishment which prevailed in the capital, in consequence of the revolt of L. Antonius in Lower Germany. This conjecture is possible, which is all that can be said of it. But I am surprised that he has not drawn from it the only conclusion that could render it interesting. Antonius's revolt happened in the year of Rome 840.* The excessive tyranny

* V. M. de Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs, tom. ii. p. 39.—edit. fol.

of

of Domitian had then reached its meridian; yet the baseness of the Romans endured this monster still nine years longer. I read the fourteenth volume of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée.* It contains *Syntagma Dissertationum*, &c. Leipsic, 1733: a good collection, by Mosheim, which, however, savours too much of the Theologian, and even of the Lutheran. *Plinii Epistolæ, a Cortio, cum notis variorum; Amstel.* 1734: a very good edition. *Itineraria Vetera a Wesselingio; Amstel.* 1735: a most excellent edition of one of the most useful works we have, on the *Geography of the Roman Empire.*

Aug. 27th.]—I read, for the second time, the sixth Satire of Juvenal,—the source of all the invectives that have for sixteen centuries been accumulated against the sex. Nothing can be added to its force, richness, and variety; but some things perhaps might be retrenched from those too faithful descriptions, which, while they condemn vice, are apt to inspire vicious passions. Yet those wretches —are they entitled to escape infamy through the excess of their guilt? Ought their profligacy to be concealed from posterity, because they carried it to an immeasurable height? Juvenal has even been reproached with gratifying, in such descriptions, the pruriency of his own fancy. Yet the horror which he uniformly testifies at the disorders which he describes, will always persuade me, that his warmth proceeds, not from the flames of voluptuousness, but from the fire of indignation and genius. Instead of a licentiousness of morals, which in-

clined him to pardon vice, I would rather reproach him with a malignity of heart, which made him think the corruption general. He perpetually confounds invective with satire. All women are guilty, and guilty of the most enormous crimes. You may find a Clytemnestra in every street.* I know that there never, perhaps, was an age more profligate than that of Juvenal; in which morals were enervated by luxury; the heart hardened by the institutions of domestic slavery and the amphitheatre; sentiments debased by the tyranny of government; and every characteristic and manly principle subverted, by the mixture and confusion of nations in one great city. Yet, there still remained many vestiges of the ancient virtues; and women, as well as men, worthy of living in a better age. If we consult Pliny's Epistles, a contemporary monument, we shall find in the circle of that amiable Roman, humanity, morals, the love of talents and of merit. Juvenal never allows himself to bestow the smallest praise on virtuous characters,† even with the view of rendering the vicious more ugly by the contrast. All the other satirists, Horace, Boileau, Pope, have taken care to recommend themselves to their readers as the friends of virtue and of man; and as such, have perhaps, of all poets, most gained our love. But Juvenal seems to have a rooted hatred to his species; and, having declared against them open war, is totally regard-

* Juvenal, Satir. vi. v. 655.

† I mean those of his own times.

less

less of their friendship. This misanthropy, indeed, must render his works peculiarly acceptable to human malignity.

Aug. 28th.]—I read twice the seventh Satire of Juvenal; in which the poet describes, with his ordinary spirit, the poverty and contempt attending the men of letters of his times. The subject is always a disagreeable one; since it is more easy to render a character amiable, which happens to be the object of public hatred, than to render those respectable, who are the objects of a general, though unjust, contempt: besides, those continual complaints respecting the bad state of their fortune, come with peculiar disadvantage from men of letters. We acknowledge their murmurs to be just, but they always strike us with an idea of avidity and meanness, extremely inconsistent with the elevation which we expect from their characters. If wit consists in finding between ideas, relations that are natural without being obvious, the contrast of the poet and the lion surely deserves that name; it is one of the wittiest possible. I finished the fifteenth volume of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée.* It contains a second extract from Heineccius, explaining the history of the German law; a subject less interesting, indeed, than that of the Roman law, but equally well treated. *Réflexions Critiques;* Critical Reflexions on Ancient Nations, by Mr. Fourmont the elder. Because a man understands the Chinese, is he, therefore, entitled to tell us absurdities, with the authority of an oracle? Saturn the same with Abraham! The great divi-

nity of the Pagans the same with a wandering patriarch: and adored after his death almost by the whole world, except his own posterity; and that posterity an object of abhorrence and contempt to all his adorers! The life of Julian, written by my friend the Abbé de la Bleterie. The journalists are insensible to the merit, both of the hero and the historian; and even indulge themselves in making very unbecoming reflexions with respect to both. In general, the bitterness of zeal and controversy prevails too much in this *Bibliothèque*. When a father Colonia invites the faithful to the jubilee of Lyons, he is best answered with silent contempt; yet ridicule may be used against him without blame. But in giving the analysis of a work of literature or history, to bring forward opinions and reasonings suitable merely to the country of the reader, with a view to refute them tediously and ill-naturedly, is surely to mistake the business of a critical journal.—I wrote two pages of my collection on the ancient geography of Italy.

Aug. 29th.]—I read, for the first time, the eighth Satire of Juvenal, containing 275 verses.

30th.]—I did nothing but write a page and a half for my collection.

31st.]—I read over again the eighth Satire of Juvenal. I also twice read the ninth, containing 150 verses, and, for the first time, the first hundred verses of the tenth. How humiliating it is for mankind, that they must be taught, almost in all countries, that they are more respectable for their own virtues, than for those of their ancestors!

The

The origin and establishment of this prejudice is scarcely conceivable. Nature draws an indelible distinction between those to whom she has given talents, and those from whom she has withheld them. The subordination of citizens to their magistrates is founded on fear and reason; but what was the principle that originally established the distinction of noble and plebeian? I think it was religion. This question would require to be examined at great length, and the examination of it would be curious. I shall be contented with making a single observation on this satire. 1. Juvenal speaks, from one end of it to the other, the language of an ancient Roman. We perceive throughout, not only the dignity of a true censor, who arraigns vice, exposes folly, and appals guilt, but the soul of a republican, reluctantly bending under the new constitution, the sworn enemy of tyranny, and the friend of a mild and equitable monarchy rather through necessity than inclination. This love of liberty, and loftiness of mind, distinguishes Juvenal from all the poets who lived after the establishment of the monarchy. Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Lucan, Martial, Statius, Valerius Flaccus, all sing the ruin of their country, and the triumph of its oppressors. The vices of a Nero and a Domitian are commemorated in as lofty notes of praise, as the virtues of Augustus and Vespasian. Juvenal alone never prostitutes his muse. In his works, there is but one example of praise bestowed on the emperor; a praise perhaps just, expressed with the greatest simplicity, and included in a single verse. But he never

never loses an opportunity of arraigning the folly and tyranny of those masters of the world and their deputies. He does more; he teaches how the evils inflicted by them may be cured.

Tollas licet, omne quod usquam est
Auri atque argenti, scutum gladiumque relinques
Et jaculum et galeam; spoliatis arma supersunt—

is an advice addressed fully as much to the Romans as to the Africans. Juvenal's liberty of speech fixes the time in which he lived far better than the uncertain and contradictory reports of an old scholiast. He lived under a good prince, a Nerva or a Trajan, at a happy period when his sentiments might be expressed without disguise. Tyrants had the nicest sensibility; they easily knew their own pictures in those of their predecessors. Domitian reasonably concluded, that an enemy to Nero could not be his friend; an informer would have silenced Juvenal after his first satire. But I suspect that he never run that risk. Men, distinguished by vigour of mind and elevation of genius, found no other means of escaping the fatal suspicion of tyrants, than by concealing themselves in silence and obscurity, confining their application to innocent and frivolous pursuits.—The ninth Satire of Juvenal is disgusting by its subject. The vice which the poet condemns is exhibited without disguise. The ridicule of the satire appears to me to arise from the character of Nævolus, a miserable catamite, whose principles are so much debased by his way of life, that he has lost all sense of its infamy, and relates his services with the same air of indifference

indifference that a soldier would describe his campaigns. This gravity, which the reader perceives to be so much out of place, and which Nævolus does not, produces, in my opinion, the whole humour of the piece.

Sept. 1st.]—I read a second time the tenth Satire of Juvenal, v. 100—365, the end; and the eleventh, consisting of 208 verses, for the first time. In the tenth, Juvenal treats a subject worthy of himself; the vanity of human wishes, a misfortune consistent with the greatest virtues, and intimately connected with the most natural sentiments of the heart. The poet every where employs a refined and accurate philosophy, founded on the strictest principles of moral science. His genius rises with his subject: he shews the nothingness of false grandeur, and weighs, with the sublime indifference of a superior being, the virtues, talents, and destiny, of the greatest men. He here neglects, and seems even to disdain, the beauty of versification, and that sweet and charming harmony of which he was so great a master. His style, precise, energetic, lofty, and enriched with images, flows in a rougher stream than in his other pieces. Taking experience for his guide, his reasonings are mixed with examples, of which the greater part are chosen with exquisite judgment. That of Sejanus is a masterpiece: never was any elevation more extraordinary than his, nor any fall more dreadful. The levity of the people, who were in haste to break his statues, which they had just worshipped, is a finished picture of popular inconstancy. The example of the

the death of Alexander seems to me to be chosen with less discernment than the rest. *His* misfortune consisted in being cut off in the midst of his success and glory. Yet had Marius died as he descended from his triumphal car, he would have been deemed the happiest of mortals. The reasoning in this satire would have been clearer, had Juvenal distinguished between those wishes, the accomplishment of which could not fail to make us miserable, and those whose accomplishment might fail to make us happy. Absolute power is of the first kind; long life of the second. The latter we may safely commit to the providence of the gods; but our own reason may teach us to pray, that they would refuse to us the former. With regard to the gods, I remark that inconstancy of opinion in Juvenal, which is so frequent among the ancients. At one moment nothing can be more pious than his faith, or more philosophical than his submission. The next, our own wisdom suffices, and prudence usurps the thrones of all the divinities. In the following verse his devotion again gets the ascendency: he limits his general assertion to fortune only, and replaces all the other gods in Olympus.

Sept. 2d.]—I finished the fourteenth volume of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée.* It contains Foster's Sermons. Wonderful! a divine preferring reason to faith, and more afraid of vice than of heresy. *Scriptores Rei Rusticæ à Gesnero.* These authors may be useful for instructing us in the language and rural economy of the Romans; but where

where is the student that reads, or the farmer who puts in practice, their lessons? *Notitia Hungariæ, vol. i. per Math. Ball:* an immense work, but too minutely circumstantial for any but Hungarians. The Panegyric of Mr. Le Clerc; a dry but accurate work of the Reviewer. The Council of Trent, by Father Paul, translated by Father Courayer; first extract. We might wish the translator more vigour of understanding; but in his preface he displays all the candour, impartiality, and toleration, that can possibly be desired.

Sept. 3d.]—I read a second time the eleventh Satire of Juvenal: I read the first hundred verses a third time: and also the twelfth Satire, consisting of 130 verses. In the eleventh, Juvenal takes an opportunity, in inviting his friend to supper, to contrast, with much sprightliness, the extravagant luxury of his contemporaries with the simple and coarse fare of ancient dictators. He makes us clearly perceive, without formally expressing it, how universal, and almost necessary, the elegance of the table was become in his time, since a poor philosopher like himself prepared for his friend a supper, very inferior indeed to the feasts of Ventidius, but far superior to those of Curius. This entertainment was to be graced by simplicity, neatness, and decent amusements only. Juvenal possessed justness of understanding, and honesty of heart; but his character was deficient in point of sweetness and sensibility. He has neglected an opportunity of expressing those sentiments, which one friend, when he feels them, is always ready to pour

pour into the bosom of another. The free and philosophical conversation which the confidence of friendship inspires and warrants, is but ill supplied at his supper by the reading of Homer. Horace took care not to forget, in his charming picture of an entertainment distant and uncertain, those amiable feelings with which the near reality of a similar repast does not inspire Juvenal. Here, however, I would make a distinction between this satirist and Boileau. Neither of them were endowed with tenderness of sentiment. But this defect in Boileau proceeded from a coldness of heart and fancy, which rendered him but little susceptible of any passion whatever. Juvenal's heart and fancy were both of them ardent; but their warmth exhausted itself in passions strong, dark, and elevated, not in affections which are amiable and tender.

Sept. 4th.]—I did nothing but finish the twelfth Satire of Juvenal, v. 100—130, the end. This performance shews the author's genius for satire, but also that it was the only kind of genius with which he was endowed. In this piece, he certainly did not at first intend writing a satire, but only to congratulate one of his friends, who had been saved from a dreadful shipwreck. After employing, on this subject, two-thirds of the poem, he is at once diverted from it, by recollecting that his friend, for whose safety he is to offer so many sacrifices, has three children. This conduct in himself strikes him as totally opposite to that of the testament-hunters, with whom Rome abounded,

and

and whose attentions were solely bestowed on rich people who were childless. He forgets his friend, for the pleasure of exposing those knaves. The lively picture which he draws of them, is far superior to his description of the tempest, which is tedious, languid, confused, disgraced by declamation, and even by puerility.

I finished the seventeenth volume of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée*. It contains the second and third extract from Father Paul's Council of Trent, translated by Father Courayer. It should seem as if the soul of the illustrious Servite animated the regular Canon: the same talents, virtues, and even weaknesses, are common to both. This work is a beautiful monument of the history of religion, the most curious part of the history of the human mind, for those who can soar above the prejudices of sects and parties. *De Verbis ambiguis*, a Reitzio: good design, ill executed. A Dissertation on Suicide, by Robeck. The author threw himself into the Elbe. It is impossible to doubt his sincerity, which far surpassed his understanding.

Sept. 5th.]—I wrote above a page of my collection, and read the thirteenth Satire of Juvenal, consisting of 249 verses.

6th.]—I read a second time, the thirteenth Satire of Juvenal, and the fourteenth, consisting of 331 verses, for the first time. In the first, the poet offers consolation to a friend, who had been defrauded of ten thousand sesterces, by a knave, who denied the deposit of that sum. In this satire, a divine might find new proofs of the uncertainty

tainty of the Pagans respecting a Providence and a future state. The poet speaks almost divinely of the torments of a guilty conscience; of its horrid remorse for having violated the laws of justice; and of the dreadful sufferings of him who bears his punishment always in his own heart. His dreams appal him with the most frightful images; and the pain of every calamity that befalls him is heightened by his regarding it as a punishment. But he does not decide whether these terrors rest on any solid foundation. Wickedness and misery are associated in the fancy; but does reason prove that there is a necessary connexion between them? Juvenal does not consider this question, any more than the punishment of the wicked in another life. He mentions this but once, and then contemptuously. Having exhausted his whole eloquence in describing the punishments of vice, he thinks none so powerful and efficacious as that inflicted by the magistrates, with which he concludes. Yet Juvenal had never imbibed the impious philosophy of the Greeks; he was an old Roman, who hearkened to Cato rather than to Chrysippus; and who sincerely venerated the divinity, though he was inclined to laugh at the polytheism of his fellow-citizens.

Sept. 7th.]—I finished the eighteenth volume of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée.* It contains the letters of Leibnitz. This universal genius here appears as a theologian. As a philosopher, could Leibnitz really hope that an union might be effected among religions? *Vitæ Servii Sulpicii et P. Al-*

P. Alpheni. The life of the first of these lawyers is as interesting, as that of the second is the reverse. It is written by Everard Otto. *Heineccii Opuscula.* Among these dissertations, that concerning the dress of the first Christians is learned and curious. *Catonis Disticha.* After having read the proofs brought by M. Carnegzieter, it is impossible to doubt that Dionysius Cato was a Pagan who lived before the age of Constantine. It was not necessary, surely, to be a Christian, to be able to retail, in the lowest style, maxims of the plainest common sense.

Sept. 8th.]—I wrote two pages of my collection, and read over again the fourteenth Satire of Juvenal, v. 1—106.

9th.]—The first volume of the Letters of Baron Bielfeld having accidentally fallen into my hands, engaged and amused me. I was pleased with his description of Berlin, Potsdam, and Hanover. The life led by the King of Prussia, in his retreat, is well sketched. We behold the morning of a beautiful day; but as there are no presages of the tempest, the picture is a little too flattering. As to Homer and England, the Baron is just as well acquainted with the one as with the other.

13th.]—I finished the nineteenth volume of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée:* it contains the fourteenth and last extract from Father Paul's History of the Council of Trent, translated by Courayer. The refined policy of the House of Austria has always known how to avail itself of that superstition of which other nations have been the victims. Aus-

tria, in particular, rejected the authority of the Council of Trent, which she had appeared to admit most respectfully. *Cæsar's Commentaries, by Oudendorp:* a good and bulky edition. *Thoughts and Theological Dissertations, by Alphonso Turretin:* a weak reasoner, but a good writer. The *Miracles of Abbé Paris, by Montgeron.* This fanaticism of the Jansenists is one of those epidemic maladies of the human mind, which deserves much attention.

Sept. 16th.]—I had a little neglected Juvenal. To-day I read, for the second time, the fourteenth Satire, v. 106—331, the end; and, for the first time, the fifteenth Satire, v. 1—174. There are satires more agreeable than the fourteenth; there are others in which the poet takes a loftier flight; but there are none in which he so much displays his genius for philosophy, the art of connecting his ideas, his precision, and brevity. His brevity resembles not that so common among writers of the present age, who often strangle a thought in hopes of strengthening it; and who applaud their own skill, when they have shewn to us, in a few absurd words, the fourth part of an idea: it is the brevity of Tacitus and Montesquieu, which, after retrenching whatever is superfluous or unnecessary, includes the principal thought in a precise and vigorous expression. By selecting the most characteristic circumstances, the poet sets before your eyes, in five lines, (v. 166—171), the simplicity of the ancient Romans, their love of labour, their domestic happiness, the fruit-

fruitfulness of their wives, their sober diet, and their aversion to being served by a multitude of foreign slaves. Throughout the whole of this satire, the texture is skilfully combined; the thoughts either rising immediately the one from the other, or the transitions being so natural, that they are almost imperceptible. How justly and artfully does the poet describe the progress of avarice in the human heart? tracing it from its origin, in sordid parsimony, to mean contrivances for gain; and from thence to injustice, violence, and the greatest crimes. The father who first inspired into his son this miserable passion, vainly struggles to check his flagitious career; and after being long the astonished spectator of his crimes, sometimes becomes their victim.

Trepidumque Magistrum
In cavea magno fremitû, leo tollet alumnus;

is an image equally bold and impressive. This master of the lion had exasperated his natural ferocity, in order to render him more deserving the attention of the amphitheatre.

Sept. 17th.]---I read the fifteenth Satire of Juvenal, v. 1—174, the second time; and also read the sixteenth and last Satire. In the first of these Juvenal expresses, undisguised, his hatred against the Egyptian nation and religion. This does not at all surprise me. As a man of good sense, Juvenal despised the absurdities of this worship; he saw how much its introduction into Rome had corrupted the morals of his fellow-citizens; and perceived that those crowded assemblies, in which the

distinctions of age, rank, and sex were concealed and confounded, under the veil of night and mystery, opened a door to the most abominable debauchery, at the same time that the Egyptian prophets and fortune-tellers taught women and children to calculate, and sometimes to hasten, the deaths of their fathers and husbands. His own banishment into a country which was the object of his contempt or detestation, naturally sharpened his animosity, and carried his resentment to the utmost pitch. I only wish that he had restrained it within the bounds of justice. In a tumult excited by superstition, the Egyptians devoured the flesh of one of their fallen enemies. From this horrid action it was not fair to conclude, that the Egyptians equalled in barbarity the Cyclops and the Lestrigons. The French treated with equal brutality Mareshal d'Ancre, and the Dutch Pensionary de Witt. The fixed and permanent character of a people ought never to be inferred from moments of madness and fury. The poet also too much indulges his talent for declamation. Instead of aggravating the crime of the Egyptians, he in reality lessens it by his unseasonable reasonings, his example of the Vascones, &c. He who violates the principles of Zeno may be worthy of blame; but the monster who insults the dictates of nature can alone excite horror. The genius of our poet is clearly displayed in the witty description of the worship which the Egyptians paid to animals;* in the origin of society, founded on

* Sat. xv. v. 1—14.

those

those principles of benevolence, which are implanted by nature in the heart of man only;* and in that dreadful, though beautiful picture of the ferocity of an Egyptian.

The sixteenth Satire is not clearly proved to be Juvenal's. It is written weakly, and negligently; but I think we may recognize the master's hand in v. 55. This satire, however, is of considerable importance in history. It has not been sufficiently remarked to what extent the privileges of soldiers were carried under the emperors. In moments of sedition, it was manifest, they overturned their thrones; but it was not known that in time of peace they shared their sovereignty. I know not of a bolder enterprise, in any small portion of a community, than that of withdrawing itself from the jurisdiction of the ordinary magistrates, and insisting that its differences, even with the other classes of citizens, should be decided by its own judges. The clergy obtained these privileges in the dark ages; but such pretensions seem to have been more excusable in a body, which was believed to possess all the virtue, and which really possessed all the learning of the times, than they could possibly be in the Roman soldiers, whose ignorance, grossness of manners, despotic and military maxims, removed them to so great a distance from the character belonging to a judge.

I finished Juvenal, whom I regret not being earlier acquainted with; and who, in future, will

* Sat. xv. 129—158.

be one of my favourite authors. Having written my observations on him, as they occurred in reading his Satires, I have but little to add on the subject; and shall confine myself to two remarks: the first, as to the time in which he lived; the second, concerning his versification. 1st. There is not any Latin poet concerning whom we have so little information; whether from pride or modesty, he has neglected to tell us either the time of his birth, or the circumstances of his life. None of his works were written in commemoration of any great event, which might have ascertained their date. It seems as if he had taken a pleasure in perplexing us, by often speaking of many persons as his contemporaries who lived at very different periods of time. There remain but a few words of an old life of Juvenal, written by an unknown author; which life augments our uncertainty, by its opposition to the clearest inferences from the poet's own works. According to that biographer and his scholiast, Juvenal lived under Nero, who banished him to Egypt, where he died soon afterwards. Yet it is certain that he survived Domitian; that he witnessed the condemnation of Marius Priscus; that Martial, who did not retire into Spain until the reign of Trajan, left him at Rome; and from the date of a consulship, there is reason to suspect, that he was in Egypt in the third year of the reign of Adrian. All the æras perfectly correspond with the system of the learned Dodwell, who thinks that our poet was banished by the last named emperor. Some time ago, I read Dodwell's

Dodwell's work, the Quintilian Annals. I have not the book at hand, and cannot recollect the proofs which he brings; but I can see several probabilities tending to support his opinion. 2. Juvenal's versification appears to me to be superior to that of most of the Latin poets. Managed by him, the Roman language loses all its roughness. His verses are flowing, harmonious, and animated; although he never sacrifices the sense to the sound. I should fancy that the lines flowed spontaneously from his pen, did I not perceive, amidst a multitude of fine ones, some few that are disgusting, by their rudeness or their languor. To have allowed them to pass uncorrected, a poet must have been extremely inattentive to his versification; since they might have been mended so easily. I remark also, that his poetry is more sparing of ornament in his last satires. If they are placed in the chronological order, this difference may be easily accounted for.

As the Satire of Sulpitia, on the banishment of the philosophers, is printed with the Satires of Juvenal, I had an inclination to examine it; and therefore read it twice over, v. 1—70. The praises bestowed by Martial had prepossessed me in favour of this lady; but, in my opinion, those praises were not her due. Her genius, perhaps, was too feeble to support her in this lofty flight; but was better adapted to subjects that required only taste, spirit, and sensibility. The epigrammatist, perhaps, had as little delicacy in his praise as in his satire; and was carelessly prodigal of his flattery to

a woman of fashion, whose house was the resort of men of letters. 1. The work is without method or plan; and the beauty of the subject is destroyed by her manner of treating it. Instead of lamenting that the throne of ignorance should be established on the ruins of philosophy and the arts, twenty-three lines of a poem consisting of seventy are consumed in an invocation and conclusion, which informs us of nothing, except that Sulpitia was a woman of great vanity and affectation: and were it not for eight verses casually inserted in the middle of the satire,* I should not be able to guess its subject, as I still am at a loss to discover the meaning and use of the digression, where she examines whether prosperity or adversity were most useful to the republic. 2. As to the style and poetry, it is the misfortune of Sulpitia, that she has not left room for criticising faults, that proceed from genius or fancy. Her work is characterised by coldness, hardness, poverty of invention, rudeness of harmony, and a versification that gratifies neither the ear nor the mind. 3. Women have been accused of want of precision. In this respect Sulpitia does not belie her sex. Without mentioning that she confounds science with wisdom, as if those two things had never been distinguished, I shall only give an example of the most incongruous and absurd simile that I ever remember to have met with. The philosophers banished by Domitian are compared with the Gauls expelled

* Bello fecunda secundo.

by

by Camillus. It is needless to point out the absurdity of comparing a body of men of letters with a nation of barbarians, and a legal banishment with the defeat of an army; and Sulpitia ought to have remembered that the Gauls had burnt the city, besieged the capitol, and that their conqueror, Camillus, merited the title of second founder of Rome. 4. Justice, however, must be done to Sulpitia. Her satire is adorned by one striking image. Rome, after all her victories, is represented under the figure of the wrestler Milo, who remained alone in the lists, vainly expecting an antagonist. This image is happily conceived; and clearly, though not forcibly, expressed.

Sept. 7th.]—I this day began the description of ancient Rome, by Fabiano Nardini, translated into Latin by Tollius, and inserted in the fourth volume of Grævius's Roman Antiquities, which Mr. Pavillard borrowed for me from the public library of Geneva. This work is much valued by the learned; though I perceive that the Abbé l'Anglet de Fresnoy speaks lightly of its translation. I read l. i. c. i, ii. p. 881—897. Nardini vindicates the account commonly given of the origin of Rome, by arguments very generally known. This is the subject of the first chapter. The second is very interesting, since it examines the extent of the first city, built by Romulus, which comprehended only the Palatine Mount; and when the Sabines took the Capitol, this meant the citadel.

Sept. 18.]—I read Nardini, l. i. c. iii, iv, v, vi, vii, viii, ix, x. p. 897—945, which terminates the first book. A variety of subjects are treated with great learn-

learning, considerable judgment, and a minute accuracy; which is commonly instructive, but sometimes tiresome. Having finished his description of the city built by Romulus, he examines the addition made to it by Tatius, the ally of that king, on the Capitoline Hill; and then proceeds to consider the form given to it by Servius Tullius, (the least celebrated, but perhaps the greatest of all its legislators,) and the wall which bounded the extent of Rome to the reign of Aurelian. This wall he traces with great attention, directed by an exact local knowledge. It results from the whole of his observations, that the circuit of ancient Rome was scarcely so considerable as that of the modern: a fact which totally overturns the systems of Lipsius and Vossius. Nardini is very happy in explaining the famous passage of Pliny, which treats of the *twelve* gates; and which ought not to be reckoned more, since we learn from two passages of Cicero and Livy, that several of the Roman gates had two arches, called Jani; which are still distinguishable on ancient monuments. Nardini is not equally successful in explaining the Pomœrium. In spite of all his hypotheses, there are still three propositions on this subject, which rest on equally good authority, and are yet contradictory to each other. 1. That the Pomœrium was a consecrated slip of ground on both sides of the walls. 2. That the walls of Rome had the same extent from Servius Tullius to Aurelian. 3. That Sylla, Julius Cæsar, and the emperor Claudius, extended the Pomœrium.

I this day finished the twentieth volume of the *Biblio-*

Bibliothèque Raisonnée; which contains the translation of Diodorus Siculus, by the Abbé Terasson. It is remarkable that a man, who despised the finest writers of antiquity, should have condescended to become the translator of an historian, whose accidental utility far surpasses his real merit. Though this translation be esteemed, the critic here exposes many of its errors. Two editions of Titus Livius, with his supplements; one by Drakenborch, and the other by Crevier. In the first, the text of Livy is buried under a weight of the commentaries, good or bad, that have been written on that author. The second contains a sensible life of the historian, a judicious selection of the best remarks on his work, and displays as much intelligence as taste on the part of the editor. He includes the first fifteen books, together with his own prolegomena, in 828 pages; whereas the Dutch editor bestows 2159 pages on the first nineteen books, *cum notis variorum.* The latter edition, however, may be considered as a good repertory. *Syntagma Dissertationum ad Historiam Ecclesiasticam pertinentium* a Moshemio. His ecclesiastical dissertations seem to me to have more merit than his theological ones. *The Truth of the Miracles of Mr. Paris;* second and third Extract. The journalist carefully sifts the cure of young Alphonso of Palacios: if none of the miracles was better than this, the Jesuits needed not to have ascribed them to the devil. *La Friponnerie Laïque, Lay Fraud,* by Dr. Bentley. An answer to the famous book of Collins, full of learning and scurrility; in the latter of which the author is outdone by his translator and critic.

Sept.

Sept. 19.]—I read Nardini, l. ii. c. i, ii, iii. p. 949—961. After fixing the limits of the city, he describes the seven hills which they included. The reverse of this method would perhaps have been more natural. He explains very clearly the different divisions of the people and of the city, the tribes and curiæ of Romulus, the tribes instituted by Servius, the fourteen regions of Augustus, and the seven regions of the first popes. I wish he had inquired into the distribution of the curiæ after the reign of Servius, and determined whether they were again divided among the tribes instituted by that prince; whether the division of the tribes by Romulus continued to subsist merely for the purpose of the *comitia curiata;* or whether, after the time of Servius, the division of the people by curiæ, had no longer any relation to their division by tribes. The latter opinion appears to me the more probable.

20th.]—I finished the second book of Nardini, chapters fourth and fifth. I also read the third book, c. i, ii, iii, iv, v, vi, vii. p. 961—1005. He speaks of the authors who have given us descriptions of Rome; such as Publius Victor, Sextus Rufus, Onuphrius, Panvinius, and the *Notitia Imperii.* Their chief utility arises from their having had before their eyes many monuments which are now known only by books. Yet notwithstanding this advantage, their descriptions are so inferior in point of accuracy to those of modern critics, (Nardini for example,) that the latter are continually obliged to correct their mistakes, to supply their defects, and sometimes even to point out their contradictions.

tradictions. After these preliminary matters, Nardini proceeds to describe the fourteen regions of the city; treating minutely in this part of his work, the first region, or that of the Porta Capena; and the second, or that of the Mons Cælius. We may pronounce his researches in general to be successful. By combining a multitude of passages scattered in ancient authors, both with each other, and with his local knowledge of Rome, he is enabled to ascertain the situation of the greater part of its monuments. His account of the valley of Egeria, which lies on the left of the *Porta Capena*, between the Latin and Appian ways, illustrated, much to my satisfaction, several passages in Juvenal. He employs the half of a chapter in investigating the true meaning of the words *domus* and *insula*, and in confuting Lipsius's opinion on that subject. Grævius is equally dissatisfied with the explications of Lipsius and his antagonist. If these antiquaries, who were better critics than logicians, had been at as much pains to acquire an exact idea of their subject, as to heap up citations, I am persuaded they would easily have perceived, 1. That the word *insula*, which in its application to the houses of Rome, was at first metaphorical, denoted every edifice that was entirely insulated, and whose walls were completely separated from those of the neighbouring buildings. This primitive signification of the word is supported both by the nature of the thing and the authority of Festus; and we ought not to mix with this essential characteristic, any accessory ideas. 2. Without disputing that, in the first ages of Rome, the number of such edifices was great,

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we may boldly affirm that it became much greater after the conflagration in the reign of Nero; and that in the age of Constantine, buildings called *insulæ* filled the whole extent of the city. Tacitus informs us of a wise regulation made by Nero, forbidding the use of walls common to two contiguous houses, and requiring that the walls of each house should be distinct and separate from those of the houses nearest to it. The *insulæ* cannot be more accurately defined than by this description; and we cannot doubt whether the edict was carried into execution, when we read in Publius Victor, that in the fourth century there were 46,000 *insulæ* in the capital; and that, with the exception of not more than 1800 *domus*, all the dwellings of Rome were comprehended under that name. Since the fact is ascertained, it is our business not to contest, but to explain it. I will not therefore allege that the whole city could not have been rebuilt agreeably to Nero's edict, because there was only a part of it consumed by the conflagration under his reign. As the edict was a wise one, it would naturally be perpetuated by his successors; and in the space of three hundred years from Nero to Victor, there was time for rebuilding the whole city according to the new plan. The unpleasing effect of so many separate houses to the eye, ought not to create any difficulty: safety is to be preferred to beauty; especially to a beauty dependent on fashion; so that, provided the streets were straight and spacious, the eye would be abundantly gratified. 3. This edict regulated only the situation of houses, but left their size and shape to the discretion of each

each proprietor. Nero's palace and the house of an artificer were equally entitled to the appellation of *insulæ*, provided they had the specific character of standing detached and separate from all other buildings. The number of such *insulæ* could not be considerable. The *great* form but a small proportion of any community; and the expense, together with the inconvenience and danger attending a separate dwelling, incline me to believe that the lower classes at Rome were contented with lodgings; which appears really to have been the case, both from Juvenal and Martial. The avaricious industry of man will serve better to convince us than all the passages in ancient authors, that there would be a number of builders, who promoted the beauty of the city and the convenience of its inhabitants by erecting large edifices, of which the separate apartments were let to different families. This practice, which became general, greatly extended the signification of the word *insulæ*, by connecting with it a new meaning. It began to denote a multitude of families living under the same roof, and therefore a house hired to the lower classes of the people: and in this sense it is taken by Petronius and the writers on the Roman law. 4. From the number of the *insulæ* would it be possible to ascertain that of the inhabitants of Rome? Victor and the *Notitia Imperii* fix the former at 46,602. We learn from Juvenal, that the houses of the Romans consisted commonly of four stories;* and if we suppose each

* Juvenal Satir. iii. 197—202.

story

story to have lodged a family of six persons, each of the *insulæ* would contain twenty-four inhabitants. Those which were let to hire could not have fewer, and the palaces of the rich would contain a far greater number.* This surplus may be divided among the small *insulæ* not let to hire, but belonging to those who inhabited them: so that by multiplying the number of *insulæ* by twenty-four, we shall have 1,118,448 for the inhabitants of Rome. I am pleased with this number, which, without passing the bounds of credibility, corresponds with the great extent of the city, and with all that we are told of its populousness. It might be clearly proved that Nardini's system would give but 360,000 inhabitants to the capital of the world; whereas Grævius's hypothesis would require four or five millions: both which numbers seem to me highly improbable. 5. As to the 1800 houses, *domus*, which in all the descriptions of Rome are reckoned separately, their name, their numbers, and a passage of Suetonius concur in making me believe that they were the principal buildings, or palaces of Rome. I think, however, they need not be distinguished from the *insulæ;* since if they are removed from this class by their greatness, they may be again reduced to it by their detached situation, which was the original and specific meaning of the word.†

Sept.

* We must remember that the slaves were numerous in great families.

† See concerning the whole question, *Lips. ad Tacit. Annal. xv.*

Sept. 22d.]—The second volume of Baron Bielfeld's Letters withdrew my attention from Nardini. I am interested in the Baron's character; his letters give a lively picture of the German courts. I should have preferred indeed some account of the character and history of the king of Prussia, and the suppers at Potsdam, to the description of all those galas and marriages. But fear or discretion impose rigorous laws on a German author.

23d.]—I read Nardini, l. iii. the remainder of c. vii. and c. viii, ix, x, xi, xii. p. 1005—1039. He finishes the description of the second region, and proceeds to that of the third (Isis and Moneta,) which he also concludes; and then commences the description of the fourth (Templum Pacis.) As he draws near to the centre of the city, his materials become more abundant, from the greater quantity of ancient monuments in that neighbourhood. He traces distinctly the Via Sacra; whose situation, indeed, is ascertained by a variety of sure limits. This famous street is bounded, on one side, by the Fabian arch, which led to the Roman Forum; and, on the other, it terminates at the Colosseum, by which it was separated from the street called Suburra; which some antiquaries vainly endeavoured to place elsewhere; but whose position is fixed by Nardini with much learning and accuracy. The ceremony practised in the Regia, bears,

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.

in my opinion, all the marks of the highest antiquity: a people, desirous of representing the God of War, but who were incapable or unwilling to imitate the human figure, and therefore adored him under the form of a spear; a horse sacrificed in the field, whose bloody head was carried in procession, and fixed to the wall of the Regia; every thing in these rites points to a Scythian origin, and indicates the manners of wandering barbarians. Even the military sports of the inhabitants of the Via Sacra and Suburra date their origin from a period when society was yet in its infancy. The Via Sacra leads to the Temple of Peace and the Colosseum, two of the finest monuments of Rome, which that city owes to the most avaricious of its princes. Happy the people, whose princes, by habitual economy, are capable of executing great undertakings!

Sept. 24th.]—I read Nardini, l. iii. c. xiii, xiv, xv. and l. iv. c. i.—x. p. 1039—1125. He continues and concludes the description of the fourth region, and proceeds to the fifth, (Esquilinus,) the sixth, (Alta Semita,) and the seventh (Via Lata.) He sets clearly before our eyes the infernal action of Tullia. She ascended the Vicus Cyprius, and had already reached the extremity of that street, where it divides into two branches: that on the right led to the Esquiline Mount and the palace of Servius Tullius; that on the left (Vicus Patricius) joined the Esquiline and the Viminal, forming a street where the Patricians lived under the eyes of their king. It was here that the bloody body of her father could not stop the chariot of Tullia. The horror

horror excited by her deed, separated this place from the *Vicus Cyprius*, and gave to it the name of *Vicus Sceleratus*. In the eighth satire of the third book of Horace, a difficulty occurs respecting the Esquiline Mount. The gardens of Mecænas stood on a ground formerly employed as a public burying place. There is not any doubt of the fact; but it is uncertain when this change took place. Nardini thinks that it was in the reign of Servius. But it seems to me, that a glance at this satire is sufficient to show that the passage in Horace is not a cold and far-fetched allusion to an event that happened five hundred years before his own time; but that he speaks of a change operated under his own eyes, and by the direction of his patron. But Mount Esquilin, I shall be told, was ever since the time of Servius within the walls of Rome: and can it be believed that slaves should have been interred in a city, which scarcely granted that honour to emperors? I feel the whole weight of this objection; yet I would ask, whether the Esquiline, though within the walls, was therefore within the Pomœrium? This cannot be determined. Mount Aventine was within the circuit traced by Servius, and the emperor Claudius surrounded it with walls six centuries afterwards. The prohibition of interring in cities proceeded from the pontifical law; and the college of priests regulated, at pleasure, the limits of the Pomœrium. This is but an hypothesis, yet it is the only solution I can give of the difficulty. We still see on Mount Aventine a triumphal arch, which a private citizen raised in

honour of the emperor Gallienus. The rudeness of the work is surpassed by the coarse flattery of the inscription. A prince, who left his father a prisoner among the Persians, and the empire a prey to its enemies, is extolled for his valour, which is only exceeded by his piety. It is allowable to transform the defects of princes into kindred excellencies; to call their ambition magnanimity; their severity justice; and their cowardice moderation. This does not offend us, because it is the custom. But when Gallienus is flattered for virtues most opposite to his character, we are almost tempted to believe that, under the flattery, a severe satire is concealed. This inscription is still more impudent than the *pax ubique*, which Mr. Addison read on a medal of the same Gallienus.

Sept. 25th.]—I read Nardini, l. v. c. i, ii, iii, iv. p. 1125—1149. He has now reached the centre of the city, where it was impossible to advance a step without finding some monument of the religion, greatness, or policy of Rome, but unfortunately the greater part of those monuments no longer exist, except in ancient authors. They speak of a little chapel dedicated to Concord, concerning which I shall say a few words. This chapel was the work rather of hatred than of piety; it was built by C. Flavius, that sworn enemy of the nobles, with a view to mortify their pride. How did he accomplish this purpose? 1. By performing the ceremony of dedication himself. The senate beheld with indignation an edile arrogating to himself the functions hitherto reserved for dictators and

and consuls.* 2. In a manner less direct indeed, but still more offensive, which but few readers have perceived in a passage of Pliny.† In the midst of sedition, Flavius vowed to consecrate a temple to the goddess Concord, on condition that she re-established harmony among the different orders of citizens. The chapel was consecrated, and the æra of its dedication fixed by an inscription, at the distance of 104 years from that of the Concord of the Capitol,‡ which had been built by Camillus, in consequence of a similar vow. It may easily be imagined how much the patricians were mortified at seeing this plebeian Concord, the work of an edile, standing in the neighbourhood of the patrician Concord of their dictator. In this interesting passage, the date only is erroneous. The first dedication was in the year of Rome 386; the second, in the year 448. Instead of the number 104, we must therefore read 62.

I finished the twenty-first volume of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée*. It contains the panegyric of Alphonso Turretin, by Mr. Vernet; in which the beauty of the style exceeds that of the subject. This piece owes its fame to its excellent latinity; to ideas borrowed from England, and then new on the continent: and to a degree of candour not usual with theologians of that age. Its celebrity

* T. Liv. ix. 46.

† 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.

‡ Plutarch. in Camill.

is now in the wane. *Dissertations of the Academy of Cortona:* the subjects are well treated, but ill chosen. *Letters of Mr. Mayans, and the Life of Dean Marti prefixed to his Letters, published by the same Mr. Mayans.* The barbarism of their country, which these two Spaniards continually deplore, entitles them to an indulgence, of which they stand in much need. The *Critical History of Philosophy, by Mr. Deslandes:* a lively, but light performance. *Hesiod, by Mr. Robinson:* the preface is elaborate. *First Extract from Mr. Wesseling's Discourse on the famous Inscription of Berenice,* which has so much exercised the ingenuity of the learned. He considers it only in relation to the Jews.

Sept. 26th.]—I read Nardini, l. v. c. v, vi, vii, viii, ix, x, xi, xii. p. 1149—1216. After having exhausted the subject of the Roman Forum, he passes to the surrounding monuments, particularly the Forum of Cæsar, that of Augustus, and that of Trajan. A Forum was properly a place adorned on all sides with temples and porticos; but whose essential characteristic consisted in a Basilica, or court of justice. As the Roman judges anciently sat in the open air, authors have been led to confound the Forum with the Basilica, and to mention it sometimes as an open square, and at other times as a covered building. Trajan's pillar, which stands in the middle of his Forum, is a beautiful monument, and highly dignified by its description. To preserve by one great work the memory of a work still greater; to raise a pillar one

one hundred and twenty-six feet high, in order to celebrate the levelling of a mountain of equal altitude, is worthy of that sublime architecture which speaks to the mind as much as to the eyes, and which the Romans understood better than any people on earth. In crossing the Forum of Augustus, you perceive the temple of Mars the Avenger; where, in consequence of an edict of that prince, the senate assembled for the purpose of decreeing triumphs. This edict, which seemed merely a regulation of police, was essentially connected with the great changes introduced by Augustus, and with his whole system of policy. The senate formerly assembled in the temple of Mars or Bellona, which stood without the walls; the general not being allowed to hold his military rank in the city. But when Augustus was invested with the extraordinary character of Imperator, this new generalissimo remained for life in the midst of the Forum, and held the sword always raised over the heads of the citizens.

Sept. 27th.]—I read Nardini, l. v. c. iii, xiv, xv, xvi. p. 1237—1297, which concludes the book; of which I found it very difficult to form a distinct idea. He treats of several objects, and those so complicated, that it is scarcely possible to paint them in the mind without seeing them delineated on paper. A good topographical chart of the Capitoline Mount would have been extremely useful; but if such a chart was made by Nardini,* it

* He refers to it himself, V. l. v. c. x. p. 1028.

is here omitted by his editor. That of D'Anville exhibits accurately the general outline; but does not represent particulars. Nardini's style, or that of his translator, is also exceedingly puzzling; and his arrangement faulty in the extreme; since the thirteenth chapter supposes the reader acquainted with the fourteenth, and the eleventh and twelfth chapters cannot be understood without a previous acquaintance with the thirteenth. By repeated perusals, and attentive meditations, I at length surmounted these obstacles, which have served perhaps to engrave more deeply in my mind the image of the Capitoline Mount. It had two summits, quite distinct from each other, though often confounded by the ancients, and mistaken by the moderns. The southern summit, which overlooked the Tiber, was almost contiguous to the rude Tarpeian rocks, which are now scarcely perceptible; and was called *Arx*, the citadel. The northern summit properly formed the Capitol. It was the scite of the temple of Jupiter. The valley separating the two mountains was called *Intermontium*, and covered with a thick forest; where Romulus established the famous Asylum, which was the nursery of his colony. Afterwards the forest disappeared, to make room for magnificent edifices. The valley and both mountains were inclosed with a strong wall. Three roads led to the Capitol from the Forum. 1. The *Centum Gradus*, which began a little beyond the temple of Concord, and terminated at the temple of Juno Moneta in the citadel. 2. The road belonging to the Asylum, which was that

that through which conquerors passed in triumph. 3. The *Clivus Capitolinus*, whose situation is less accurately determined than that of the two others. After carefully weighing the arguments of Marlianus and Nardini, I am obliged to say, that neither party supports his opinion with much force. I adopt, however, that of the former; if one of the roads had the name of *Clivus Capitolinus*, it is natural to think that it led to the Capitol, properly so called; and on this supposition each summit must have had its particular road, besides that common to both.

Sept. 28th.]—I read Nardini, l. vi. c. i, ii, iii, iv, v, vi, vii, viii. p. 1237—1297. Having described the eighth region, comprehending the Forum and the Capitol, he proceeds through the *Porta Carmentalis*, to examine the ninth, or Campus Martius, which was without the city till enclosed by Aurelian's wall. The Romans, after expelling the Tarquins, consecrated to Mars a field which had belonged to that family; and which afterwards served for the place of military exercises and the assemblies of the people. The legacy of Tarutia, consisting of a field between the Campus Martius and the Tiber, and that of Flaminius, consisting of some meadows beyond the Porta Carmentalis, speedily enlarged the bounds of the public property; which still continued a bare and smooth plain, except that the sight was interrupted by an ancient prison; by a temple of Bellona, built in the year of Rome 457; and by the *Equiria* and *Septa*, which resembled rather inclosures for sheep than

than public edifices. In the changes which the Campus Martius gradually underwent, we may distinguish three principal æras. 1. Towards the year of Rome 535, and a little before the second Punic war, the same Flaminius, who afterwards perished in the battle near the lake Thrasymenus, built a circus on the ground which had formerly belonged to his ancestors. This circus was soon surrounded by the temple of Hercules Musagetes, by that of Juno, and by the portico of Octavius, &c. and a small suburb began to be built without the Porta Carmentalis, towards the middle of the seventh century of Rome. 2. Towards the end of that century, the great Pompey, at his return from his eastern conquests, *spoliis orientis onustus*, wished to distinguish himself by some public edifices; but there not being room within the walls, he extended the bounds of this suburb towards the Campus Martius; and built there his magnificent theatre, the first that had been seen at Rome. This theatre was surrounded by a temple of Venus, a *curia*, a portico, a fine garden, and a temple consecrated to the fortune of the knights. 3. Amidst his other great designs for embellishing the city, Augustus did not forget the Campus Martius. He adorned it with beautiful buildings, and encouraged the grandees of Rome to follow his example. None imitated him more eagerly than his son-in-law Agrippa, of whose magnificence the *Septa*, baths, gardens, lake or bason, and above all the pantheon, were conspicuous proofs. In the time of Strabo, the suburb of the Campus Martius was but

but little inferior to the city itself. Its populousness, however, was never proportional to its extent; the public gardens occupied much ground; and there was still left an empty space for the military exercises of the Roman youth. As early as the time of Cicero,* there was mention of taking the Campus Martius within the walls, that it might be filled with buildings, while a field belonging to the Vatican should be set apart for the purposes in which the Field of Mars had formerly been employed. But this project was never carried into execution. How many reflections does this slight sketch naturally excite! That people of kings, who so well deserve this appellation, enjoyed collectively all the rights of sovereignty, and all the pleasures of grandeur; a citizen never stirred from his house but he walked under a beautiful portico; or took his seat with 80,000 of his countrymen in a magnificent theatre, which exhibited the greatest curiosities on earth; or reposed himself in those *thermæ*, or baths, in which were united all the pleasures of the mind and senses, with the pomp befitting the greatest monarchs. Ambitious generals lavished their wealth on the people, first to obtain preferment, and afterwards to make them forget that it had been bestowed. But it will always be matter of surprise, how the grandees of Rome, a Pompey or an Agrippa, could so easily accomplish such vast undertakings. What sources could supply their extraordinary expenses? War

* Cic. ad Attic. xiii. 33.

and

and the Provinces. Unprincipled generals robbed the subjects of the state; those who had any remains of virtue, were satisfied with plundering the public enemy. What vast wealth was necessary for supporting the magnificence of Pompey! Yet the moderation and disinterestedness, by which he was honourably distinguished from other generals, was praised publicly in the presence of the Roman people.* His triumph displayed in the streets of Rome the wealth of the subjugated east; although, during the ages when the army really belonged to the republic, that wealth would have increased the treasury of the state; but the generals had been long accustomed to appropriate the spoils of war,† and to expect gratitude from the people, for the ostentatious employment of the people's riches. The citizens must have felt indignation against the pride of Lucullus, when they beheld that selfish voluptuary making houses and gardens which bade defiance to the elements, and brought together the seasons, without raising a single monument for the honour of the gods, or the accommodation of his fellow-citizens. Among the works of Agrippa, there is one which shews how much that virtuous citizen still loved the republic, and how honestly he served a master, of whose artful policy his own simplicity was the dupe. This work is the *Septa*. A man who adorned the place of assembly for the

* Cicero pro Lege Manilia, c. xxii, xxiii.

† Bergier Hist. des Grands Chemins de l'Empire, l. i. c. xxi. p. 77—80.

Roman

Roman people, must have been ignorant that Augustus was gradually undermining their authority, and bringing their assemblies into such contempt, that his successor could without fear totally abolish them.

I finished the twenty-second volume of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée.* I find the second extract of Wesseling's Treatise on the famous passage of Victor Tunnunensis, of which Infidels have so much availed themselves. He beats all their works in pieces, and far more effectually than Bentley. Foster's Sermons: always moderate and judicious. A work on Foreign Service, by Mr. Bochat. Were reason convinced, yet the heart would always rebel against this barbarous custom of the Swiss: but reason is far from being convinced of the utility of this practice. Marti's Letters, second extract. Mr. Marti is merely a scholar of the fifteenth century, and still at the dawn of science: much ill-chosen erudition, a profound veneration for the ancients, and that servile imitation of their manners, which is its surest mark. Many designs left imperfect for want of assistance; and many observations, good and bad, but already made in all the countries of Europe. *The Learning of the Apostles:* a very curious performance, by Mr. Lami of Florence. *The History of Ancient Treaties, by Barbeyrac:* accurate and useful. *The Natural History of Languedoc, by Mr. Astruc:* curious and well written. The first extract contains the article Geography, which is his first class; where he enters into a very interesting account of the Narbonnese

Narbonnese province of Septimania, of which he gives a very forced etymology; and especially of the ancient authors who speak of Languedoc.

Sept. 29th.]—I read Nardini, l. vi. c. ix, x, xi, xii, xiii, xiv, xv. p. 1297—1347. He describes the remainder of the ninth region, the most extensive, and also one of the most ornamented of the whole city. From thence he proceeds to the tenth, *Mons Palatinus;* small in itself, but famous both as the cradle of the nation and the seat of its empire. Augustus fixed his residence there, in the house of the orator Hortensius, affecting the modesty of a citizen, rather than the magnificence of a prince. Tiberius enlarged this residence on the side next to the Forum; and Caius extended it to the temple of Castor. Nero seemed to wish comprehending in it the whole city. He covered the mount Palatine with buildings that reached to the circus; and, on the other side, filled with edifices the plain bounded by the Palatine, the Esquiline, and mount Cælius, even to the neighbourhood of Mecænas's gardens. The ascent to his palace, the Domus Aurea, led through the Via Sacra, in the middle of which street stood the *Vestibulum*, or great court, which was afterwards the scite of the Temple of Peace. Farther on stood the great hall, or Atrium, which led to his gardens, immense porticos, and the lake or pool which afterwards became the scite of Titus's amphitheatre. Vespasian destroyed the greatest part of those buildings, and confined his palace to the Palatine Mount, the greater part of which he continued to occupy. Domitian added many

many embellishments, which were increased by almost all his successors, until the Palatine palace, being forsaken by the emperors, perished of decay, in the reign of Theodoric. The Farnese palace now stands on its ruins. The imperial residence astonished every beholder by its vast extent, the magnificence of its furniture, the richness of its ornaments, and the multitude of its temples; from which last it derived an august and sacred appearance. I think it doubtful, whether the elegance of the architecture corresponded to all this grandeur. Since it was the work of fifty successive princes, it must have been built without any fixed plan, and therefore deficient in the principal merit of proportion and harmony. Unfortunately too, it must have lost in point of taste, in proportion as it gained in magnificence. Simplicity was the aim of Augustus, in an age when art flourished; and ornaments were added by the feeble and languishing taste of his successors. This palace therefore has never been numbered among the beautiful edifices of Rome.

Sept. 30th.]—I read Nardini, l. vii. c. i, ii, iii, iv, v, vi, vii, viii, ix. p. 1347—1402. He describes the eleventh region, or Circus Maximus; the twelfth, or Piscina Publica; and the thirteenth, or Mons Aventinus. He enters into many particulars concerning the circus, the largest perhaps of all the edifices destined for the exhibition of shows. Tarquinius Priscus, by whom it was built, seems not to have adapted it to the smallness of the state in his own time, but to the greatness which fortune had

had in store for Rome. Every particular tends to convince us, that the circus was fitted for containing a vast number of people. Dionysius of Halicarnassus says, 150,000; Pliny, 260,000; Victor, 380,000; the modern Victor, 385,000; and the Notitia Imperii, 405,000. In this great diversity of authorities, how ought we to form our judgment? By consulting facts, places, and experience. We know the situation and the bounds of the circus. They always remained the same; and the alterations which took place, regarded only the interior arrangement of the edifice, since those who have examined its ruins are scarcely able to trace the three stadia and a half in length, which were assigned to it by the first founder.* Dionysius of Halicarnassus gives it four *jugera*, or 960 Roman feet in breadth; Pliny makes it three stadia long, and one stadium, or 625 Roman feet, broad. This apparent contradiction Nardini considers as a source of much information.† According to his explanation, Dionysius spoke of the exterior circumference, and Pliny of the interior. The intermediate buildings exhausted the difference; and as these were filled with spectators their extent is an object of importance. To find their breadth, we have only to subtract 625 feet from 960; the remainder is 335 feet; the half of which, 168 feet, multiplied by three stadia, 1875 feet, will give the space allotted for the spectators on both sides.

* Traité des Mesures Itinéraires, par M. d'Anville, p. 59.

† As to the breadth of the circus, Pliny himself expressly confirms this explanation.

The

The covered buildings, which formed the exterior circumference, were made of wood, two stories high, and surrounded by a portico. The seats were of stone, and arranged like those of the amphitheatre, descending on all sides from the covered building to the *Euripus* and the *Arena*. The exterior portico must have been double: it therefore occupied thirty feet. Of the 138 which remain, I would allow 48 for the covered seats, and 90 for those of stone. Every thing considered, this proportion appears to me the most probable; although the 138 feet may be otherwise distributed without injuring our calculations. When we reflect on the smallness of the Roman foot,* and the great attention bestowed in procuring every sort of convenience for the spectators, less than two feet and a half can scarcely be allowed for each person, and three feet in depth for the benches, as well as for the intervals between them. The first bench then, extending three stadia, contained 750 persons, since the stone seats rose to the height of 90 feet. The spectators ascended by thirty steps, which served

* The Roman, English, and Paris foot, are in the proportion of 1306, 1351$\frac{1}{2}$, and 1440. The first contains nearly 11$\frac{3}{5}$ inches of English, and 10$\frac{7}{8}$ of French measure. *Traité des Mesures*, &c. p. 164. After attentively reflecting on the subject, I prefer allowing to each person 2$\frac{1}{4}$ 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.

also for seats. They contained 22,500 persons. Each story of the covered buildings, being of the same length, divided the 48 feet which it occupied into sixteen benches; the two stories, comprehending thirty-two benches, therefore, contained 24,000 persons; the whole spectators seated on either side amounted to 46,500; and the total, on both sides together, to 93,000. There still remains one of the ends of the circus, for the other was occupied by the *Carceres*. It was as long as the circus was broad; that is, a stadium, or 625 feet; so that if we allow to it the same depth as to the sides, and calculate on the same principles, it must have contained 15,500, or a third part of those contained by each of the sides. This number, added to 93,000, gives 108,500 for the whole spectators seated in the circus. It may well be imagined, that at the great games, the passionate love for those amusements would crowd the porticos with spectators, who sacrificed their ease to their curiosity. But I think they could not well exceed 40 or 50,000. More are not required for completing the number of 150,000, assigned by Dionysius of Halicarnassus. To explain the prodigious multitude mentioned by the two Victors,* and the Notitia Imperii, I require but one supposition, which is, that those writers of the Lower Empire had but little judgment, and still less taste. Those who are best

* The most judicious edition of the modern Victor is that published by Pavinius. The numerous additions are justly despised as the work of an impostor. *Nardini Roma Vetus*, l. ii. c. v. p. 965.

acquainted

acquainted with them will not dispute the point. Compilers of their class might mistake for historic truth a poetical licence, or the exaggeration of a flattering inscription. When Juvenal, giving way to the warmth of his indignation, cries out

Totam hodie Romam circus capit;*

when an inscription in honour of Trajan says, that this prince rendered the circus capable of containing the whole people of Rome,† these abridgers might explain such passages literally, and thus express the number of spectators in the circus by that of Roman citizens. If we consider the passage of the ancient Victor, the least erroneous of the three, and add to the number mentioned in it, that of the Roman slaves, according to the proportion which the Athenian slaves bore to the citizens, we shall find that the whole inhabitants of Rome amounted to 1,140,000. My conjecture is strengthened by observing, that this number nearly agrees to that ascertained by a more exact calculation.‡ But if this explanation be rejected, we must pronounce that those writers have most grossly deceived themselves. I am unwilling to say as much of Pliny; yet there is no alternative; the naturalist declares that he speaks of the circus as embellished and enlarged by Julius Cæsar. Dionysius of Halicarnassus was contemporary with the Dictator, and published his work under his successor. We might cut the Gordian knot by reading 160,000 instead

* Juvenal, Satir. xi. 195.

† Dio. Cass. apud Nardini, l. vii. c. ii. p. 1355.

‡ Journal, 20th September, p. 316—320.

of 260,000. But what becomes of the manuscripts!

Oct. 1.]—I read Nardini, l. vii. c. x, xi, xii, xiii. and l. viii. c. i, ii, iii. p. 1402—1446. The author at length crosses the Tiber, and examines the fourteenth and last region, called Transtiberina. and the Mount Vatican, which never was enclosed within the walls of ancient Rome. The eighth book begins by a general recapitulation of the edifices of the city; from thence he proceeds to some general topics; such as the Tiber and its bridges. I shall venture to make some reflections on the depth of that river. On this subject we can derive nothing from experience; for though we may easily measure the present depth of the Tiber, this will not ascertain what it was anciently. The ruined edifices which have raised the vallies almost to the height of the mountains, must have produced a similar change in the bed of the river. It becomes necessary, therefore, to have recourse to the ancients; and our difficulty is much increased by an apparent contradiction between two authorities of the first rank. Pliny every where mentions the Tiber as navigable for the largest ships.* The prodigious vessel which carried the obelisk of the Vatican from Alexandria to Rome, sailed up the Tiber as easily as it had sailed down the Nile.† Strabo,‡ on the contrary, assures us, that the vast heaps of mud which were washed down by the current, and deposited at the

* Plin. Hist. Natur. l. ii. 5. † Idem, l. xvi. 40. l. xxxvi. 9.
‡ Strabon. Geograph. l. v. p. 60.

mouth

mouth of the river, rendered it necessary for large ships to unload a part of their cargo, before they could arrive at the city. If this contradiction is as strong as it at first sight appears, it will be difficult to conceive how such accurate writers could be deceived in a matter so generally known; and scarcely possible to determine which of the two is chargeable with the fault. The difference between them may perhaps be diminished, if not totally removed, by the following reflections: 1. In the narration of Pliny I perceive much prepossession; a desire to exaggerate the advantages of the Tiber, and to magnify it by a comparison with the greatest rivers. Nothing short of such a design could have made him compare it with the Nile, to which it is so much inferior. Both rivers had carried the vessel containing the obelisk. The Tiber, therefore, is equal to the Nile. A giant lifts a weight of ten pounds, so does a dwarf; the dwarf therefore is as strong as the giant. Such is Pliny's reasoning. The transportation of the obelisk must be allowed; but no conclusion can be drawn from it concerning the equality of depth in the two rivers. 2. Experience teaches us, that rivers which carry down much slime and sand, are not thereby rendered more shallow, except near to their mouths, where the strength of their streams is commonly much abated. There great accumulations are formed; but as currents much prevail at the mouths of rivers, the accumulations naturally follow their direction, and throw themselves on the neighbouring coast. In this manner the Rhine

discharges its obstructions on the coast of Languedoc, whose harbours are thereby blocked up. The Tiber, likewise, discharged its mud on the coast of Latium, by which the harbour of Ostia became inaccessible. Some sand-banks, doubtless, remained in particular places of the river in consequence of local circumstances: but these obstacles might be surmounted or shunned; and, from Strabo's narrative well considered, we can only infer that a vessel drawing much water, could not sail up the Tiber without exertions of skill and courage. 3. The latter is not inspired by commerce. We can easily, therefore, believe with Strabo, that foreign merchants were glad to unload part of their cargoes, and to put them on board of lighters, which were ready for their service; and whose masters, from motives of interest, would not fail to exaggerate the dangers of the voyage. I can believe also with Pliny, that a Caligula, who sported equally with his treasures and the lives of his subjects, and who valued himself on setting reason and the elements at defiance, could do every thing not impossible. Every exertion would second his enterprise. The bed of the river would be previously cleared; sluices would be skilfully distributed; and the strength of men and horses would impel to Rome the vessel carrying the obelisk of the Vatican. I doubt not that the success of this trial would convince mariners that part of the obstacles were imaginary; and that, by improving their art, even those which were real might be much diminished. Whatever

was

was the case with ships, it is certain that gallies, which indeed draw much less water, easily sailed up the Tiber to Rome. Cato performed this voyage in a galley with seven tire of oars, and landed at the *Navalia*, near the foot of the Mount Aventine. Rome therefore was a maritime city, and open to the insults of a hostile fleet, notwithstanding the opinion of Camillus, or rather of Titus Livius,* to the contrary. Why did not the Carthaginians, who were often masters of the sea, attempt such an enterprise? Had they embarked on the river towards evening, they might before daybreak have landed at the foot of the Capitol.† They had not courage for the undertaking, and their ships were not so well fitted for war as for commerce.

Oct. 2.]—I read Nardini, l. viii. c. iv, v. p. 1446—1460; which concludes the whole work; the excellence of which, its accuracy, judgment, and learning, must leave but small gleanings for subsequent writers. Perhaps he is chargeable with being too diffuse, and sometimes with want of perspicuity. I am inclined also to accuse him of raising up difficulties, and of employing whole pages on what might be ascertained by one just and clear observation. I am satisfied with my diligence with respect to this work, which I have read in sixteen days, with much attention and reflection.

I finished the twenty-third volume of the *Bib-*

* T. Liv. V. 54.

† The navigation was only sixteen Roman miles.

liothèque Raisonnée; which contains the second extract of Mr. Astruc's Natural History of Languedoc. In the article respecting manners, we find striking vestiges of Paganism still remaining in that province; I speak not of those general characters of superstition which are common to all men, because they are men; but of some practices so singular and arbitrary, that it is impossible to mistake the origin. How difficult is it to abolish the religion and language of a nation! The *Satires of Sectanus, with Cosellius's Answer:* a literary war, which dishonoured almost all the learned in Italy, without procuring much fame for their talents. Those of the Jesuit Sectanus were the most distinguished; but the names of his adversaries incline me to think that his cause was not good. *A Library of Manuscripts, by Father Montfaucon:* this work is learned and useful, but is not complete except as to France. It is almost necessary for every man of letters. *Orosius, by Mr. Havercamp:* a good edition, which was much wanted, of a very bad author, whose sole value arises from the loss of his fellow-labourers, who were far superior to himself.

Oct. 3.]—I looked into the fourth volume of Grævius Thesaurus, which contains several other treatises, besides Nardini's, on the antiquities of Rome. I began by reading the whole of the short but famous Dissertation of Isaac Vossius on the magnitude of that city. His paradoxes are well known. He assigns upwards of thirty miles for the circuit of Rome, independently of the suburbs;

suburbs; and upwards of seventy miles when the suburbs are included. He fills that vast extent with more than fourteen millions of inhabitants;* and being as niggardly towards the moderns, as prodigal with respect to the ancients, he assures us that this number of subjects is not to be found in the three most flourishing kingdoms of Europe. These strange novelties could not fail to provoke the indignation of many adversaries, by whom they were ably and learnedly refuted. There are but two authorities for Vossius, and these merely fitted to dazzle and bewilder; a passage of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, which he misconstrues, and a passage of Pliny, which he has corrupted. For the first, I would refer to Nardini, who proves clearly that when Dionysius compares the size of Rome with that of Athens, he does not include the harbour of the Piræus.† For the passage of Pliny, I would refer to the learned Freret, who explains it very naturally in connexion with the context.‡ I do not say that his hypothesis is without its difficulties; but of the two parts of a passage, when one is clear and another obscure, I say that the latter must be explained by the former, and not the reverse. I shall consider but one argument adduced by Vossius. It is ingenious, and ever since I first read it in the *Nouvelles de la Répub-*

* Vossius, p. 1514—1515. His calculations are, as usual, somewhat confused; but I give the result as stated by himself.

† Nardini Roma Vetus, l. i. c. vi. p. 912—916.

‡ Nouvelles de la République des Lettres, par Bayle; mois de Janvier, 1685.

lique

lique des Lettres, it has left on my mind a strong impression. The wood of Egeria, he says, was at the gates of Rome in the first ages of the republic; but in the age of Roman greatness, this wood was in the neighbourhood of Aricia, and fifteen miles from the *Forum*. It may be supposed, he adds, that in proportion as the city was enlarged, this wood was gradually cut down, so that it might still continue to keep its former situation with regard to the suburbs, and stand a little beyond the Porta Capena. The same thing happened as to the Clivus Virbius and the lake of Juturna, which are in the neighbourhood of Aricia now but were in the center of the city formerly.* This idea is doubtless ingenious; but many reasons convince me that it is false. It is founded entirely on hypothesis. All writers mention the Porta Capena, the wood of Egeria, and that of Aricia; but none suppose any connexion between them, or that the latter was merely a continuation of the former. Servius, indeed, and he alone, says that the nymph Egeria of the wood Aricia, was the same goddess with whom Numa was familiar.† But the identity of the goddess does not prove that of the sacred wood. I know that rural divinities were not the gods of whole nations, and that their worship was often confined to the district which had experienced their kindness; but I know also, that in the mythological, as well as in the natural world,

* Vossius de Rom. Magnitud. c. iv. p. 906, 907.

† *Nympha in Aricino nemore, quam amicam suam Numa esse fingebat.* Serv. ad Æneid. l. vii. v. 762.

there

there is a perpetual chain of beings rising above each other by almost imperceptible degrees, from the lowly Dryad to Jupiter armed with the thunder. The Dryad, destitute of power, knowledge, and almost of sensation, existed in her native tree, from which she was scarcely distinguishable. But Egeria was of a higher order, and not inferior to Faunus, who frequently came from Arcadia to the territory of the Sabines;* so that though the ancient wood near to Aricia was her proper habitation, this needed not to hinder Numa from consecrating to her another, at the gates of Rome; or from persuading the people that she frequently honoured him there with her presence. It is a natural supposition that the whole country between Rome and Aricia was a continued forest, at each extremity of which there was a chapel consecrated to the Nymph; and that when the country was cleared, the trees were allowed to stand at both extremities from respect to Egeria. 2. The wood of Aricia is so far from being of a later date than the Porta Capena, that if we can have any dependence on the chronology of the fabulous ages, that wood was more ancient than the city of Rome. Hippolitus came into Italy 400 years before the birth of Romulus; and the former prince is connected with all the traditions which prevailed in the country about Aricia. The name Virbius indicated his new life; the nymph Egeria received him in her grotto, and tenderly compassionated his misfor-

* Horat. Carm. l. i. Ode xvii.

tunes.

tunes.* These traditions, I well know, are fables; but such fables are not the work of a day. They were piously believed by the whole district, in which they had taken deep root; the sacred wood, which was their scene, must have been more ancient than themselves; and though fictions, they destroy the still more improbable fiction of the consecration of the wood of Aricia in the age of Roman greatness, and the enlargement of the city, that is, in the time of Augustus, or, at least, of the latest consuls. 3. The supposition that sacred places changed their site, and retreated as it were before the greatness of Rome, is contrary to the spirit of all local superstitions. The Pagans revered a place honoured by the presence and miracles of a god, where he had displayed his power, and conferred his benefits; but they did not associate with their reverence for this place, a veneration for all the adjacent country, which had not any connexion with the divinity. Their worship was attached, as it were, to the soil, and the one could not be changed without abolishing the other. The temple of Jupiter Elicius, the Lupercal, the house of Romulus, always remained in their original sites. The arguments drawn from the gates is not conclusive. New walls necessarily require new gates, which naturally retain the names of those which they replace, and which are demolished as useless. 4. On what principle was it necessary to preserve

* Virgil. Æneid. vii. 761—781; et Serv. ad locum. Ovid. Metamorph. l. xv.

the

the relative situation of the wood of Egeria with regard to the *Porta Capena?* In the time of Numa this gate was not in existence; since it belonged to the walls built around the city by Servius Tullius.* 5. Of the three examples given by Vossius, the wood of Egeria was without the Porta Capena, the lake of Juturna was in the Forum, and the Clivus Virbius was at the foot of Mount Esquiline. Had these monuments changed their sites, care would have been taken to preserve their relative situation with regard to each other. But a line drawn from the center of the Forum, and passing through each of those places, while it removed them from the city, must also have removed them from each other, instead of collecting them all into one spot in the neighbourhood of Aricia. 6. According to Vossius, the walls of Rome advanced to the 10th mile-stone on the Appian way. Yet Aricia was anciently, as it is at present, sixteen miles distant from the capital. All authors agree in this point; and the greater distance assigned by Strabo has been shewn to proceed from his measuring by a stadium shorter than the Olympic.† I foresee that it will be answered that since the miles were counted not from the gates of Rome, but from the golden pillar, Aricia might be sixteen miles from this pillar and the Forum, and no more than six miles from the

* Nardini Roma Vetus, l. i. c. iv. p. 902, 903, 904.

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

Porta

Porta Capena. The answer indeed would be good, had the distance been reckoned by a maker of itineraries; but it is not supposable that a geographer like Strabo, or a poet like Lucan, would have said that Aricia was sixteen miles from Rome, had the suburbs filled up the intermediate space, without making that remark. The distances then were always reckoned from the mile-stone erected by Augustus. I would ask whether the Aqua Claudia rose in the city, although its source is said to have been at the sixth and the eighth mile-stone on the road to Prenesté? The system of Vossius requires the affirmative. Yet we find the source of this water at an estate *(Prædium)* belonging to Lucullus.* The walls of Rome therefore never extended to that distance. This observation, which bears against the whole of Vossius's system, appears to me decisive.

What a singular character was this Vossius! He had much reading, vivacity, and invention; but his understanding had a wrong bias; he was prone to exaggeration in his opinions, and incapable of resisting the temptation of a brilliant chimera. He was besides a very bad man. Some parts of his conduct betrayed a total want of probity.

Oct. 4th.]—I read a Dissertation by Octavio Falconieri, on the Pyramid of C. Cestius, p. 1461—1482. This monument, which stood at the Porta Ostiensis, and which is now fixed in the city wall,

* Sext. Frontin. de Aquæduct. Rom. l. i. p. 1635. iv. vol. Grævii Thesaurus.

is

is entirely covered with a beautiful white marble. It is 165½ Roman palms high, and the sides of its base are each 130 palms long. There is a room in the middle of the pyramid twenty-six palms long, eighteen broad, and nineteen high. This is properly the sepulchre. The walls were covered with a multitude of figures, some of which still remain in a very good taste. It appears from the inscription of the monument and the explanations given of it by Falconieri, that Cestius was a man of distinction in the time of Augustus, and that the paintings relate to his employment of Epulo, or manager of the sacred festivals. None of the ancients make mention of this beautiful pyramid; a reflexion which creates regret for the loss of those monuments, whose beauty they highly celebrate. Falconieri's Dissertation is well written.

I read also a performance of Father Ciaconius on the *Columna Rostrata of Duillius*. Taking the whole inscription for original, I began to draw from it many important consequences. Happily I discovered that the original had suffered so much from the injuries of time, that it was rendered unintelligible, and that the critic had successfully restored it by his conjectures. I this day read p. 1809—1817.

Oct. 5th.]—Athough the Columna Rostrata disappointed me, I read to the end of the treatise. It contains some very ingenious restorations of the original, and excellent observations on the Latin orthography, which, as happens in all languages, gradually lost sight of etymology, and came to be regulated

regulated by pronunciation. Unhappily the inscription on the pillar of Duillius has not the merit of originality. We see clearly by the example of Maximus, written with an *i*, that the old spelling had been altered for the new, which prevailed from the time of Julius Cæsar.

I finished Ciaconius's Dissertation, p. 1817—1831. I read also a small Treatise by Joseph Castalio, on the temples of Peace and Janus, p. 1849—1856. It is a poor performance.

Oct. 6th.]—I read a Dissertation of Peter Bargæus, *De Eversoribus Ædificiorum Urbis Romæ*, p. 1869—1892. By a common prejudice we consider the northern barbarians as equally hostile to the arts and to the Romans; ascribing the ruins of the finest monuments of the city to an Alaric, a Genseric, or a Totila. Bargæus regards this opinion as totally unfounded. Alaric scarcely exercised the rights of war. Genseric was satisfied with pillaging Rome. Totila destroyed part of the walls in his fury, and repaired them when he recovered his reason. The most of the public edifices were standing in the reign of Theodoric, who was more careful to preserve them than had been the last emperors of the east. The zeal of the Popes, and particularly of Gregory the Great, beheld nothing in a temple but the idol to whom it was consecrated: he established religion on the ruin of the fine arts. This account of the matter is explained by Bargæus with much learning and argument, and is far better than his attempt to justify this conduct in the Popes, which was surely more becoming the Alcoran

Alcoran than the Gospel. Our notions are as false as unfavourable concerning the nations which over-ran the Roman empire in the fifth century. We look on them as savages just issued from the woods to break the boundaries which divided them from the civilised world. This opinion indeed may be applicable to the people of Scandinavia, to the Scythians, and the Arabs. The Arabs were actuated by enthusiasm; the Danes by vengeance; the Scythians by ferocity, common among wandering nations of shepherds. But the inhabitants of Germany, the Goths,* Vandals, and Franks, had devested themselves of much of their barbarism before they invaded the dominions of the Roman empire. For more than a century preceding that event, numerous bodies of their countrymen had served in the Roman armies. They learned the Latin language; they adopted civilised manners; and if they were not Christians, they at least revered Christianity. The contempt which they sometimes testified for the vanquished, was not mixed with hatred. The soldier was sometimes cruel, but the general was seldom barbarous, and the legislator never. I cast but a rapid glance on objects, which would deserve to be surveyed attentively.

I read also a Dissertation of the same author on the Obelisks in Rome, p. 1905—1934. It is learned; but if superfluities were lopped off, might be reduced to six pages.

* He decides not the famous question concerning the origin of the Goths.

Oct. 7th.]—I began the work of Olaus Borrichius, *De Antiqua Facie Urbis Romæ*, and read p. 1521—1546.

8th.]—I read Borrichius, p. 1546—1576. I finished the twenty-fourth volume of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée*. It contains the History of the Heavens, by the Abbé Pluche. This author, who is a bad philosopher and a superficial scholar, builds ingenious systems, which dazzle but for a moment. He draws Egyptian etymologies from the Hebrew, because he supposes that the Hebrew had much affinity with the Phenician; and that the Phenician was not very remote from the Egyptian! The signs of the seasons and of agriculture are changed into gods. But I would ask whether it was possible that mankind should so much mistake those signs which returned annually, bringing with them their own explication. Such an extraordinary metamorphosis must have required at least many more ages than the Abbé Pluche would be willing to allow.—The History of Charles XII. by Mr. Aderfeld. The Alexander of the North had already his Quintus Curtius. He still wanted an Arrian. Mr. Aderfeld supplies the defect rather by his accuracy than his eloquence.—Lebanius's Letters, by Mr. Welf: a valuable present. We had only 250 of these letters. This learned man gives us 1600, recovered from the dust of all the libraries of Europe.—*Ammonius de Differentia Verborum, &c.* by Mr. Valkenaer: a small collection of some Greek grammarians, not without merit.—

rit.—The History of King David: a learned, singular, and laughable performance.

Oct. 9th.]—I read Olaus Borrichius, *De Antiqua Facie Urbis Romæ*, p. 1576—1600.

10th.]—I finished Olaus Borrichius, p. 1600—1623; and am much pleased with this little work. It is curious and learned. Borrichius examines the quarters of the city with order and perspicuity; and, regardless of minute objects, fixes on the principal monuments, which he explains in a very entertaining manner, and in an easy flow of style. His work must be useful to those who wish to form only a general, but just notion of ancient Rome; who are afraid of the large volumes of Donatus and Nardini, or who wish to digest methodically in their minds the knowledge which they have acquired from them. In one word, Borrichius is an excellent abridgment of Nardini, whom he closely follows. I could have wished this learned Dane had been satisfied with this merit, without aspiring to that of an original author; yet it must be allowed that he makes some curious observations, and corrects Nardini judiciously; of which the two following are examples. 1. He proves in a very satisfactory manner, that the emperors were never honoured with the title of Divus in their life-time, and consequently that all the monuments in which this title is found, must have been raised to them after their deaths. 2. He shows, in opposition to Nardini, that all the games of the goddess Flora were celebrated in her Circus; and that by mistaking a passage of Ovid, that antiquary has

made two festivals of Flora out of one, which was held the last day of April, or the first of May. Borrichius was a Dane, and professor at Copenhagen. It appears from different passages of his book, that he travelled in Italy, France, and England towards the year 1665; and published this little treatise about twenty years after his return home. Without his telling us that he was a Dane, we should easily perceive it, from his manner of speaking concerning the triumph of Marius on Mount Esquiline. At beholding this monument of the defeat of the Cimbri, his patriotism is inflamed, a noble indignation seizes his soul. He ascribes the victory of the Romans to the sun, the winds, and fortune; to every cause rather than the valour of Marius.

Oct. 12th.]—An appearance of philosophy, with real ignorance; thoughts trivial or false; affectation of style; exaggeration or vulgarity of description; such is the new work intituled Amusements of Reason, which was lent to me by Mr. C***; and in which I find neither reason nor amusement. The author's preface to his translation of the "Wise Man's Recreations," is impertinent in the extreme. Of what use is it to know an author's name? What has that name to do with his work? A great deal with his design, his allusions, &c. but nothing with the sentence that we ought to pass on his philosophical opinions.

13th.]—I this day began a very considerable task; which was to read Cluverius' Italia Antiqua, in two volumes in folio: Leyden, 1624, Elzevirs.

The

The author did not live to see its publication; but had completely finished it before his death. His editor tells us that he had in contemplation to write an universal geography on the same plan; and that after describing Germany, Italy, and Sicily, he meant to treat of Gaul, Greece, and all the other countries known to the ancients. Strabo comprehended the same subject in seventeen books; of which the countries described by Cluverius, in four volumes in folio, occupy nearly three. The whole design of that learned man would have extended to twenty-three volumes in folio. Had he lived a few years longer, he would perhaps have executed this vast undertaking. We should then have had an immense repertory on the subject of ancient geography, treated indeed with a degree of circumstantial minuteness, which no other countries perhaps deserve but Greece and Italy. A man of letters is desirous to know every corner of those celebrated countries, the smallest villages of which are distinguished in history or poetry. I begin to read Cluverius with the same views that I read Nardini, both to prepare me for my journey into Italy, and to assist me in my future studies. These two authors, studied with care and reflexion, will serve me as a perpetual commentary; so that I shall not be a stranger in any part of Rome or Italy, to which my inquiries may lead me. I this day read Cluverius Ital. Antiq. l. i. c. i, ii, iii, iv, v, vi, p. 1—46. These six chapters are preparatory to his particular description. He examines in them the different names of Italy, its limits,

extent, figure, Mount Apennine, which divides the country; its soil, climate, inhabitants, and languages. He every where cites his authorities in their own words, and speaks only occasionally himself, to reconcile, explain, or correct them. Mr. D'Anville accuses him too hastily of confounding the Roman mile with that of the modern Italians.* Cluverius does not confound them; he knew that of modern Italy to be the longest of the two, and has explained himself very clearly on that subject.† This knowledge indeed was not of much use to him, since he was ignorant of the exact proportion which the one mile bore to the other.

Oct. 14.]—I read Cluverius, l. i. c. vii, viii, ix, x, xi. p. 46—90. He travels along the coast of Liguria from the Varus, which separated that district from Gaul, to the Macra, by which it was bounded on the side of Tuscany. This coast is rocky and barren; and, by denying all other advantages to its inhabitants, tended to increase their strength and courage. It is extraordinary that this enterprising people should never have thought of crossing the Apennines, in order to settle in the beautiful plain which lies between those mountains and the Po: and that they should have finally been indebted for this acquisition to a political arrangement of the Romans. I was amused by the article Pollentia. There Stilico fought the army of the Goths. The Christian writers repre-

* D'Anville, Mesures Itinéraires, p. 7, 8.

† Cluvier. Ital. Antiq. l. i. c. iii. p. 25.

sent

sent this transaction as a scandalous piece of unsuccessful treachery, from which nothing but shame accrued to the Romans. Claudian, on the contrary, a Pagan poet, considers Stilico's battle as equal to Marius's victory over the Cimbri, and extols the conqueror as a hero who avenged the cause of his country, and delivered all Italy from the tyranny of barbarians.

Oct. 16th.]—I read Cluverius Ital. Antiq. l. i. c. xii, xiii, xiv. p. 90—102. He sets before us the policy of Augustus, who in all his transactions preferred slow and gentle measures. Julius Cæsar had subdued the Gauls, but his conquest was precarious while the Alps were peopled by fierce nations, who commanded all the passes. Augustus was under the necessity of reducing some of them by arms; but he persuaded Cottius, who reigned over the mountains which bore his name, to civilize his subjects, to receive a Roman garrison, and to open the roads through his country. It would be curious to know the circumstances of the negociation. I imagine that Augustus so much flattered Cottius with empty honours, as to make him forget that he was surrendering his independence and power. This at least would have been in the usual style of his policy.

17th.]—I read Cluverius Ital. Antiq. l. i. c. xv, xvi, xvii, p. 102—133. The article of the Rhæti and the Euganei is somewhat puzzling. Verona was a Rhætian colony. The thing is possible; but for a long time its inhabitants, assuming the character of Gauls, considered Brixia as their mo-

ther country. Verona would have been placed more naturally among the Cenomani; and the Rhæti ought to have been confined to their native mountains, as they were in fact. In treating of these mountains as connected with Italy, I would also have taken notice that my observations related to only one portion of the Rhætians. This remark would have contributed to the perspicuity of the whole of the description.

Oct. 18th.]—I read Cluverius Ital. Antiq. l. i. c. xviii. p. 133—169. The author conducts us through the province called Venetia. He dwells on Padua, and its famous fountain Apona. In speaking of the Portus Venetus, near to Altinum, where Venice now stands, he treats at considerable length of the æra of its foundation, from which he cuts off a century with much probability; since in the time of Theodoric and Cassiodorus, the Venetian isles contained nothing but huts of fishermen. The people on the neighbouring coast of Italy sought refuge there, rather against the fury of the Lombards, than against that of the Huns. The community which these emigrants established, must have long continued weak and dependant, an object of pity or contempt to neighbouring princes, especially to conquerors. Without pretending to have deeply examined the subject, I am convinced that the liberty of Venice ought to be dated from the downfal of the empire of the Franks. This empire, we may observe, contributed far more than the Crusades to make the Orientals extend the name of Franks or Frenchmen

men to all the nations of the West. It is not surprising that the Mahommedans should be so ignorant of the distinctions among the nations of Europe, when a Greek emperor* gives the name of France to the province of Venetia, which Charlemagne conquered with the rest of Lombardy. In using this name, the emperor's mistake is still more glaring; since he is guilty of an anachronism of three centuries. Cluverius indeed gives a different interpretation to Constantine's words; but the above meaning appears to me to be the most natural.

Oct. 19th.]—I read Cluverius Ital. Antiq. l. i. c. xix, xx. p. 169—204. He treats of the Carni. Augustus assigned this people to *Venetia*, and contracted the boundary of Italy within the river *Arsia*. He speaks at length of Aquileia, the first city in the province, and the ninth in the whole empire. Its fortifications, built after the fashion of the ancients, and its natural strength, enabled it to cover the frontier of Italy most exposed to invasion from the Illyrians. Its intermediate situation between polished and barbarous nations, became the source of opulence, acquired by its commerce with both. If traffic consisted merely in the mutual exchange of commodities, an industrious nation ought to wish for neighbours as industrious as itself. This principle of my friend Mr. Mirabeau appears to me incontrovertible. He who

* Constantine Porphyrogenitus. V. Cluver. Italia Antiqua, l. i. c. xviii. p. 138.

wishes

wishes to sell his goods, seeks for those who need, and can purchase them. Such purchasers are only to be found in rich and industrious countries. But this mutual exchange is only one part of an extensive and enterprising commerce. Another, still more profitable, is carried on by bold and adventurous, but judicious mariners, who sail in quest of the productions of foreign countries, to carry them to the nations to whom they are objects of desire: and when countries have emerged from that state of barbarism which renders them totally inaccessible to strangers, the more ignorant their inhabitants are, the profit of trading with them will be the greater; because their articles of exportation will be sold far below their real value, and in that rude state of nature, which will leave the whole advantage of manufacturing them to their purchasers. Aquileia was placed in most favourable circumstances for carrying on traffic with barbarians. 1. This trade was secured not merely by unjust and precarious treaties, but by the laws of nature, and local situation. It was carried on by land across the Julian Alps, the passage through which was naturally commanded by Aquileia. Padua and Milan would have had great disadvantage in the competition. Maritime commerce is quite different, the sea being always open to those who have industry and boldness. 2. This trade was easy. The merchandize was conveyed on waggons to Nauportus, distant from Aquileia only fifty miles; and the passage by Mount Albius was the easiest in the Alps. It was then transported by

by navigable rivers from Nauportus to the Danube. 3. The merchants of Aquileia must have been great gainers by dealing in slaves, whom they purchased at a cheap rate. They had cost nothing but blood to their barbarous masters; to keep them in whose hands would have been not only useless, but expensive and dangerous. But they were valuable articles of trade with polished nations. Italy alone demanded a constant and large supply, for the purposes of domestic service, the shows, and agriculture. Slaves who had only bodily strength were sure of selling well; but when they shewed any disposition for the arts and sciences, their new masters were careful to cultivate it; and then sold at a high price that mind and ingenuity which they had not purchased. That principle of improvement, which has place only in man, became a gainful object of commerce. The slave trade, it may be remarked, can be supported only by barbarians; for civilized nations purchase slaves, but do not produce them. 4. The merchants of Aquileia bought slaves with wine and oil, the produce of their country; so that both the exports and imports were much in their favour.

Oct. 20.]—I read Cluverius Ital. Antiq. l. i. c. xxi, xxii, xxiii, p. 204—337. After speaking of Istria, where the Greek fables vainly placed the mouth of the Danube, he returns backwards to examine Cisalpine Gaul. He begins by giving a general notion of the country, and the colonies which went from Celtic Gaul. The first particulars which he mentions relate to the Lævi and Libici, who inhabited

habited the frontiers of Piedmont and the Milanese, and who depended on the powerful nation of the Insubres.

I went to the public library, of which my friend Pavillard had given me the key, to consult some books. 1. A Dissertation, by Mr. Freret, treating of the famous passage in Pliny concerning the circuit of Rome. I read and abridged his explanation, with a view to Nardini. 2. The Gauls, whom I just mentioned, made me curious to know the fate of the other colony, which penetrated at the same time into Germany. For this purpose, I consulted Cluverius's Germania Antiqua. 3. I also consulted Pitiscus's Dictionary of Antiquities, for clearing up some difficulties in Juvenal. The articles Abella, Mandra, Bardaicus, Lectica, Carpentum, Rheda, Essedum, and Cisium, furnished me with agreeable occupation. That of Lectica is particularly well treated.

I finished the twenty-fifth volume of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée.* I had not neglected that work, but was obliged to wait for the continuation. It contains *Quintilian, by Gesner :* a good edition of an excellent author.—*The Voyage of the Legate Mezzabarba to China, by Father Viani.* It treats of the idle controversy respecting the Chinese ceremonies. It appears from the narrative that the emperor had diverted himself at the expense of the good legate, and with the intrigues of the Jesuits, whom he despised as missionaries, though he esteemed them as men of letters.—*Strictura Juris Romani, a Jensio.* This writer alleges strong argu-

arguments for proving that Justinian's Code was written in Greek, and that the Latin text, which has come down to us, is only a translation.—*Anti Machiavel.* Reinsberg and Potsdam inspire very different ideas; the one produced the Anti Machiavel, and the other, the Military Instructions. When the king of Prussia composed a work on justice and clemency, it was fit that Voltaire should be at the expense of publishing it.—The History of Denmark, by Cragius; first Extract. It contains only the author's life, who flourished towards the sixteenth century.—*Corpus Juris Germanici:* a work published under the eyes of Heineccius, containing a collection of the laws of the ancient nations of Germany, equally interesting to the philosopher and the lawyer. Mr. Heineccius, in a learned preface, proves clearly, that the Franks made the famous Salic laws, when they were yet Pagans, and still remained in Franconia, a little before the election of their first king; in one word, towards the year 400; and that they wrote them in Latin, as they still remain, except that the first Christian kings made some alterations.

Oct. 21.]—I read Cluverius Ital. Antiq. l. i. c. xxiv, xxv, xxvi, xxvii. He treats of the Insubres, Orobii, Cenomani, Ananes, or Animani. The difference of names does not always infer that of nations; and this last difference is often grounded on political rather than physical reasons; for of the nine Gallic nations established in Italy, the names of four only are to be found in their native country; and the Boii, scarcely known in Gaul, formed both

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in Germany and in Italy the most numerous and formidable of all the Gallic colonies. I reckoned the Insubres among the Gauls, on the authority of all the ancients; but was surprised to see Mr. Freret classing them with the Ombri. Polybius indeed calls them Isombri, which in Celtic signifies the Lower Ombri.* But Polybius acknowledges them for Gauls;† and even did he maintain the contrary, his authority, great as it is, ought not to prevail over the united testimony of antiquity. Accuracy and probity shine in his writings. He was a soldier, a statesman, and a philosopher: but I doubt whether he was a good grammarian, or a profound antiquary.

Oct. 22.]—Before returning Nardini, which was wanted for the public library of Geneva, I this morning again went over it carefully, endeavouring to impress its principal contents on my memory. Human infirmity always loses a part; but I see with pleasure that much remains, and will continue to remain with me.

I read Cluverius Ital. Antiq. l. i. c. xxviii, xxix. p. 271—316. This was a good deal, considering that I spent the day abroad, and had only the evening, before and after supper, for study. These two chapters comprise the rest of Cispadane Gaul. The Boii, Lingones, and Senones, inhabited the duchies of Parma and Modena, of Ferrara, and Ur-

* See The Origin of the Nations of Italy, in the eighteenth volume of the History of the Academy of Belles Lettres.

† Polybius, l. ii. apud Cluver. Ital. Antiq. l. i. c. xxii. p. 228, 229.

bino;

bino; as well as the particular districts of the Romagna and Bolognese. The Gauls therefore extended to the river Æsis, which separated them from Italy. But speedily the Romans expelled the Senones, and added their country to Umbria, establishing the Rubicon for the boundary of Italy. As they were persuaded that the Gallic nations on their side of the Po could always be formidable neighbours, they compelled the Boii to quit their country. They new-modelled, in fine, the whole province, which they filled with Roman fortresses; a necessary but ruinous policy, which, in order to preserve the dominion of countries, rendered them desolate; for a few cities, built and peopled by the conquerors, ill compensated for the loss of the numerous tribes of barbarians formerly inhabiting the plains, forests, and mountains. This province was crossed by the Emilian road from Pollentia to Ariminum, which on both sides shewed many flourishing towns. But at a little distance from the road nothing was to be seen but deserts: the rest was the work of artifice and ostentation. In the latter times of the republic, the Transpadane region was the scene of many important transactions. 1. The war of Modena, between Mark Antony and the Consuls. 2. The interview of the Triumvirs in the little island of Renus, near Bologna. 3. The passage of the Rubicon by Julius Cæsar. The events and places are well ascertained by Cluverius. The passage of the Rubicon might be the subject of a good political and military commentary. Cæsar had always fixed his winter quarters

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at Lucca, when he wished only to communicate more easily with his friends at Rome, without leaving his province. But at the approach of war, he established his quarters at Ravenna. Let us endeavour to explain his motives for this alteration. 1. He wished to get possession of Picenum, a rich and populous country, and thus deprive Pompey of the resources which he might have found in a province extremely devoted to his family, and from which that general might have made legions spring up merely by striking the ground with his foot. 2. He wished to turn the capital with his army. Had he attempted to march straight to Rome, Pompey would have made himself master of the difficult passes, and stopped his progress; and Italy would have become the theatre of war. But by marching towards Ariminum, Asculum, Corfinium, and Sulma, he made it seem to be his design to cut off the retreat of his enemies; and his boldness threw them into such consternation, that they hastened to embark at Brundusium. 3. He wished to make sure of Ariminum. This important place was distant from the Rubicon eighteen miles by the Emilian road, and only eleven by that of Ravenna. Cæsar could send forward bodies of troops to the river under twenty different pretences, but the moment he passed it, his designs were unmasked. Ariminum, therefore, was to be surprised by a forced march; and it is not necessary to be Cæsar, to perceive how much that enterprise might be facilitated by diminishing the distance by seven miles, or a march of two hours.

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Oct. 23d.]—I read Cluverius Ital. Antiq. l. i. c. xxx, xxxi, xxxii, p. 316—355; which contains a general description of the Alps, as well as of their particular branches, distinguished by the epithets Maritime, Cottian, Greek, Pennine, Rhetian, Tridentine, Noric, Carnic, Julian, Pannonian; and also a description of some particular mountains, as Vesulus, Matrona, Adula, and Ocra.

I read the sixteenth volume of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée*. It contains *the Orations of Lysias, by Doctor Taylor:* a good and beautiful edition of a languid orator. The oration, which is inserted entire, gives a very accurate idea of the economy of an Athenian family.—*The History of French Poetry, by the Abbé Massieu.* The work is imperfect; but it sufficiently indicates the taste and amenity of its author. He speaks of the verses of the Emperor Adrian to his soul, and of those made by the Princess Margaret before her shipwreck; but those of Villon, after his condemnation to an infamous death, are still more extraordinary.—*The Theology of Water, by Mr. Fabricius:* a good philosophical composition.—*Cortesi's Dialogues on the learned Men of Italy, after the Revival of Letters.* Cortesi had talents; but he is liable to all the ridicule of a hyperbolical Ciceronian.—*Letters on Rousseau and Saurin.* These letters are unconnected: the first is by the Abbé d'Olivet; the second by an anonymous writer of Lausanne. This writer only attacks Saurin; but the Abbé undertakes to defend Rousseau. To how many pleadings has this endless process given birth!—

History of Denmark, by Cragius; second Extract. Meursius much availed himself of Cragius's manuscript.

Oct. 24th.]---I finished the first book of Cluverius, c. xxxiii, xxxiv. p. 355—418. He treats of the passages of the Alps, and of the first who crossed them; Hercules, the Gauls, Hannibal, Hasdrubal, and Pompey. The discussion concerning Hannibal's march, and the road which he followed into Italy, is learned and curious. The following is the result of my reading and careful reflexion on the subject. 1. By heaping together passages, and collecting all the authorities furnished by antiquity and the middle ages, it is easy to conceal our real poverty under the ostentation of riches; but when these authorities are weighed in the balance of sound criticism, we shall find but two authors deserving the name of originals, who have been servilely copied by all their followers. These two are Livy and Polybius. Did their accounts correspond, nothing would remain but to study and follow them; but unfortunately their sentiments are so different, that this is impossible, and we must make an option. Livy carries Hannibal over the Cottian Alps, properly Mount Genevre, near Turin, and makes him descend by this passage into the country of the Taurini, now the plain of Piedmont. Polybius leads him by the *Summus Penninus*, or Great St. Bernard, in the country of the Salassi, now the valley of Aoust. 2. To decide judiciously between these opposite authorities, we must weigh the character of the witnesses,

witnesses, and consider the nature of their testimony. Nobody admires more than I do, the historical merit of Livy, the majestic flow of his narrative; in which events follow each other with rapidity, yet without hurry or confusion; and the continual beauty and energy of his style, which transports his readers from their closets to the scene of action. But here we have to do, not with the orator, but with the witness. Considered in this view, Livy appears merely as a man of letters covered with the dust of his library, little acquainted with the art of war, careless in point of geography, and who lived two centuries after Hannibal's expedition. In the whole of his recital, we may perceive rather a romantic picture, calculated to please the fancy, than a faithful and judicious history, capable of satisfying the understanding. The god who appeared to the Carthaginian general,* the mountains accessible to him alone, the vinegar with which he split the rocks,† are fables which Livy relates without criticism as without suspicion. We seem to read Homer describing the exploits of Achilles. In Polybius, on the other hand, we meet with nothing but unadorned simplicity and plain reason. A justness of thinking rare in his age and country, united with a sterility of fancy still more rare, made him prefer the truth, which he thoroughly knew, to ornaments which he was perhaps the more inclined to despise, because he felt himself incapable of at-

* Tit. Liv. xxi. 22. † Id. ibid. 37.

taining them. He had examined, attentively and skilfully, with his own eyes, the country between the Po and the Ebro: where he might collect the precious remains of tradition which the period of sixty years had not been able to efface; and where he might converse with some of the old men of the country, who had in their youth either resisted Hannibal's invasion, or followed his standard. His journey to those parts was undertaken with the express purpose of gaining information in the country itself, and of substituting, instead of the fables which already overflowed the public, a plain and authentic history of this famous expedition of the Carthaginians.* The work which has come down to us, is the fruit of this design. To finish the parallel, I must add that Livy's narrative cannot be reconciled with itself any more than with that of Polybius. His obscurities and contradictions baffle the ablest geographers;† whereas the account of Polybius is clear and well connected. The valley, being divided by the Rhone, ascertains the country through which Hannibal made his approach to the Alps; from which he emerged into the territory of the Insubres.‡ Both these circumstances clearly indicate the passage of the Great St. Bernard. 3. Livy, in the Augustan age, could not describe the events of the second Punic war but from ancient authorities. A passage in

* Polyb. Hist. l. iii. Cluver. Ital. Antiq. l. i. c. xxxiii. p. 363.

† Cluver. l. i. c. xxxiii. p. 370—375.

‡ Polyb. Hist. l. iii. Cluver. l. i. p. 365.

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this historian informs us who was his voucher for the particulars of Hannibal's march. It was Hannibal himself. Is not this authority better than that of Polybius? or rather, what can be said in opposition to the testimony of a general giving an account of the country through which he passed? This interesting circumstance deserves to be explained, and the explanation, curious in itself, will throw much light on the whole question. L. Cintius Alimintus, one of the most ancient annalists of the republic, was taken prisoner in the second Punic war. His captivity gave him an opportunity of one night hearing the conversation of Hannibal, in which that general confessed, that from the time when he passed the Rhone, to that of his entering the country of the Taurini in Italy, he had lost 36,000 men, and a great number of horses.* This conversation, which was preserved by Cintius in his history, was sufficient to turn the balance, and to make Livy reject the received account, which brought Hannibal into Italy by the country of the Salassi, and not that of the Taurini. The following are the words of the original: *Ex ipso autem audiisse Hannibale, postquam Rhodanum transierit, triginta sex millia hominum, ingentemque numerum equorum, et aliorum jumentorum amisisse in Taurinis, quæ Gallis proxima gens est, in Italiam digresso.* Before examining whether this conversation be as decisive as it at first sight appears, it may be asked whether it actually took place. Va-

* Tit. Liv. xxi. 38.

nity is so strong a principle, and the notion of deriving our intelligence from the mouth of a hero, and an enemy, is so flattering to the mind, that this Hannibal perhaps was no other than some very ill-informed soldier belonging to the Carthaginian camp. I acknowledge, however, that bare possibility is not sufficient to justify this suspicion, unless we could support it by proofs which are now wanting, namely, the personal character of Cintius, the opinion formed by contemporaries of his history, and the time of its publication before or after Hannibal's death. I give up therefore this conjecture; and, taking the conversation for authentic, shall make some remarks on its purport. 1. Is it possible without temerity to reject the authority of Hannibal for that of Polybius? A geographer studies countries in the names or arbitrary signs by which they are known. A general studies the countries themselves. He ascends an eminence to learn the general outline, and mounts on horseback to examine the detail; conversing with the inhabitants to discover circumstances which would otherwise escape his observation. Having acquired this real knowledge of the places themselves, he is careless of the names by which they are called. These names are easily effaced from his memory, especially in barbarous countries, where their number is small. His multiplied occupations rapidly succeed to each other; and his old ideas are gradually obliterated to make room for others which are more important, because more connected with the actual state of his affairs. In what

what a perpetual storm did Hannibal live after passing the Alps till he won the battle of Cannæ? Cintius, I am persuaded, was not taken prisoner before that memorable engagement; previously to which Hannibal was too much exasperated against the Romans to talk familiarly with his captives.* May it not therefore be suspected that at the end of two years he had lost an accurate recollection of those barbarous names? In the famous retreat of the 10,000, the general has recorded his own exploits. His narrative, however, is not exempt from errors and geographical difficulties. The negligence of Xenophon in an elaborate composition, will remove our surprise at that of Hannibal in a simple conversation. 2. These doubts appear to me well founded; yet I perceive that they have the appearance of too much refinement, and that the great name of Hannibal will be sufficient to make them vanish. Let us give full credit, then, to his accuracy, and only inquire whether the same be due to his sincerity. According to the barbarous maxims of antiquity, a prisoner of war was treated as a criminal. He was loaded with irons, cast into a dungeon, delivered over sometimes to the cruelty of an executioner, without the smallest regard to his rank, birth, or merit. In this pretended conversation, Hannibal lays aside ordinary maxims, and talks with a Roman prisoner with not only mildness, but confidence. Cintius could not have had this interview with Hannibal, unless the

* Tit. Liv. xxii. 58.

Carthaginian had taken the trouble to bring it about; and with what view could that be, except to deceive him? Perhaps this general, who excelled as much in artifice as in valour, wished to conceal from the Romans the road by which he had entered into Italy, and to cover the march of the reinforcements which he yet expected. The Romans had never fought among the Alps, the ferocity of whose inhabitants had involved them in such obscurity, that Hannibal might make the prisoner believe what fables he pleased concerning the countries which he had traversed. 3. A way of arguing still more natural and milder remains, which is to explain Hannibal's conversation, instead of calling in question either its reality or sincerity. He wished to give an idea of the losses which he had sustained in passing the mountains, in consequence of battles, cold, and fatigue. He begins therefore from his crossing the Rhone, and ends at his arrival in the territory of the Taurini; since it was really in their country, and by taking their capital, that he began his operations in Italy.* Their territory, therefore, formed the limit between two things totally distinct; his losses in Italy and those in the Alps. It was not necessary that the country of the Taurini should be the first place of Italy into which he descended from the Alps; it sufficed that it was the first where he fought a battle. The former explication is adopted by Livy, but the latter appears to me very capable of

* Tit. Liv. xxi. 39. Polyb. Hist. l. iii.

being

being defended. It deprives the Latin historian of what appears to him a decisive proof. It even turns this alleged proof against himself, by laying open the source of his mistake. The argument on which Livy builds, is not only refuted, but destroyed; and the authority of Polybius subsists alone and unrivalled. I confess indeed that the sense of this famous passage is rather guessed at, than explained; so perplexed, defective, and faulty is its construction. Critics have endeavoured to correct it; but it should seem more natural to say that Livy copied Cintius, and that the latter had preserved the very words of the Carthaginian general, who spoke Latin like a foreigner. 4. In our search after historic truth, we must pay a regard to authority and probability: to the character of the author, and to the nature of the facts which he records. Although the first is entirely on the side of Polybius, yet the second offers some circumstances which it is difficult to explain on his hypothesis, and which appear even contrary to probability. 1. When we cast our eyes on the map, we must be surprised that a general of Hannibal's abilities should have followed so circuitous a road as that of St. Bernard, which was long, difficult, and surrounded by barbarians, who were rather Germans than Gauls. It is of no weight to say, that he wished to keep clear of the sea, and of the army of Scipio. The observation is just; but to see whether it applies to the present question, we must make ourselves acquainted with Hannibal's situation and views. After he had passed the Rhone, his Numidians met

met with a little check from Scipio's cavalry. The Romans wished to come to a general engagement, which Hannibal desired to avoid, being convinced that they were only to be subdued in Italy itself. He therefore silently raised his camp, gained a march of three days on the enemy, and on the fourth day arrived, without being pursued, at the conflux of the Rhone and the Isere.* The Romans could not overtake him. The loss of three days is not to be recovered in contending with a general, active and vigilant; and who, by the superiority of his light-armed cavalry, was able to conceal his own movements, and to make himself acquainted with those of the enemy. Hannibal was not therefore afraid of being pursued; he soon learned that such fear would have been groundless; that Scipio's army continued its march into Spain; and that the consul himself returned into Italy, to take the command of the army on the banks of the Po. Hannibal being delivered from all uneasiness on this subject, made a halt in the country of the Allobroges, decided a contest between the heirs of the crown, and prepared his troops for the fatigues which they were going to undertake. In choosing his route into Italy, he could be determined by no other consideration but that of preferring the shortest and the most convenient. But the passage by St. Bernard is certainly not the shortest. 2. Neither is it the most convenient. In the reign of

* Strabon. Geog. l. iv. p. 141. Berger Histoire des Grands Chemins, l. iii. c. 31. p. 471.

Augustus,

Augustus, when Roman policy had levelled the Alps, that prince made two military ways, which, diverging from Augusta Prætoria, again united at Lyons. One of those roads, which crossed the Pennine Alps, was still so difficult that it could not be passed by carriages.* When we consider how much more difficult it must have been in the time of Hannibal, it is not credible that that general should have been either willing, or able, to cross it with his great numbers of horses and elephants. 3. Hannibal consumed fifteen days in passing the Alps, from which four days must be deducted, two of which were spent on the top of the mountains, and two employed in clearing the road from the snow. The breadth of the Alps, according to Polybius, is 1200 stadia (150 Roman miles†). This calculation agrees with the geography of the country; but is the march consistent with probability? Is it possible for a numerous army to proceed fourteen miles a-day, across mountains where the soldiers were obliged continually to struggle against the difficulties of the road, and often to repel the attacks of the mountaineers? I have great respect for Polybius's authority, but cannot help doubting the fact. These are some of the difficulties which occur in his narrative, and which are not to be despised. 4. Our researches have brought us back to our first uncertainty, how are we to form an

* The passage by the Pennine Alps was, however, the shortest; here the mountains are much narrowed.

† Polyb. l. iii. Cluveri. c. 33. p. 382.

opinion?

opinion? Polybius's narrative has all the external evidence that can be desired; but that of his rival seems more consistent with other circumstances that are well ascertained. One reflexion may suffice to regulate our decision. It is more probable that *we* should be deceived, than that the above circumstances should have escaped the notice of Polybius. These circumstances are indeed important; but they are not decisive. The first and most considerable depends on many suppositions; that the text both of Livy and Polybius is corrupt; that instead of the unknown word *Scaras*, and of *Arar*, which is misplaced, we should read on both occasions *Isara*. I acknowledge that this correction is extremely probable, but probabilities which result from other probabilities, continually grow weaker as they recede from their source. If I suppose on my side; 1. that the Allobroges then occupied a part of the territory of the Ambarri; 2. that the word *triduo* in Livy is corrupt; 3. that Hannibal passed the Rhone higher than is supposed, the first objection totally disappears. Hannibal, at the confluence of the Rhone and Saône, followed the shortest route into Italy, when he crossed the Great St. Bernard. Let us conclude then, though with some remainder of scepticism, that though Livy's narrative has more of probability, yet that of Polybius has more of truth.* There is

* 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.

one

one perplexing consideration behind. In Mr. D'Anville's map of Hannibal's expedition, that accurate geographer, whose positions are always chosen on reflexion, makes the Carthaginians pass by the Cottian Alps. I am stopped and silenced by the authority of this learned man, which in this case is the greater, because he conceals the reasons on which his opinion is founded.*

Oct. 25th.]—I read *Cluverius Ital. Antiq. l. ii. c. i. p.* 418—433. The author treats of the name and origin of the Tuscans. He rejects, with Dionysius of Halicarnassus, their pretended Lydian descent, and believes with that historian that they were indigenes. But as Cluverius was a good Christian, what idea could he affix to that word? There is, however, one, which I doubt whether he was sensible of: it is that of a nation formed by the re-union of different families, settled in the country at different times, and independently of each other. The nation and body politic is indigenous, but not the individuals.

I finished the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée*, volume the twenty-seventh. It contains the *Jubilee of Printing, by Mr. Seiz.* He supports the pretensions of Haarlem, and endeavours to prove that Laurence

* Since these observations were written, viz. Oct. 1763, Mr. Whitaker published the Course of Hannibal over the Alps, in 2 vols. 8vo. in 1794; but in 1795, A. F. Tytler, Lord Woodhouselee, a Lord of Sessions, published a Critical Examination of Mr. Whitaker's Course of Hannibal, which is deservedly deemed more satisfactory than any thing that has been published on the subject. Perhaps it was best understood by the late General Melville. S.

Costar,

Costar, a citizen of that place, discovered in 1440 that beautiful art, which the dishonesty of his servant Faustus carried with him to Mentz. The narrative appears clear, well connected, and free from difficulties; yet if printing was invented at Haarlem, it appears extraordinary that all the countries of Europe should have received it, or believe they received it, from Mentz. Could so many daughters agree in mistaking their mother? I am not ignorant of Corselis's voyage to England; but after Dr. Middleton's refutation, it is no longer allowable to cite that fable.—*A Collection of some small Works on the Pronunciation of Greek, by Mr. Havercamp.* In this famous dispute, Erasmus, with his ordinary prudence, used the ancient pronunciation, though he seemed to approve the new. When we consider the storms excited by this ridiculous question in the beginning of the sixteenth century, particularly at Cambridge, his caution will not appear blamable.—*Arretin's Letters.* The beginning of a great collection of letters between the learned men of the fifteenth century, which is publishing in Italy. It may be useful in literary history.—*The History of Denmark, by Cragius.* It appears to me well executed. We see in it the beginning of the reformation in that country, and the dishonesty of Henry VIII. of England.—*The Czar Peter I. in France:* a philosophical romance, the work of a lively and fruitful imagination, but destitute of taste or method. Such works dazzle for a moment, and are forgotten.

Oct. 26th.]—I read *Cluverius Ital. Antiq. l. ii. c. i. p.*

i. p. 434—455. The arts, the luxury, and the riches of the Tuscans, are matter of astonishment. I can scarcely believe with Cluverius, that Cisalpine Gaul was the original seat of that nation. It appears to me on the contrary from ancient writers, that the Tuscans, from the remotest times, inhabited Etruria, properly so called, and sent forth two great colonies, each of which was like the mother-country, divided into twelve communities: one of which colonies expelled the *Ombri* from the whole of that tract which lies between the Alps and the Apennines; while the other formed settlements in Campania. It might have been said in that age, almost without exaggeration, that the Tuscans were masters of Italy. The first of those colonies was subdued by the Gauls, eight centuries before the Christian æra, when it was already rich and powerful, but softened by luxury. The mother-country exhibited the same character in still stronger colours. It verged towards its ruin. How many ages must have been required for this slow, but sure progression, by which nations proceed from barbarism to industry, arts, luxury, and effeminacy? We cannot doubt the fact; the Tuscans are certainly one of the most ancient nations with which we are acquainted.

Oct. 27th.]—I read Cluverius, l. ii. c. ii, iii. p. 455—518. He describes with much accuracy the coast of Tuscany, with the opposite islands, from Luna to the mouth of the Tiber. We meet every where with Greek fables. With respect to the greatest part of Greek writers before Polybius, space may be divided, as Varro divided time, into the

the historical, fabulous, and unknown. The historical ground was confined to Greece, Sicily, Africa, Egypt, and Lower Asia. In the fabulous, I would place Italy, with the countries between Greece and the Danube, and those between the Caspian sea and the Euphrates. The countries beyond those limits were altogether unknown. Homer might have satisfied the lovers of the marvellous; yet his fables form but the smallest and most probable part of the Greek mythology.

Oct. 28th.]—I read Cluverius Ital. Antiq. l. iii. c. iii. p. 518—537. The author treats of Tarquinii and Veii, the two cities of Tuscany that were nearest to Rome. Tarquinii was celebrated for the science of augury, to which it had given birth. The origin of this deceitful art need not be sought elsewhere: it began in Tuscany. The ridiculous fable concerning Tages, teaches us that he was a native of the country: his success in contriving such an extraordinary system, and in making it be adopted by his countrymen, proves him to have been a man of genius. Tages sprung from a furrow; he was not a foreigner. The Chaldean fish Oannes sprung from the sea; this symbolic language explains itself.

The ancients themselves found it difficult to ascertain the situation of Veii. In the time of Lucan, this famous city had already been destroyed; and the ruins of a place which had been as large as Rome could scarcely be discovered. Its site could only be known by its distance from the capital; but with respect to this distance, authors are not agreed. Their opinions may be reduced to the

the two following: 1. Livy, speaking of the siege of Veii, says, that it was carried on within the twentieth mile-stone.* Eutropius tells us that Veii was eighteen miles distant from Rome. 2. The Roman itineraries make the distance twelve miles;† and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, an hundred stadia, or twelve miles and a half.‡ There are two ways of reconciling those opinions. 1. Faleria, as well as Veii, was situate on an eminence. The former was destroyed by the Romans, and a town of the same name rebuilt on the plain. If a similar change took place with respect to Veii, Dionysius of Halicarnassus would only be guilty of the small mistake of supposing Veii to have always had the same site. I am well pleased with this explanation. The interval of eighteen miles answers better than that of twelve, considering the many wars carried on within those narrow limits, between the two rival republics. 2. All differences may be reconciled by giving up the authority of Eutropius, one of the most contemptible authors that ever wrote. The Romans had surrounded Veii with walls and intrenchments. Not satisfied with fortifying themselves on the side of the city, they had also raised bulwarks to intercept the succours that might be sent to the besieged, from the other cities of Tuscany.§ Veii was therefore twelve miles and a half from Rome, since the diameter of a city as extensive as Athens must

* Tit. Liv. l. iv.
† V. Tabul. Pentinger.
‡ Dionys. Halicarn. l. ii.
§ Tit. Liv. l. v.

have been two miles and a half. If the most advanced forts on the side of Etruria were four miles beyond the city, we have the distance of nineteen miles, which sufficiently justifies the expression of Appius Claudius.

Oct. 29th.]—I read Cluverius, l. ii. c. iii. p. 537—550. That chapter contains a good description of Faleria, the capital of the Falisci; a city which preserved to the age of Augustus clear marks of its Grecian origin.

I went to the public library. In the great collection of Italian historians, by Grævius, vol. viii. p. 3, I found a performance of the learned Mazzocchi, pretending to prove that Civita Castellana, thirty miles from Rome, was the ancient Veii; and a refutation of that work by my friend Nardini. Mazzocchi must have been strangely blinded by his prepossession in favour of his native city. He has not the shadow of a proof.

I finished the first volume of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée.* It contains *Schedius, de Diis Germanis:* an immense compilation, without taste, criticism, or discernment.—*Henry Ditton's Demonstration of the Christian Religion.* How grossly have those two words been abused!—*Letters of an Ex-Jesuit, on the Paradoxes of Father Hardouin.* This learned man is here allowed to speak for himself. His zeal for tradition, and his hatred towards the Jansenists and the philosophers, involved him in all his absurdities. Finding in the fathers, and particularly in St. Augustin, many things favourable to the cause of his enemies, he was willing to oppose

oppose facts to opinions, and boldly declared Augustine's impious works to be spurious. The fall of Augustine's work, *de Libero Arbitrio*, brought down with it the other fathers by whom it was quoted. The ruin of the fathers involved that of profane writers: the whole edifice fell in pieces. This was what he called unstringing the beads from the rosary of antiquity. He might have drawn many good thoughts from M. Barbeyrac, who wrote an excellent treatise on the morality of the fathers. How ill did those doctors of the church understand the most valuable of all sciences. They prohibited the most innocent pleasures, and the most lawful occupations, as savouring of the world, and nearly connected with idolatry. They would have destroyed mankind in order to sanctify them. But on the other hand, regarding it as a principle that every action related in the Old Testament, and not therein condemned, was by this silence approved, they justified and praised adultery, falsehood, incest, and cruelty.

Oct. 30th.]—I read Cluverius Ital. Antiq. l. ii. c. iii, iv, v, vi. p. 550—624. The author describes the other cities of Tuscany, situate inland; Volsinii, Clusium, Aretium, Perugia, and Cortona. The passages which he has collected, respecting the lake Thrasymenus, afford a very natural picture of this famous spot, which was bounded on one side by the lake itself, and on the other by a range of high mountains, which opened only by two narrow defiles. Thither Hannibal had the address to decoy the army of Flaminius, that it might

be taken, as it were, in a net. Cluverius afterwards passes into Umbria, and treats of the origin of its inhabitants, who, notwithstanding his opinion to the contrary, appear to have been Celts. He describes their territory, which was divided in one direction by the Apennines, and in another by the Flaminian Way. That portion of it which lies between the sea, Etruria, and the Apennines, is the subject of his fifth and sixth chapters.

Oct. 31st.]—I remained all day at home, by which Cluverius was a gainer. I read Ital. Antiq. l. ii. c. vi, vii. viii, ix, x. p. 624—722. Nearly an hundred pages daily would greatly quicken my progress; but such efforts are seldom made. In those four chapters, the author concludes his account of Umbria by describing that portion of it which extends between the Apennines and the territory of the Sabines. That territory itself forms the next object of his research. He treats finally of the Tiber, and of the rivers which fall into it. This chapter, with that on the Po, includes almost all the rivers in Italy. The river Tiberis was, by a poetical licence, spelt Tybris. The god of the river was called Tiberinus. All good writers have attended to this distinction, which is pointed out by Servius.

Nov. 1st.]—I read Cluverius, l. ii. c. xi, xii, xiii, xiv, xv. p. 722—762. The author describes Picenum, one of the most fertile and best peopled districts in Italy. He then proceeds to several communities, inconsiderable in point of their numbers, but highly distinguished by their valour; the Marrucini,

cini, Marsi, Vestini, and Peligni. Corfinium was one of the principal cities belonging to the last. This place was once in hopes of being highly distinguished. Had the social war been prosperous, Rome must have yielded to Corfinium; which, under the name of Italica, was to have been the head of the new confederacy. I shall venture to make some reflexions on this extraordinary war, the principal circumstances of which have been somewhat misrepresented by the Abbé Vertot: an author whose works are read with the same pleasure as romances, to which in other respects they bear too much resemblance. 1. The Abbé Vertot introduces the Latins very unseasonably. "The Latins, those inhabitants of Latium who enjoyed the Latin law, and to whom Drusus gave hopes of acquiring the citizenship of Rome, rose in arms, when assassination had robbed them of their protector."* Yet it is certain that the people of Latium had no share in this rebellion. They are mentioned but once in the war; and, on that occasion, as sending auxiliaries to the army of the republic.† They did not think of renewing an ancient quarrel, which the fortune of war had, more than two hundred and fifty years before, decided against them. Previously to their subjugation, they had more than once made Rome to tremble. All that Vertot copies from Livy respecting that similarity of language, manners, and mili-

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

† T. Liv. Epitom. l. lxxii.

tary discipline, which gave to the social, the appearance of a civil war, must be referred to the former æra.* In the time of the social war, Rome was too great to be an object of jealousy to the little cities of Latium, which were continually converted into villages and villas in the vicinity of the capital. Perpetual communication, and numerous alliances, had cemented the bands of their common origin. Many places had acquired the rights of citizenship; in others, the Latin law gave that right to two families annually. All the cities of Latium enjoyed many advantages, which must have naturally inspired them with affection for Rome, and hatred towards her more recent allies. 2. The author of the History of the Revolutions of Rome, so much exaggerates the strength of the Italian confederacy, that an air of romance is thereby thrown on his whole narrative, though it may not be perceptible to the greater part of his readers. According to his account, not only the Latins, but all the nations of Italy, signed this alliance, and sent a common embassy to Rome, demanding the rights of the city. It is a matter of astonishment that a single city should have been able to make a defence against the united force of so many allies, whom it had found so much difficulty in subduing successively. Happily this wonderf l circumstance contains as little truth as probability. The abridger of Livy has preserved the names of all the communities which composed this confede-

* T. Liv. viii. 6.

racy.

racy. They were, the Samnites, Lucani, Picentes, Marsi, Peligni, Vestini, and Marrucini.* With regard to this fact, Livy's authority is better than any other; and in such an enumeration, an abridger having nothing to do but to copy, it is to be supposed that he does it correctly. The Samnites then were at the head of this league, into which they had prevailed on six other communities to enter, who were their neighbours, allies, or colonies. They were afterwards joined by several other cities, but not until the Romans, recovering from their consternation, had recalled their armies from abroad, fortified the passes into their territory, and even gained several victories over the allies. Livy informs us in general of those subsequent revolts,† but the particulars are to be found in Appian‡ and Strabo.§ They number among the rebels, the Frentani, Hirpini, Peucetii, with some cities of Apulia and Umbria. Of the former, Appian names Canusium and Venusia; speaking only in general of the *Umbrii*. I was surprised to find this historian also name the *Pompeiani*.‖ These could only be the inhabitants of Pompeii, a maritime city of Campania, near Naples.¶ Did Pompeii exist in the time of the social war? It cannot be of an earlier date than the family from which it derived its

* Tit. Liv. Epitom. l. lxxii.
† Tit. Liv. Epitom. l. lxxiii.
‡ Appian de Bell. Civil. l. i. p. 374. 376. 379.
§ Strab. Geograph. l. v. p. 166, 167.
‖ Appian de Bell. Civil. l. i. p. 374.
¶ Cluv. Ital. Antiq. l. iv. c. iii. p. 1154.

name; and this family was unknown until the time of the great Pompey's father, that Cneius Pompeius Strabo, who was consul in the 665th year of Rome, and the second year of the social war. But supposing the antiquity of Pompeii, can it be imagined that a single city, and that a small one, should have ventured to revolt against the republic, though situate in the midst of so many more important places, which faithfully maintained their allegiance? I know that the scene of the war was changed to Campania, and am willing to believe that a party of the allies, having taken possession of Pompeii, there stood a siege:* but this explanation tends rather to extenuate, than to justify Appian's mistake. I am inclined to seek the names of the states which entered into the confederacy against Rome, in the narrative which Livy and other historians give of the war, rather than content myself with Appian's general description, when he says that the confederacy comprehended all the nations between the Liris, or Liturnus, and the Ionian sea.† Of this description, one of the clauses is false, and the other inaccurate. The Ionian sea is taken in so many different meanings, that it denotes any thing you will.‡ The Liris and Liturnus were quite different rivers, and had only one cir-

* 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. Patercul. l. ii.*

† Appian de Bell. Civil. l. i. p. 374.

‡ Vide Cluv. Ital. Antiq. l. iii. c. x. p. 1075; et l. iv. c. xvii. p. 1334.

cumstance

cumstance in common, that both were sometimes called Clanis, or Clanius. Such then were the allies. They surely were formidable; but fear or affection still collected many Italian nations around the standard of the republic; the whole of Latium, Campania, Brutium, Calabria, the Sabines, all Etruria, a part of Umbria and Apulia, and the whole of the colonies of Magna Græcia. The cities of Tuscany prepared for joining the allies; but the senate warded off this danger, by granting, of its own accord, the rights of the city to that important province.* A great number of colonies spread over all the districts of Italy, whose fidelity being secured by interest as well as gratitude, supplied the Romans with magazines, and with the protection of their fortresses. In those republics which declared against Rome, the citizens were not unanimous. The Romans had their creatures in each of those communities, whose avowed opposition, or secret intrigues, disturbed the measures of the prevailing party.† Each individual sided with the senate or the league, which became the watchword of faction, like the names of Guelphs and Ghibelines, which divided and desolated the same countries thirteen centuries afterwards. The Abbé Vertot, when he explained the difficulties with which the Romans had to contend, should also

* Appian de Bell. Civil. l. i. p. 374.

† 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 prætor and a legate.

have

have mentioned the resources by which they were enabled to surmount them. 3. The nation of the Marsi, though formidable by its valour, was inferior in strength to the Samnites and the Picentes. Yet it had the honour of giving its name to the war, which is as well known by the appellation of the Marsic, as the Social. The Marsi were the only people on the Roman side of the Apennines, who ventured to declare against the republic. Their country became the first theatre of the war, and when the senate assigned armies to the consuls, it was by granting them the Marsi for their province. This is not the first example of the least considerable portion of a league giving its name to the whole. We know the ancient Scythians by the general denomination of Tartars, because the small tribe so called always formed the van of the Mogul armies during the extensive conquests of Zenghis Khan and his successors.* 4. The allies, though finally defeated in the war, obtained the rights of Roman citizens, which they had so eagerly desired. But they obtained this honour only to participate with Rome in all the calamities of which their own revolt had been the principal cause; and to ruin that republic and themselves. Generals commanding armies in the heart of Italy, and Italy converted into one city, whose inhabitants were citizens only by a kind of fiction, were cir-

* See Reflexions on Ancient Nations, by Mr. Freret, in the eighteenth volume of the Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres.

cumstances

cumstances which too plainly prepared the way for slavery. How much must the allies have regretted that tranquillity and happy obscurity, which they had long enjoyed without knowing its value! During the period of an hundred and twenty years that elapsed from the second Punic, to the Social war, the nations of Italy flourished under the mildest of all governments. They had lost that unhappy right of making war on each other, which was no longer necessary for their defence. Secure under the protection of the Romans, they had nothing to fear from invaders. Their domestic disputes were settled by the senate, who beheld them all with the same paternal eye, and whose interposition liberated them from the miserable necessity of having recourse to arms. In return for these benefits, the whole of Italy supplied a body of infantry equal to that drawn from the single city of Rome, and double the number of cavalry;* a light contribution in itself, and which, by giving a military turn to their youth, tended to render them respectable to the Romans. Their authority was sovereign as to all other matters which contribute to the happiness of nations, namely, the affairs of justice, police, and political economy. They had not to endure the tyranny of governors, as insolent as rapacious; their law-suits were not

* 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.

carried

carried by appeal to the capital; and a wall of brass did not form an insurmountable barrier between the citizen and the subject. They were debarred indeed collectively from the rights of Roman citizens; but whenever an individual proved that his ambition was justified by his merit, Rome was too attentive to her interests not to acknowledge him for her own.* I write in the Pays de Vaud. Its inhabitants ought to be contented with their condition; yet it will not gain by a comparison with that of the people of Italy. I know that some advantages were withholden from that people by the pride of the Romans, as to the concerns of private life, marriages, testaments, &c. I perceive also that they had reason to complain of some acts of violence, especially in latter times; and I am sensible that such things are more striking to the fancy, than all the general advantages derived from the operation of good laws, which pass almost unobserved. 5. In undertaking this war, the allies were guilty of imprudence; were they also unjust? Could they justify their refusal to observe their former treaties, and the insurrection which their refusal produced? I do not mean completely to discuss a question as extensive as it is difficult. I will endeavour, however, to establish the following principles. 1. The treaties entered into by the general assemblies of two nations ought to bind their heirs and successors; because it is not to be presumed that either party has agreed to submit to

* Tacit. Annal. xi. 24.

any

any inconvenience without obtaining some advantage in return; and he who reaps the benefit of one part of a contract, ought to bear the burden contained in the other. The same principle does not apply to treaties entered into between nations and their leaders. These treaties hardly deserve the name, being destitute of a condition essential to the validity of every contract; namely, the mutual independence of the parties, and their power to provide for their respective advantages. They deserve the name rather of general resolutions than of treaties, and derive their force merely from the will of those by whom they were embraced. 2. The validity of a treaty is founded on the will of the contracting parties. That will ought to be free. It will be granted that every kind of violence, affecting the body, renders a contract null; for such violence does not merely constrain, but annihilates the will. But there is a milder violence which we daily experience, that acts on the will by presenting it with the almost necessary alternative of happiness or misery. It rarely happens that individuals or nations undertake engagements, unless when they are impelled by this universal motive. The law of nature must either allow that this violence is consistent with liberty, or fidelity to our engagements will be reduced to an empty name. On the other hand, if fear does not nullify a promise, honesty must be its own victim, and robbers will acquire a right to all the goods of the earth. These difficulties may be removed by the following easy and simple distinction.

tion. Promises are binding only with respect to those who were entitled to inflict the evils with which they threatened us. These evils not being inflicted, change their nature, and become real goods bestowed on us, which serve as a sufficient basis to treaties; being a proper compensation for the burdens to which we engage to submit. 3. Society reuniting in the body politic the rights and wills of individuals, the community at large enjoy all the rights which were enjoyed by individuals in a state of nature. The right of self-preservation holds the first place. It necessarily includes the right of self-defence, of repelling force by force, and of subjecting the unjust aggressor to all the evils with which he threatens us, even to death itself. This right therefore still subsists in communities; the magistrate is entrusted with the national force to make war, not against individuals, but against the members of a foreign community, of which individuals are merely the instruments. He attacks the community only. If his cause is just, and the hatred and violence of his antagonist renders *his* death necessary to his own safety, he then exercises the rights of nature, and takes away his life; that is, his civil life, by subduing and destroying the constitution of his country. On this principle the right of conquest is founded. If the conqueror exercise his right in all its rigour, and the conquered acknowledge him for their master, I think they are bound to maintain inviolate an engagement by which they have acquired the benefit of public tranquillity. But

But from this point, which is perhaps the feeblest bond of human probity, two kinds of treaties gradually diverge, and gradually gain strength as they remove from their source. The first is that, where, in proportion as the conquest is less complete, the necessity of contracting the obligation is indeed diminished, but the equality between the parties is increased to that perfect independence, which leaves them at full liberty in their respective engagements. If the conqueror, on the other hand, having it in his power to destroy his enemies, has thought proper to save them, the contract acquires a degree of force proportional to the advantages which he might have taken away, but which he has been pleased to leave. The observations formerly made concerning the happy state of the people of Italy, sufficiently show how much validity the wisdom of the Roman conquerors had given to their treaties with the vanquished. 4. But, it will be asked, had these treaties the most essential of all conditions? The right of conquest ought to be founded on justice; a virtue to which those robbers of the earth were strangers. I wish not to enter into historical discussions, because I am in quest, not of facts, but of principles. In our present state of error, vice, or weakness, we are often obliged to give up absolute truths, for those that are merely conventional, because the only truths within our reach. It is thus that, with regard both to individuals and societies, reason allows us to examine the foundation of their authority, but not to find fault

fault with the manner in which they are pleased to exercise it. Both the right, and the exercise of that right, ought to be founded on justice; but as our reason is not always able to distinguish wherein that justice consists, we are obliged to suppose it on the side of those whose power we are unable to resist.

I have endeavoured to be as concise as possible, avoiding reflections merely accessory, consequences, and, above all, applications. On the whole, I am forced to give sentence against the allies.

But on every supposition, Velleius Paterculus is blamable. After acknowledging the just pretensions of the allies,* he has the impudence to praise the conduct of Minatius Magius, one of his own ancestors, who, maintaining his fidelity to the Romans, raised a legion for their service, and distinguished his valour in the sieges of Herculaneum, Pompeii, and Casa.† But this Minatius, who, according to Velleius, was the defender of tyrants, could not approve his fidelity to Rome, without being a traitor to Asculum. It is plain, that the flatterer of Sejanus was not a fit judge of the great principles concerning the law of nations.

Nov. 2d.]—I read the continuation of an extract in the eleventh volume of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée*, containing the history of Servetus, written by Mr. Alevoerde, under the eyes of the famous Mosheim. The journalist (perhaps Mr. de la Chapelle) has many observations and researches concerning this extraordinary transaction, which are

* Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 15. † Ibid. c. 16.

far

far more valuable than the book itself. The two authors had treated Calvin with great severity. The reviewer repels their attacks, which he ascribes to the rancour of Lutheran zeal against the patriarch of the Calvinists. The punishment of Servetus cannot indeed be justified; but, in this business, Calvin was not actuated by worldly motives, but by a mistaken religious zeal, and a respect for maxims which, though cruel and sanguinary, were acknowledged and avowed by all Christian churches. But many observations still remain to be made. 1. The examples of churches and theologians who declare in favour of the punishment of heretics, are nothing to the present question. Men's actions are never less guided by their principles, than when those principles run counter to the natural sentiments of humanity. The heart here corrects the errors of the understanding. A man of a humane character, under the influence of a false zeal, will in his closet condemn a heretic to death; but will he drag him to the stake? Not to shudder at the shedding of innocent blood, requires a heart totally insensible to pity. 2. I acknowledge the power of false zeal and an erroneous conscience. It is sufficient to silence the voice of pity; but can it stifle its murmurs? Will not the unhappy theologian feel a combat in his own breast between religion and humanity? Will not the outward expressions of sorrow indicate how deeply he is afflicted to shed his brother's blood? Brutus saw that the death of his sons was neces-

sary to save the liberty of Rome. He pronounced the fatal sentence; but had he sent them to punishment without any emotions of grief, it might have been justly said that his natural ferocity hindered him from perceiving the magnitude of the sacrifice that he made, and even that he had sacrificed them rather to his own hatred and vengeance than to the safety of his country. In Calvin's behaviour, I can see nothing but the most abominable cruelty. He loads Servetus with invectives; he fears lest his victim should escape from his hands; and, in a tone of triumph, passes on him the sentence of condemnation. But Servetus did not spare the divine of Geneva. I know it. But the one loaded with reproaches a wretch whom he had confined in irons; the other only breathed out too loudly his agonies of suffering. Hard must be the heart which does not feel the difference! 3. A few years before, Servetus had communicated to Calvin all his religious opinions. Their epistolary correspondence was of considerable duration. But when Servetus was seized at Vienna, Calvin sent all his letters to the magistrates. In this instance, he may justly be reproached with having violated the tacit promise which is always supposed in such a correspondence, and which an honest man would have held sacred, instead of availing himself of the frankness of the Spaniard, for the purpose of destroying him. 4. We must recollect Calvin's situation in Geneva. He was the legislator of a new republic, and experienced the difficulties incident to innovators. A numerous faction, headed by the first

first syndic, pressed on him with rancour, and espoused the cause of Servetus because Calvin was his enemy. The latter was sensible that the process of Servetus was his own: and the reviewer ingenuously confesses, that unless Servetus perished, Calvin was ruined. Calvin's friends acknowledge that he was opinionated, haughty, and jealous of his authority. Let themselves draw the consequence. It was necessary that the throne of the reformer should be cemented with the blood of Servetus. 5. In a letter written to an intimate friend, Calvin does not dissemble his hopes that Servetus would be soon condemned to death. He wishes, however, that he may escape the utmost rigour of that punishment; probably, that he might not be burnt alive. Yet this very rigour was afterwards approved by himself; and that at a time when he was all-powerful at Geneva. Either this reformer concealed his real sentiments under dark hypocrisy and inquisitorial mildness, or motives very different from those of religion hindered him from soliciting from the magistrates a favour, which his conscience obliged him to demand, and which he was sure would not have been refused. 6. When we collect and combine all these circumstances with the acknowledged character of the reformer, can we doubt that a hard and cruel heart, an ambitious soul, and hatred towards the man who despised his instructions, and impeached his opinions, united with religious zeal in impelling Calvin to persecute the unfortunate Servetus? Voltaire therefore is right, when he says, that

Calvin had an enlightened mind, but an atrocious soul.

Nov. 3d.]—I read Cluverius Ital. Antiq. lib. ii. c. xv, xvi. p. 762—786; where the first volume ends. He concludes his account of the *Marsi*, and then describes the rude and mountainous country of the *Æqui*, whom it cost the Romans, in the infancy of their state, so much trouble to conquer. *Alba Fucentia* was a Roman colony in the territory of the *Marsi*, on the banks of the lake *Fucinus*. The pleasantness of the country, and the security of its inland situation, made the Romans often send thither prisoners of state, conquered and dethroned kings, to whom they wished to give, instead of a prison, a soft and comfortable retreat. Perseus, King of Macedon, died there, and was honoured with a public funeral; a treatment very different from that of the unfortunate Jugurtha, who was thrown into the *Carcer Tullianus*, to die of cold and hunger. The reason of this difference will be explained elsewhere.*

Nov. 4th.]—I read Cluverius, l. iii. c. i. p. 787—820. He comes at length to the most interesting part of Italy; Latium, and the neighbourhood of the capital; not however without leading us through the tiresome round of the *Oenotri*, *Siculi*, *Pelasgi*, and *Aborigines*; in which obscure researches the thread of connexion is always slipping through our hands. Cluverius had not that clearness and criticism necessary for unravelling the perplexities

* See vol. iv. p. 397.

of

of those remote antiquities; the difficulties of which Freret has eluded, because he was not able to resolve them.

I finished the eighteenth volume of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée.* It contains the *History of the Jesuits:* an idle rhapsody of well-known stories, the belief of which supposes, perhaps with good reason, unbounded wickedness in the Jesuits, and unbounded credulity in the public. This work, besides, is ill-written; without method, and deformed by digressions.—*Defence of the Translation of the History of the Council of Trent, by Father Courayer.* The reviewer is angry at this amiable writer for accepting of the degree of Doctor from the university of Oxford, although he was not a Protestant. Yet, without coming to a perfect identity of opinions, the two religions nearly meet: the university carrying to the utmost length the opinions of the Anglican church, and the Father Courayer softening as much as possible those of the church of Rome.—*Pontoppidan's Gesta Danorum extra Daniam:* a curious collection of truths and fables to raise the glory of a nation, which required only the former.—*Hardouin's Commentary on the New Testament.* He pretends that the Vulgate is the true original, of which the Greek text is only the translation.—*Machiavel a Republican.* The author makes use of the vulgar argument, viz. that Machiavel wrote his Prince to inspire the Medicis with maxims that must render them universally odious; but this argument is destroyed by proving that treatise

to have been written before their usurpation.—*Antiquities of the French Nation, by Mr. Le Gendre:* learned, but without criticism. The simplicity of the good Le Gendre discovers the Scythians to be the ancestors of the French, from their polite behaviour to the Amazons.—*Political Discourses, by Mr. Gordon; and a Parallel of the French with the Romans, by the Abbé Mably.* These two writers have gained a great reputation; the one by boldness and enthusiasm, the other by his appearance of honesty and calm reasoning. Yet I have never been able to discover in their works any thing but common-place. I have been in company with the latter, and can answer for it, that his admiration of monarchy has much cooled in the space of twenty years.

Nov. 5th.]—I read Cluverius Ital. Antiq. l. iii. c. ii. p. 820—870. He is here rather the critic and antiquary than the geographer, which last character becomes him far the best. With an incredulity beyond that of Pouilly and Beaufort, he regards the whole history of the first ages of Rome as fabulous. He dethrones the Roman, as well as the Alban kings; and has no more belief in Romulus than in Æneas; using learned arguments, weakly urged, drawn from the contradictory accounts of writers concerning the origin of Rome, the gross ignorance of the first Romans, and the improbable circumstances told of the birth and education of their founder. Having overturned the received system, he proceeds to explain his own. When the Aborigines left the country of the Sabines to invade

invade the Siculi, they were in alliance with a Pelasgic colony from Arcadia. The Siculi were conquered; and the leader of the Pelasgi took possession of Valencia, one of their towns on the banks of the Tiber, and gave it the name of Rome. The Pelasgi afterwards separated; and mixing with the Aborigines, formed with them the nation called Latins. This event happened fifteen centuries before the Christian æra; and to this Pelasgic chief, the true founder of Rome, ought to be referred the few facts on the basis of which so many fables have been built concerning the supposed personages—Saturn, Janus, Evander, Æneas, and Romulus. This system is new, and in some parts specious: but it is so weak, that two reflexions are sufficient to overturn it. 1. Can it be imagined that the Romans, having lost all memory of eight hundred years of their history, and not being able to go higher than the eighth century before Christ, should have been obliged to conceal their ignorance under the absurd fable which they gave out concerning their pretended founder? Many cities have invented fictions for the purpose of magnifying their antiquity and nobility. But the fable fabricated by the Romans, abridges their history by the period of 760 years, and substitutes for their ancient Pelasgic origin, a pretended descent from shepherds and robbers. The Romans knew, at least they believed, the settlement of Evander on Mount Palatine; and if they were ignorant of the transactions of the intermediate centuries, would not this space have been filled up by names,

genealogies, and fables such as were interposed to form the chain between Æneas and Romulus? These suppositions are necessary for Cluverius's system, but cannot be made without supposing in the first Romans a degree of gross ignorance, inconceivable in a nation inhabiting cities, and enjoying the use of letters. 2. But these suppositions, if granted, would militate against the system which they are meant to establish. The same ignorance which obliterated the history of the Romans, must also have destroyed that of the Pelasgi, their remote ancestors. How extraordinary is the privilege granted to the latter nation, whose ancient migrations are supposed to be undoubted facts that admit not of dispute, and that ought to be employed for dissipating all the clouds that obscure the history of their more recent posterity!

The hypothesis of the learned geographer must fall to the ground; but the falsity of that hypothesis does not prove the Roman history to be true. I readily give up to historical scepticism, or rather to contempt and oblivion, the high exploits of Æneas, the Trojan colony, the kings of Alba, and the wolf of Romulus. But what degree of credit ought to be given to the first decad of Livy? To discuss fully such a question would require knowledge and leisure. I have neither. Yet merely to break new ground on a question almost exhausted, I would observe; 1. that it requires greater precision of ideas, than has hitherto been aimed at. Cluverius would allow that some truths may be discovered amidst the

the heap of fables; and the Abbé Sallier would acknowledge that the Roman has shared the fate of all histories, whose purity has been corrupted by some fictions. Before entering upon the controversy, I shall give my own articles of faith; and not to expatiate in too wide a field, shall confine myself to the transactions related in the abridgment of the first books of Livy. I would venture to maintain that these transactions happened, without giving up some of the more probable circumstances with which they are said to have been accompanied. 2. The subject of the external proofs is exhausted. Concerning the great annals, the domestic memoirs, &c. nothing can be added to the arguments of Messrs. Sallier and Freret on one side, and the objections of Messrs. Pouilly and Beaufort on the other. I would change the mode of attack, and make use of the proofs which divines call internal. My argument would be, that the first Roman historians having lived in the days of Hannibal, the fables which, according to my adversaries, they refuted, must have gained possession of the public fifty years before that period. I would combine the nature of those fables with the condition of the Romans, and examine whether it is likely that, under such circumstances, similar fables should either have been invented or believed.

Nov. 6th.]—I read Cluverius Ital. Antiq. l. iii. c. iii. p. 870—900. He treats of the maritime places of Latium. They were few in number; we meet, however, with the celebrated names of the river

river Numicus, Ostia, Laurentum, and Lavinium, often confounded with Lanuvium. I am surprised he should omit to speak of Pliny the younger's Villa Laurentina, which is so well described by its master. He might easily have ascertained its situation, and have very properly inserted those passages of Pliny, which exhibit so lively a picture of the circumjacent country. I perceive that Virgil makes the Trojans sail up the Tiber, and places Æneas's first camp on the banks of the river; whereas the greater part of writers, relying on the story of the sow, and some very vague expressions indeed of the poet himself, suppose that hero to have landed at the mouth of the Numicus, near to the place where he built shortly afterwards the city of Lavinium.

Nov. 7th.]—I read Cluverius Ital. Antiq. l. iii. c. iv. p. 900—950. The author continues to describe Latium; the inland country contained Lanuvium, Aricia, Alba, Tusculum, and Gabii; places famous during the first ages of Rome on account of their resistance to its arms; and afterwards, on account of the beautiful villas with which the great men of the republic, and the emperors, crowded the neighbourhood of the capital. Continually Greek fables; there is scarcely one of those cities which has not a supposed founder belonging to that nation. Of all those fables, often very ill-contrived by the Greeks, concerning western nations, especially Italy, there are some few that stand apart, but the greater number are connected with one or other of those three celebrated

brated events; the return of Hercules from his Iberian expedition, the voyages of the Argonauts, and those of Ulysses.

I finished the twenty-ninth volume of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée*. It contains *De Traditione Principiorum Legis Naturalis, by Ausaldus.* The primitive revelation, whether preserved by tradition, or by principles which each individual may discover by the exercise of his own reason, will be attended with the same consequences; but the latter hypothesis is more simple, and more consonant with the attributes of the Creator.—*The Universal History, by a Society of Men of Letters: first and second Extract.* The excellence of the first part of this great work is well known. The reviewer shows clearly that the hail-stones which completed the defeat of the inhabitants of Canaan, was only a storm of ordinary hail, and refutes the credulity of those historians who think that it consisted of large stones, formed and supported in the air till the moment of their fall.—*A methodical Catalogue of the Plants found in Switzerland, by Albert Haller.* I am little interested in a work on botany, but very much in Mr. Haller. This universal genius unites the fire of poetry with the sagacity and discernment of the philosopher: his natural abilities are equal to his acquired knowledge. His memory is retentive to a degree almost miraculous. A few years ago he supped with Mr. de G. whose memory is also surprising. The conversation turned on the affairs of Sweden, and the antiquities of Rome; and the scholar always cor-

corrected the traveller. With all his admirers, Haller has but few friends. Wherever he has happened to reside, at Gottingen, Berne, or the Pays de Vaud, his harsh, haughty, and ambitious character has offended all his acquaintances.—*The History of William the Conqueror, by the Abbé Prevôt.* I found in it some quotations from an old chronicle, the natural simplicity of which gave me great pleasure.—*The History of Mount Vesuvius, by the Academy of Naples:* very curious. The heat of the lava, even after its first violence has abated, is far greater than that of red-hot iron.

Nov. 8th.]—Being unwell, I did nothing but read a small work which Mr. Pavillard had lent to me. It is entitled, *Letters written from the Country*, and relates to the troubles of Geneva; concerning which I know nothing more than the public at large. These letters are written by a man of abilities, who affects too much however the style of Montesquieu. He is an advocate for the magistrates, and considers as a salutary check the previous approbation of the little council, before any bill can be proposed to the general assembly. This regulation he compares with the king's negative in the constitution of England. But there is a wide difference between a negative before, and after deliberation.

11th.]—I finished the thirtieth volume of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée.* It contains *Cuper's Letters;* which give as favourable an impression of the heart as of the understanding of this learned Dutchman.—*The Civil History of the Kingdom of Naples,*

Naples, by Mr. Giannone. The candour, penetration, and freedom, of this excellent lawyer, will ever ensure to this work the esteem of all wise men. Churchmen are not always of the number.—*Poems, by the King of Navarre:* highly valuable, on account of the rank of the author, their antiquity, and their own real beauties.—*Taylor's Dissertation on the Law of the Decemvirs against Insolvent Debtors.* His conclusion is not new. He thinks the debtor was sold as a slave, and the price received for him divided amongst his creditors, and not the slave himself. As this journal begins to grow too fashionable, the reviewer does not venture to insert the Latin, which cannot however easily be dispensed with in this discussion.—*Universal History; third Extract.* The reviewer collects a great number of curious examples on the power of music.—*Natural History of Fishes, by Klein;* curious.—*The Count d'Estrade's Letters* lay open the springs of the French policy, and all the ambition of Louis XIV.—*A Treatise on the Number of Inhabitants in Holland and West Friesland, by Mr. Kerseboom.* As this curious work is in Dutch, I shall speak of it at some length. The result of his observations is; 1. The number of children born yearly amount to 28,000. 2. The total of the inhabitants to 980,000; that is, in the proportion of 35 to 1, of the births. 3. The number of married couples is 169,000. After subtracting the bastards, it turns out that of thirteen married couples of all ages, two produce children yearly. 4. Mr. Kerseboom finds by his calculations,

tions, that of two persons that enter into wedlock between the ages of 20 and 50, it is 13 to 7 that one will die before the lapse of twenty years. 5. Of 1400 new-born children, the probable number of those who will remain alive at each of the assigned ages, is as follows:

Age.	Alive.	Age.	Alive.
1	1125	60	382
10	895	70	245
20	817	80	100
30	711	90	10
40	605	95	1
50	507		

Nov. 12th.]—I read a small new work, a poem in prose, entitled, *Olivier*. The style is easy and flowing, but rarely elevated to a pitch deserving the name of poetry. The story is interesting; we are pleased with the adventures of this Olivier, who subdues the Count's hatred by good offices. The characters of Enguerrand and his squire are amusing. His adventure in the village of the Limousin is a counterpart to that of Gil Blas with the archbishop of Grenada. The travels of Fleur d'Epine are throughout too extravagant. The isle of musicians is not a bad fancy; but the whole pleasantry is founded on a pun, the double meaning of the word *air*. The arrangement of the poem is detestable. I am provoked to find the narrative continually broken into cantos; and those parts of it resumed which had been almost forgotten. The author has imitated Ariosto. That is true; but Ariosto's arrangement is good for nothing. Besides, we ought not to confound the natural

natural wanderings of a great genius unacquainted with rules, and the studied disorder of a writer who is extravagant by design, and who gives himself much trouble to violate those laws of composition with which he is acquainted.

Nov. 14th.]—I read Cluverius, l. iii. c. iv, v. p. 950—979. The author treats of the other inland cities of Latium; Tibur, Præneste, Gabii, &c. He thence proceeds to the Rutuli, who inhabited a small district between the sea, the Latins, and the Volsci. This little community must have separated itself from the political confederacy of the Latins, since it did not participate in the sacrifices on Mount Alba, which the members of that confederacy annually met to celebrate. The poets, however, often confound those two nations; which were indeed nearly united by the situation of their territories and their common origin. Ardea, the capital of the Rutuli, was taken and burnt by Æneas; the poets feign that a bird flew from its ashes; a strange fable, as shocking to the fancy as to reason. But the dogma of the metempsychosis was extremely metaphysical; and of that kind of metaphysics, of which the consequences became the more refined in proportion to the absurdity of the fictions on which they were founded. Our religion assures us of the soul's immortality, and even immateriality; but the doctrine of the resurrection makes us consider the body as an essential part of the man, and tends to persuade us that without the assistance of organs, the soul would not be capable of action. The metempsychosis,

on

on the contrary, separate the soul and body without depriving the former of any of its faculties. These faculties it owes only to itself: man is still a man; and in the body of another animal can think and reflect as well as in his own. When this opinion is adopted, though we may dispute concerning the nature of this soul, we must allow that it has nothing in common with the body which it inhabits.

Nov. 15th.]—I read Cluverius Ital. Antiq. l. iii, c. vi, vii, viii. p. 979—1048. He casts a glance on the little country of the Hernici, inclosed in the mountains; and describes at length the extensive territories of the Volsci, of which Antium was the capital. This nation had a marine, consisting of light vessels, with which they infested the seas of Greece and Italy. Alexander sent ambassadors, complaining to the Romans of their depredations; and the Romans endeavoured to repress their piracy. Who was this Alexander? I think he was that king of Epirus, who made war in Italy, and whom the Greek colonies there chose for their general and protector against the barbarians. This office naturally connected him with the Romans. When some writers speak of an embassy sent by the senate to Alexander the Great, they confound the uncle with the nephew. The authority of the ancients, as well as the improbability of the thing itself, convinces me that the Romans never had any communication with the conqueror of Asia.

16th.]—I read Cluverius Ital. Antiq. l. iii. c. ix. p. 1048—1062. He speaks of that confusion

sion of the names of nations and tribes, which it is so difficult to unravel. The Opici, the Osci; the Ausones, and Aurunci, are so continually confounded, that there must have been different names for the same people, or their territories must have been strangely intermingled.

Nov. 17th.]—I read Cluverius, l. iii. c. x. l. iv. c. i, ii. p. 1062—1102. The author enters into particulars concerning the country of the Ausones, which became afterwards a part of New Latium. Formiæ was distinguished by the infamous honour of being the capital of the Læstrigones, at the time when Italy was to the Greeks what the inland parts of America are to us. Homer has rendered this fable interesting. The discovery of an unknown country, where every object surprises and affects us, where curiosity is continually excited, and continually gratified, affords a pleasure similar to that felt in our travels. Yet the poet may be reproached with two incorrect touches, which somewhat disfigure his picture. The Læstrigones are either too refined, or too barbarous. They inhabit cities, they have chariots, and hired shepherds. Yet they are men-eaters. Happily for human nature, this ferocity never existed but in nations totally devoid of culture; and even among them man does not devour his fellow-creatures unless driven to this madness by famine or vengeance. 2. The Læstrigones were giants. Every thing belonging to them ought to be in due proportion; their children, houses, and cities. Yet Ulysses's spies travel through the country, converse with

the king's daughter, and follow her without distrust to her father's palace. Their fears are not mentioned, till they see the queen of the Læstrigones. Gulliver was a better observer of proportions.

Nov. 18th.]—I read Cluverius Ital. Antiq. l. iv. c. ii. p. 1102—1115. After having determined the situation and bounds of Campania, he describes the sea-coast from Sinuessa, viz. Vulturnum, Liternum, Sylva Gallinaria, and Cumæ. This last place is described at great length. Its foundation and power, above all its Sibyl, immortalized by Virgil, furnish the geographer with an abundant crop. This last article is well treated, without confusion, but with his natural copiousness.

20th.]—I read Cluverius, l. iv. c. ii. p. 1115—1146. In pursuance of his design, he describes the coast of Campania, from Cumæ to Naples: a small district, famous in all ages. Misenum, Baiæ, Puteoli, with the lakes Avernus and Lucrinus, the terror of the early Greeks, and the delight of the Romans, will always render this coast highly interesting.

21st.]—I read Cluverius Ital. Antiq. l. iv. c. iii. p. 1146—1164. He continues and concludes his account of the coasts of Campania and Naples, to the promontory of Minerva, which separated them from the territory of the Picentini. Herculaneum, Pompeii, Stabiæ, and Surrentum, are the principal places described in his route.

There are different opinions concerning the place of Virgil's tomb. St. Jerome and Donatus appear on one side; but Cluverius, followed by Mr. Addison,

dison, on the other, rejects without ceremony their evidence; and, upon the authority of Statius, transports this monument to the other side of the city, and the foot of Mount Vesuvius. I should with them prefer Statius's information, were it conveyed in precise terms. But this poet speaks in general only of the Chalcidic shores, places which experienced the rage of Vesuvius; and such vague language seems merely to indicate the neighbourhood of Naples. St. Jerome and Donatus, on the other hand, tell us, that Virgil was buried at the distance of two miles from that city, and on the high road to Puteoli; this account is so clear, that it cannot be mistaken. It may be reconciled with that of Statius, and is justified by the tradition of the country. Why should it be rejected?

Nov. 22d.]—I read Cluverius Ital. Antiq. l. iv. c. iv. p. 1164—1171. He treats of the isles lying opposite to the coast of Campania. The two largest appear like advanced works, intended to guard the two promontories of the Bay of Naples. The one is called Ænaria or Pithecusa; the other is the famous Capreæ.

24th.]—I read Cluverius, l. iv. c. v. p. 1171—1179. After having treated of the coast and islands of Campania, he proceeds to the inland country. We behold the fertile fields of Falernum and Capua, whose corn and wine formed the surest revenue of the republic, and nourished a vast multitude of citizens. The district of Falernum was bounded by the vineyards of Mount Massicus. The ancients often confounded these two growths.

Capua appears next; that proud city, whose inhabitants foolishly thought that their riches would enable them to contend with Rome. The Romans destroyed the republic, but spared the city: and in never re-establishing its political constitution, an event which they always feared, they were guided rather by a concern for the safety of their own government, than by maxims of external policy. Cicero artfully confounds these two objects in his pleadings against Rullus; he had good reasons for so doing.

Nov. 25th.]—I read Cluverius Ital. Antiq. l. iv. c. vi, vii, viii, p. 1179—1205. The author describes the remainder of Campania, and the territories of the Picentini, Hirpini, and Samnites. These two nations inhabited mountains of little fertility, which were almost deserts, under the Romans; who had conquered the Samnites only by extirpating them. Florus is right. It is impossible to find in these districts objects worthy of twenty-four triumphs. Mr. Addison is again in my way. Why would he place in Umbria lake Ampsanctus, which Virgil has so well described? Was he ignorant of, or did he despise, the passages of Cicero and Pliny, which place that lake in the country of the Hirpini? The Fury could not make a choice more worthy of her character, than that of plunging into a lake whose waters proved fatal to all who approached them.

I finished the thirty-first volume of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée.* It contains *Lucian, by Messrs. Hempsterhuis and Gesner;* accompanied with every help that can render an edition valuable: manuscripts

scripts collated, a new translation, and remarks of many of the learned. In speaking of the Philopatris, the editors prove that it must have been written under an emperor of Constantinople, who allowed the Christians to be insulted. This æra, being applicable only to Julian, destroys all the consequences which have been deduced from this work. —*Account of a Mission into Greenland, by Mr. Egede*, in Danish. All here is curious: the design of the voyage, uncommon among Protestants; the country; and its inhabitants. Nature is clad in terror; the animals are small and few. No other plants can thrive, excepting those which ripen in a summer of two months, and can bear a winter of ten. Corn will not grow beyond the sixty-fourth degree; beyond the sixty-fifth spirits of wine freeze. There is not even snow; all is hard ice, whose sparkling colours gladden this scene of horror. Yes; man is naturally good; I appeal to these Greenlanders, who are no strangers to love in the midst of their frozen regions, but are strangers to war excepting against the brute creation. They are lazy, inconstant; exempt from ill-nature, but destitute of great virtues. The Iroquois, who eat their prisoners, have also laws, ideas, and arts; with which last the Greenlanders are unacquainted. Compared with the Greenlanders, the Iroquois are a civilized nation. How delightful is the contemplation of nature!—*Theology of Insects; by Mr. Lesner*; very curious.—*Letters of Count d'Estrades;* highly useful for the history of negociations, a kind of history almost unknown

to antiquity.—*Fourmont's Chinese Grammar.* A striking proof of the superiority of the Europeans. Chinese Grammars are written in Paris: will French grammars ever be written in Pekin? I am doubtful whether the Mandarins themselves know the principles of their own language as well as Mr. Fourmont.—*A Treatise on the Senses, by Mr. Le Cat.* The knowledge of the senses approaches nearly to that of the soul, of which they are the organs. Mr. Le Cat explains their anatomy, functions, and objects, with penetration always guided by experience. His work has given me a pleasure not to be described.—*The Universal History, by a Society of Men of Letters.* This extract relates to the history of the Persians, according to oriental writers; whom the editors boldly prefer to the Greek. Many learned men have entertained the same opinion, which appears to me indefensible. 1. In the oriental writers, the characteristics of the fabulous are predominant; there is no attention to chronology; geographical errors abound; and the marvellous forms the essential part of the narrative, instead of being merely an accessory. 2. In the history of Persia, there are many transactions concerning which the Greeks could not be mistaken; such as the time of the establishment of Cyrus's empire, and the wars between the Persians and themselves. But the Persian accounts differ as widely from the Greek, with respect to those matters, as they do with respect to all others. 3. I know that the Greeks only shewed themselves in Persia, and that their eastern subjects

jects lived quietly under their transitory reign. But their successors, the Parthians, a Scythian nation who hated the Persians, whose effeminacy they despised, kept them during five centuries under a yoke of iron. A conflagration, or other transient calamity, rarely destroys the whole monuments of a country; but, under a cruel government, which renders each generation more stupid than the preceding, they crumble into dust, and become a prey to worms; and truth is soon stifled under a weight of fabulous tradition. The history of the dynasty of the Sassanides is less liable to objection. It is better connected, more probable in itself, as well as more conformable to the narratives of European writers. Yet a considerable time elapsed from the Arabian conquest, before the Persians endeavoured to collect their historical monuments.

Nov. 27th.]—I read Saurin's famous pleading against Rousseau. How singular a business is this! While wars and negociations are almost forgotten, this dispute between two private individuals is still remembered, and after the lapse of sixty years, still foments party passions. All I can decide is, that this performance of Saurin's is a fine exhibition of taste and eloquence.

28th.]—I read Cluverius Ital. Antiq. l. iv. c. ix, x, xi, xii, xiii. p. 1205—1242. He proceeds to the coast of the Adriatic, and speaks shortly of the Frentani. He then treats of the country called Japygia by the Greeks, and Apulia by the Romans: giving its general division and limits. In page 1210

the editor apprises us, that Cluverius did not proceed farther in revising his work; and that the remainder will appear less polished, less elaborate, and perhaps less accurate. Heinsius's delicacy in giving this information is commendable; but I have not yet discovered its necessity. All the towns of Apulia and Calabria here pass in review; *Arpi, Canusium, Luceria, Brundusium,* and last of all *Tarentum,* which is treated with a copiousness proportional to its importance.

Nov. 29th.]—I finished the thirty-second volume of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée.* It contains *Philosophical Researches of St. Hyacinthe:* a small performance, by a man who has more talent for ridicule than for reasoning.—*Cumberland's Treatise on the Laws of Nature, translated and commented on by Barbeyrac.* A learned refutation of Hobbes. This philosopher had degraded man to the condition of a beast; the bishop exalts him to that of an angel. Man, Cumberland tells us, is made for society; he is the only animal that laughs and weeps. Hobbes maintains that man is not made for society, because children and idiots, though participating of human nature, do not know what society means.—*Calvin's Letters to Jacques de Bourgogne.* Here we find you, harsh and intractable spirit! quarrelling with a respectable friend, because he wishes to snatch a victim from your theological zeal. On the subject of these letters, the librarian of Geneva writes one to the reviewers, containing a curious investigation of the whole business. This librarian had already supplied them with

with several other pieces; which treat indeed merely of literary trifles, but these trifles are written agreeably and elegantly.—*Conformities between Jesus Christ and St. Francis of Assise.* Bartholemy of Pisa discovered only 40, but this author carries the number to 4000, most of them trivial, or too subtile. The absurdity of this book gives it a kind of value.—*Philo, by Mangey.* Philo, in the first century, always quotes the Old Testament in Aquila's version, who lived in the second: a perplexing difficulty for critics.—*Missions to Tranquebar.* This is the counterpart of the Voyage into Greenland; all is opposite in these voyages, excepting the design for which they were undertaken. The ancients went too far in their assertions; but if the frozen and torrid zones are inhabited, is it by men? I doubt whether these regions will ever be civilized like the temperate zones. The scarcity and weakness of animals, and the want of corn, wine, and iron, will always form natural obstacles of great importance. But I intend to read the book itself, and therefore leave the subject at present.

Nov. 30th.]—I read Cluverius, l. iv. c. xiii, xiv. p. 1242—1282. After finishing the subject of Calabria, he proceeds to Lucania, the only province which commanded a view of both seas. There were many Greek cities on the coast, and a numerous and fierce people inhabited the inland country. These dissensions were abolished by the Roman conquests. The few inhabitants who escaped the effects of their fury, lost all remembrance of

of their former condition. The geographer perhaps sees better than the historian, how dearly it cost the world to become Roman.

Dec. 3d.]—I read Cluverius Ital. Antiq. l. iv. c. xvi, xvii. p. 1320—1338; which concludes the fourth book, and the whole work; a truly laborious task; undertaken by me with more ardour than it was continued with perseverance. But intervals of relaxation were pardonable. His materials are immense; his method perplexed, and his style a motley mixture of quotations from authors of all ages. My undertaking is now accomplished; and I have derived from it much useful knowledge, which will not be easily forgotten. I have already remarked his prodigious mass of materials. In speaking of the meanest village, all the learning of antiquity and the middle ages occurs to his memory: and a passage is not more concealed from his keen eye in a legend of the tenth century, than if it stood at the head of the Æneid. Throughout, his authorities are produced, and sifted, and compared with each other; and the result of the comparison is not always to their honour. The ancients quoted often from memory. Books were scarce; maps still scarcer; and in a science where the mind is so liable to wander without the direction of the eye, error was unavoidable. Servius the commentator is often exposed to Cluverius's criticism. This pretended scholar is here stripped of his mask of counterfeit erudition. His absurd mistakes are only to be equalled by those of Appian the historian. But our author's censure spares not

not the greatest names of ancient geography; Ptolemy, who knew the east better than the west; Strabo, who is sometimes an historian, politician, or philosopher, rather than a geographer; and Pliny, who undertakes to describe the world in thirty-seven small books; whose brevity is often obscurity, and who frequently sees by other men's eyes, and those not always to be depended upon. After so much experience of their inaccuracy, it could hardly be expected that Cluverius should maintain the infallibility of the ancients. But we may perceive in his work the same superstitious veneration for the great names of antiquity, which prevailed among his contemporaries. When no other excuse for them remains, he is sure to throw the blame on transcribers. This principle, that the true text needs only be restored, in order to restore its propriety, he applies with unwearied diligence. The great number of his corrections is only equalled by their boldness; the greater part are rash or useless; but some of them are extremely happy. The change of Athesis and Ufens into Æsis and Aufens, rescued the text of Livy from an absurdity almost inconceivable; substituted two obscure but fit names, instead of two far more illustrious, but totally misplaced; and restored the Galli Senones to their proper habitation. This correction has been adopted by Livy's editors, and admitted into the text.

Dec. 5th.]—I finished the thirty-third volume of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée.* It contains the *Life of Richard of Cornwall, Emperor of Germany,*

ny, by Mr. Gebauer, Professor at Gottingen. Had not this German been a subject of the king of Great Britain as Elector of Hanover, would he ever have disturbed the ashes of this obscure prince, whose weak and ignorant reign was as pernicious to England as useless to Germany? Would he ever have preferred this prince to the wise king of Castile?—*Universal History, by a Society of Men of Letters.* This extract treats of the history of the Macedonians. It is executed with much erudition, taste, and judgment. This Universal History would be invaluable, were all its parts of the same merit. I remember with pleasure that I formed the same opinion of this article when I read it at Bath in 1751. I was then fourteen years old.—*Dissertation on the Medal of Smyrna, by M. de Boze:* replete with erudition and taste; containing curious researches on the pre-eminence of the cities of Asia.—*Researches on the Polypus, by Mr. Trembley.* A new world! throwing light on physics, but darkening metaphysics.—*Vegetius's Institutions.* This writer on tactics has good general notions; but his particular account of the Roman discipline is deformed by confusion and anachronisms.—*Theological Faults.* Who does not know them?—*Conformity between the Pagan and Catholic Rites of Worship.* Messrs. Warburton and Middleton are divided on this question. The latter thinks that the Christians copied after the Pagans. The former thinks that both followed the natural impulse of human sentiment, always prone to superstition. These two opinions are not materially

materially different. The will must always be actuated by some motive. These rites were familiar and suitable to the Romans of the fourth century. They had renounced them with reluctance; they resumed them with pleasure.

Dec. 7th.]—I returned to my geographical collection on Italy, which had been a short time interrupted. I divide the country according to the regions of Augustus, introducing under each region the most interesting particulars that occur in the course of my reading. This collection cannot fail being much augmented by my travels in Italy; and on my return to England, I hope to be able to give a description of ancient Italy, which will be the joint result of my studies, reflexions, and observations. Such a work still remains to be written; that of Cluverius by no means supplying its place. 1. Cluverius is too diffuse. We live not in that age of industry, when studies were valued in proportion to their extent and difficulty. Our men of letters are afraid to encounter two volumes in folio. Yet those who have curiosity, cannot be contented with such meagre abridgments as enrich neither the understanding nor memory. A book holding the middle place between Cluverius and Cellarius would suit the public taste. 2. An abridgment of the former would not answer the purpose. In abridgments the proportions of the original must be preserved; and those of Cluverius are not always accurate. Without reproaching him with excessive diffuseness in some parts, and contraction even to torture in others, three objects are totally omitted, which

which surely merited his attention: the division of the provinces by Augustus, and his successors; the great roads of Italy, and the topography of the city of Rome. Cluverius is scarcely sensible of these omissions. He was not indeed obliged to anticipate the discoveries of the present age; but it happens fortunately for a more modern writer, that it is in his power to avail himself of a more accurate knowledge of itinerary measures, and to enrich his work with the first fruits of two new discoveries, the Tuscan monuments and those of Herculaneum. 3. Latin is no longer the language even of learning, and Cluverius's Latin was never the language of taste. The public would be pleased to see his broken chain of quotations melted down by a good writer into a clear, methodical, and interesting narrative. Sometimes I would preserve, however, the very words of my authorities, when they happened to be poets whose style often forms their principal merit, and whose smiling images would enliven the dryness of geographical description. 4. I would follow Strabo rather than Pliny. To my general divisions and tables I would endeavour to give all the neatness and perspicuity possible; while I examined with the eye of a philosopher the interior of the country and the manners of its inhabitants; the productions of art and nature, as far as they were known to the ancients; the migration of tribes, their laws and character. Amidst so many interesting objects, I would seize every opportunity of investigating how far public transactions and manners were affected by local situation and climate. 5. Arrangements are arbitrary.

trary. The method which I should follow, appears to me natural and luminous. I would place myself with Romulus on the Palatine Mount, and thus proceed to the different quarters of Rome, from the cradle of the nation to the first *pomœrium* of the city. In describing Italy, I would follow the progress of Roman conquests, and pay particular attention to its division by Augustus into regions; with this one exception, that I would separate the territory of the Sabines from Samnium, and put it at the head of Latium. By this small alteration I should reconcile the two principles of my arrangement; and the reader would easily follow the progress of Roman arms, and Livy's history. A work of this kind, well executed, would be favourably received by the public. It might enrich a bookseller, pass through ten editions, and become a classical book with students in colleges, travellers, and even men of letters. The author, however, would do wrong to value himself on a performance, which owed its whole success to the nature of the subject, industry, and method. To speak only of my own essay, the production of my youth, written in two months, and forgotten in four, yet it shews more originality of genius, than would be required for such a geographical performance. Of the two sources of literary fame, difficulty and utility, the second is the surest, though the least flattering to vanity.

Dec. 9th.]—I read the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée*, volume thirty-four, part first. It contains three treatises of Mr. Harris, on the subjects of art, music

sic and painting, and happiness. He is a great admirer of Plato and Aristotle, from whom he has learned to express common-place thoughts in technical language; and an enthusiasm for the beautiful, the true, and the virtuous, which are often substituted with him for precision of ideas. These faults chiefly prevail in the first and third of those essays. The second, containing many just observations and nice distinctions, is more conformable with the taste of modern philosophy.—*Natural History of Bees, extracted from the Works of Mr. Réaumur:* written in the best taste; the choice of the subject, the refinement, copiousness, and singularity of the observations, the beauties of style and arrangement, all contribute to raise the value of this little performance.

Dec. 11th.]—I read the thirty-fifth volume of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée.* It contains *An Extract from the Universal History, concerning the Life of Alexander.* A good compiler would not have expatiated on a life so well known. A few sections would have sufficed. These compilers commit the same fault with regard to Crevier's Roman History. This practice multiplies useless books, disgusts their readers, and enriches none but booksellers.—*Sermons on the Social Duties, by Doctor Delany.* This historian of David savours much of the enthusiast; but he says excellent things. His discourse against the common vice of not paying our debts, is a performance as excellent as it is new.—*Bibliothèque Françoise, by the Abbé Goujet; volumes seventh and eighth:* the continuation of

of a curious work.—*A Letter of the Librarian of Geneva, concerning John Faustus.* This excellent correspondent of the Review clearly proves that the inventor of printing died at Paris of the plague.—*A Voyage to the North, by Mr. Outhier.* He was one of the companions of Mr. Maupertuis. This voyage, or journey, was surely useful to astronomy; but geography gained little by it.—*Dissertation on David's Curses.* The author attempts to prove that David might wish for the destruction of his enemies, and rejoice in their calamities, without offending against charity. The task is difficult, any man would fail in performing it; by a man of sense it would not have been undertaken.

Dec. 17th.]—I employed myself very ill for some days, with the *Memoirs of Abbé Montgon*, in eight volumes large 12mo. small letter, and very thick volumes. The decided patience of a German would be tired with eight large volumes which, with the greatest facility, might be reduced to an hundred pages. Whatever concerns the Abbé Montgon appears to himself to deserve the attention of all Europe. Fifty pages are consumed in a conversation with the Archbishop of Amida; one hundred pages in an intrigue between the Duchess of St. Pierre and Count Rottembourg; the other parts are in due proportion. The Abbé's enemies, I perceive, accuse him of two faults; a boundless ambition, and a suspicious temper, which was always haunting him with imaginary enemies. I am inclined to think the accusations just; and that

Cardinal Fleury's cabal was as chimerical as that of Jurieu. Why should the Cardinal have been the Abbé's enemy? Montgon did not deserve to be the object of his vengeance, still less of his hatred or jealousy. Yet to hurt this man, the Cardinal during five years employs concealed and almost invisible instruments, and transforms into rogues or cowards the Archbishop of Amida, the Duchess of St. Pierre, the Marquis of Brancas, and the Count of Rottembourg; who, according to the Abbé, had all of them formerly been very honest people. His ambition appears very manifest. A holy ecclesiastic does not think of quitting his retreat, but with a view to become the attendant of a great king. This was an inclination which he ought to have distrusted. Before his departure, this prince remounts his throne. What had the good Abbé to do at his court? Yet he goes there, plunges into worldly affairs, and the only signs of devotion that I can discover in the sequel of his work, consist in some passages of scripture, which he applies to his enemies. I acknowledge that our Abbé followed his natural vocation. He had a turn for business; and, though too fond of minutiæ, was not deficient in address, prudence, and persuasion. The two most interesting parts of his work are, 1. The curious picture of Spain after the treaty of Vienna, which united in the closest amity two princes, who had disputed a crown with the fiercest animosity. The court of Madrid was the dupe of that of Vienna. By means of a chimerical marriage shewn in distant

tant prospect, Austria drew vast sums from Spain, at the same time that she gained real advantages for her commerce. The Austrian ambassador, Count Konigseck, governed Spain with the authority of a first minister. His weight was so great, that he caused the council of Castile to confirm the letters patent which Charles VI. had granted to some Spaniards, creating them Grandees, in reward of their services in resisting the tyranny of the Duke of Anjou. 2. The commission granted to the Abbé shews clearly, how little dependance there can be on the renunciation made by the house of Anjou of its rights to the crown of France; and that these rights would be enforced on the first favourable opportunity. It is true that such an opportunity is much less likely to occur now than it was then. The Abbé Montgon's style is inaccurate and uninteresting; that of a man unacquainted with the beauties and rules of his own language. What strange words are *Despoticité, Stoïcité!*

Dec. 19th.]—I read *Claudii Rutilii Numantiani Iter, l. i. v.* 1—664; and *l. ii. v.* 1—68. This is all that remains of a work that contained two complete books. I read it in *Burman's Edition of the Poëtæ Latini Minores, Leyden,* 1731: one of those Dutch editions, *cum notis Variorum,* in which the text only peeps out amidst a heavy mass of commentary. The 700 verses of Rutilius are spread over 200 4to. pages, crowded with the remarks of Simler, Castalio, Pithæus, Sitzmanus, and Barthius. Yet Rutilius is not a difficult author; once or twice only I should have been glad of an explana-

tory note; I looked for it in vain, but knew commentators too well to be surprised at the disappointment. The author of this little poem lived under the Emperor Honorius, by whom he had been raised to the first employments. He was Consul, Præfectus Prætorio, or Governor of Rome: being a Gaul by birth, he embarked at Ostia the 9th of October 416, A.U.C. 1169,* to return to his native country. The account which he has left us of his voyage along the coasts of Etruria and Liguria is imperfect, concluding at the town of Luna. His work may be considered in relation, 1. to its subject; 2. its style and poetry; 3. the personal character of its author. 1. If Rutilius had lopped off the first 180 verses of his poem, the reader would not have been a loser. After briefly mentioning the object of his voyage, and his sorrow at leaving Rome, his adopted country, and the scene of his honours, he expatiates on the glory of the capital, that eternal city, to whose empire Jupiter had not assigned any limits, and which was destined to reign over all nations, and during all ages. Such a subject required a truly poetical genius; and Rutilius is only a cold declaimer, who strains his faculties to string common-place thoughts, without finding in nature and himself colours fitted to adorn his theme. This theme indeed would not have been chosen by a judicious writer; for the reign of Honorius was not a proper period for describing the greatness of Rome; a greatness

* Cl. Rutilii Iter. l. i. 183. 205.

long

long since fallen to decay. A veneration, and even terror, for her name, had been supported by her antiquity and extent of empire. But the illusion was now over. The barbarians gradually knew, despised, and destroyed her. Great Britain separated from the empire; the Goths, Vandals, and Suevi overflowed the finest provinces of Spain and Gaul; and when Rutilius wrote, Alaric had already been for six years master of Rome. I acknowledge that our poet, who was sensible of these calamities, endeavours ingeniously to dissemble their disgrace; comparing them with the defeats of Allia and Cannæ, to show that Rome never suffered a reverse of fortune without rising more vigorous from the shock. But the comparison is feeble and false. Since the Punic wars, circumstances were totally changed. In the time of Rutilius, the springs of government were worn out; the national character, religion, laws, military discipline, even the seat of the empire, and the language itself, had been altered or destroyed, under the impression of time and accident. It would have been difficult to revive the empire; but even could that have been effected, it would have been the empire of Constantinople or Ravenna, rather than that of Rome. Rutilius might have felt how destitute his panegyric was of truth or probability, from the false and confused ideas excited by his personification of Rome. In the time of Virgil, this figure would have been natural. Rome, regarded as a goddess, and invoked in temples, had an existence in the opinion of the multitude

as well as in the fancy of poets. As the mother of the citizens, and the mistress of the provinces, her name recalled the image of her empire: but when this empire consisted in an assemblage of nations, subject to the same prince, Rome was no longer its sovereign; and this city, reduced to an idea merely physical, represented no longer any thing but walls, temples, and houses, built on seven hills and on the banks of the Tiber. The remainder of Rutilius's voyage is stamped with a higher value. The objects which he describes have not only more simplicity, but also more reality; and as they were observed with attention, they are painted with those colours of truth and nature, which always distinguish the result of experience from the fruit of study and invention. By a distinct and easy road he conducts us along the coast of Etruria, which was become almost a desert; he points out the ruins of cities, the beauties of the landscape, and all those places which were distinguished either by art or nature. Our traveller forgets not the neighbouring isles; and his curiosity leads him more than once into the interior of the country. The dryness of a didactic poem is occasionally enlivened by digressions either immediately, or not too remotely connected with the subject;* such as the character of the Lepidi, the discovery of the use of iron, the Jewish religion, and the Christian monks. He is worthy of commendation for not giving to his narrative, serious as it is, too much of the marvellous; which never becomes a poem,

* I except his invective against Stilico, l. ii. v. 41.

where

where the author is his own hero. The marvellous is pleasing to our fancy, but is rejected by our reason. When we consider that conditional faith and imperfect delusion with which we are affected in works of fiction, it should seem as if there was a conflict of two hostile powers, by which the mind is kept in a state of suspense, that can only be maintained by distance and obscurity, and an air of mystery hanging over either the actor or the author. When the poet unites both characters in his own person, we are disposed to examine his narrative by the maxims of experience; and our voluntary delusion cannot, without the greatest difficulty, be supported.

2. Rutilius's voyage is read with pleasure; it is interesting and useful; but why was it written in verse? Poetry seems equally to misbecome the subject and the genius of the author. The narrative of a voyage comes very properly from a philopher, a man of parts, or a fine writer, but has no connexion with verse. When we attempt to adorn with numbers a subject plain and simple, it is scarcely possible that our style should not be either unpoetical or improper. The subject requires ease, perspicuity, precision, and some ornaments introduced seasonably, and with a sparing hand. But the poet, in order to affect his reader with enthusiasm, must first feel it himself; he must aim at energy of expression and harmony of numbers; and be willing to sacrifice to them all beauties of an inferior order. The language of poetry suits only those strong passions of the soul, by which it was originally produced; and he who attempts

to employ this language on topics which leave the mind in tranquillity, will find himself between two rocks, on one of which he must be shipwrecked; the brilliancy of his expression will either misbecome the simplicity of his thoughts, or the tameness of his words and phrases will disgrace the dignity of verse. All these reflexions are applicable to Rutilius's voyage. His thoughts are ingenious, artfully arranged, and expressed with clearness, precision, and taste. But his poetry is mean and creeping, destitute of strength, and devoid of harmony. We see that he distrusts his natural vigour, and has recourse to contrivances of art; contrivances weak and common, scarcely pardonable in great authors, and for which they seldom stand in need of pardon. 1. Rutilius seems to have thought that swelling words, which best filled the mouth, were also most pleasing to the ear. But I wish such words were resigned to Oriental poets, of whom only they are not unworthy. I doubt whether *Bellerophonteis sollicitudinibus** be ever quoted, except on account of the singularity that two words should compose a pentameter verse. 2. He is bold even to licentiousness in forming new words, or giving new combinations to the old. What can be more forced than using *connubium* for *consilium*?† I am pleased however with his epithet *legiferi*, applied to the Roman triumphs. Laws, order, and civilitywere produced by those triumphs, and were their ordinary fruits. 3. I

* Rutil. Iter. l. i. 450. † Idem, l. i. 18.

thought

thought that I had discovered some rhymes,* but they are too few to enable us to determine whether they ought to be ascribed to negligence, or were the effect of that bad taste, which the corruption of language and connexion with the barbarians, who were fond of rhyme, gradually introduced among the Romans.

3. Authors describe themselves in their works: a maxim as true as it is ancient. We may add that the shades which appear in the picture, certainly were to be found in the original. The character of Rutilius appears to me to have been amiable. I perceive a love for his country, especially in its adversity; a heart susceptible of friendship, and a tender and respectful regard for the memory of his father. Are so many good qualities to suffer a total eclipse from a little too much va nity? Rutilius reviews the stages of his greatness with complacence; his country, his friends, and his father, are endeared to him by their connexion with his own honours. His vanity is contemptible. Cicero boasted not of being consul, but of saving the republic in his consulship. Men may be more easily pardoned for being proud of their actions and talents, than for valuing themselves on their employments and titles, the vain and frivolous distinctions of society. Rutilius detested the Jews, and despised the monks. Was this in *him* a crime? I could wish indeed that his feelings had been expressed with more philosophical moderation, and

* Rutil. Iter. l. i. 39. 107, &c.

had

had rested on a better principle. But he was a Pagan who beheld his religion sinking under the weight of years, and involving the empire in its fall. The Christians insulted the decline of his sect, which they endeavoured to hasten by persecution. A little bad humour was excusable. Nothing can be more animated than his description of the monks in the isle of Capraria, or more judicious than the reflexions with which it is accompanied. The folly of these monks is extreme, in thinking that God took pleasure in the sufferings of his creatures: but their conduct was conformable with their principles. Had Rutilius lived in the twelfth century, what would he have said of their successors, who availed themselves of their voluntary poverty and humility, to acquire the esteem of the multitude, and of that esteem to appropriate to themselves temporal power, and half the riches of Europe?

Dec. 20th.]—I read the *Journal des Savans*, for the months of January, February, and March, 1763. I can hardly express how much I am delighted with this Journal; its characteristics are erudition, precision, and taste; but what I most admire is that impartiality and candour which distinguish the beauties and defects of a work, giving to the former due and hearty praise, and calmly and tenderly pointing out the latter. This Journal, the father of all the rest, is still their superior: of late it must have acquired the help of some new labourers. I should like to know the author of an excellent piece, an analysis and criticism of the new tragedy of *Zelmire*. There is nothing to be wished

wished for in this Journal but a little more boldness and philosophy; but it is published under the Chancellor's eye.

Dec. 23d.]—I read two detached pieces of Virgil, of great importance in geography. The first is the review of Turnus's army, l. vii. v. 641—817: the second, an account of the succours which Æneas received from Etruria, lib. x. v. 163—214.*

24th.]—I read with the same design the review of the Roman army by Silius Italicus, before the battle of Cannæ; Bell. Punic. lib. vii. v. 334—623. I read it over again, rather to engrave it on my memory, than to please my fancy.†

25th.]—I read the *fifth Satire of the first Book of Horace*, containing his journey to Brundusium. Geography rather than poetry was my object. This satire gave occasion to some reflexions on the journies of the ancients in general, which I have collected,‡ and from which the reader will see with how little foundation Mr. Addison estimates the ordinary day's journey of a Roman nobleman at fourteen miles.

26th.]—I read several dissertations in the *twenty-sixth Volume of the Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres*, relative to my present pursuit.—*Memoirs of Mr. d'Anville on the Roman Mile*, p. 346—362. The result is drawn by this learned man from a number of particular miles measured on the Æmilian way, and in the neighbourhood of Milan. He makes the Roman mile 756 fathoms

* See vol. iv. p. 327, &c. † Ib. p. 333.

‡ These reflexions will be found in vol. iv. p. 335, &c.

long.

long.—*Remarks on some Points of Ancient Geography, by Mr. de la Nauze*, p. 362—397. He treats, 1. Of the distance between Rome and Aricia: it was certainly 16 Roman miles, or 128 stadia. Though Strabo makes it 160 stadia, this must be imputed either to his ignorance, or the fault of his transcribers, and by no means to his reckoning by a particular stadium in the neighbourhood of Rome. 2. Pliny agrees with Strabo in making the distance from Hydruntum to the coast of Epirus 50 Roman miles. 3. There were two kinds of stadia; the ancient of ten, and the modern of eight, to a Roman mile. This distinction is a necessary one, but unfortunately it only substitutes uncertainty for difficulty. 4. Until the time of Augustus, the miles were reckoned from the gates of Rome; and the first mile-stone only denoted the commencement of a mile; but when that prince erected the gilt pillar in the Forum, the mile-stone at the gates denoted the end of a mile; but that mile depended on the distance of the Forum from the several gates, and contained two or three miles.

Dec. 27th.]—I read the *Abbé Barthelemy's Memoir on the Ancient Monuments of Rome, in the twenty-sixth volume, p. 579—611, of the Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres.* It is replete with taste, erudition, and good sense; worthy of this amiable scholar, whom I knew well at Paris. I was present last year at the public meeting of the Academy, after the Easter holidays. The Abbé was to read a discourse on the Coptic. This was

was known beforehand; and every body blamed the choice of so thorny a subject, that was fitter to be discussed at the Academy's private meetings. But our pleasure was heightened by surprise, when we perceived that the Abbé rendered his subject interesting to his audience of people of fashion and women, by the beauties of his style, the delicacy of his criticisms, and his principles of reasoning as perspicuous as they were solid.

Dec. 30th.]—There remained for me nothing to read concerning the ancient geography of Italy, except the books of Strabo on that subject. I read l. iv. p. 139—144, and l. v. p. 145—157, in Xylander's Latin translation revised by Casaubon. Strabo there treats of Venetia, Cisalpine Gaul, the Alps, Liguria, Etruria, and Umbria.

31st.]—I read *Strabo's Geography*, l. iv. p. 157—173, and l. vi. p. 174—199; having skipped over that part which relates to Sicily. I have always been an admirer of Strabo's good sense, and variety of knowledge. Antiquity has left us more brilliant performances than his; but I know of none more solid and more useful.

Jan. 1st, 1764.]—In the month of January I began to read Ovid's Fasti, in the Dauphin edition. Purposing to add the study of medals and antiquities to that of geography, I thought this didactic poem, containing the whole Roman mythology, would be a good introduction to those pursuits. As a poem, this work by no means corresponds to the favourable opinion which I had conceived of it, from the commendations of ancient and modern critics;

critics; but this is not the place for considering it in that light. The edition is that of Crispin, a Swiss, in the service of the Dauphin. Bishop Huet had good reason to complain of negligence in selecting competent persons for executing M. de Montausier's excellent design. This edition is handsome, well-printed, and carefully corrected. The bookseller has done his part well; but this is far from being the case with the editor. His notes are below criticism. They are fit only for a school boy, who would often be bewildered by their absurdity. To render them completely ridiculous, they wanted only a copious apparatus of morality, and even of theology, as a fit appendage to the poem of a Pagan and a libertine. The author has taken care to supply that defect. His explanation might have been useful, had he substituted common for uncommon words; and simple for poetical phrases. But Crispin's interpretation is at once swollen and prosaic; equally unfit for displaying Ovid's beauties, and for making his meaning understood. It has been justly remarked, that those enormous indexes, which commonly make a fourth part of the Dauphin editions, ought to have been employed in pointing out the delicacies and idioms of the language or author, and not in enumerating how many times he uses *et* and *qui* in their common signification. Mr. Crispin has prefixed an ancient calendar to the Fasti: he confesses that it does not agree with Ovid's; he had not time to reconcile them. Every thing disgusts us in this edition, even to the mode of reference; which is

to

to the page, and not to the book; which prevents the possibility of verifying the quotations.

I read four volumes of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée;* the 36th, 37th, 38th, and 39th. Not having the 36th at hand, and retaining but a confused notion of its contents, I shall speak only of one article with which I was highly pleased. This is a learned and curious *Dissertation concerning the pretended Martyrdom of the Thebæan Legion.* The author insists with great force on the improbability of the fact, and the silence of contemporary writers. He investigates the origin of a fable, so useful to the church of St. Maurice in the Valley, and traces it back to Eucher, Bishop of Lyons, who lived a century and a half after Diocletian, and who first related it on the authority of a vague and obscure report. It appears that some legionary soldiers with their officer had, about that time, suffered martyrdom in Syria. But Fame, in bringing this transaction to the West, magnified them into a complete legion entirely composed of Christians.

The 37th volume contains a *Letter* concerning the food of the first men. The question is as idle as it is vague and obscure. I do not see the necessity of making them leave off vegetables so soon. The earth must have been slowly peopled with men and animals; and for a long time must have supplied all living tribes with such abundant nourishment as precluded the necessity of their devouring each other. At length, animals became formidable to man, who was in danger of starving.

But

But nothing short of urgent danger could overcome his natural repugnance to the shedding of blood. Are five or six generations sufficient for producing all these revolutions?—*Description of the East, by Mr. Pocock:* learned and curious. The houses of the first inhabitants of Egypt are still to be seen in the Thebaid, in the hollows of rocks. Magnificence improved the works of necessity. The arts of the Egyptians bore no relation to those of Greece. The latter, harmonised by proportions, were bold and liberal; the former, enslaved by caprice, were extravagant rather than original.—*Epistolary Correspondence between Leibnitz and John Bernouilli.* It is a pleasure to contemplate these two vigorous minds: the force and depth of the one; the variety, extent, and penetration of the other.—*The History of New France, by Father Charlevoix:* well written, curious, and unfaithful.—*History of Lewis XI. by Mr. Duclos.* Lewis XI. is an uninteresting object; his age quite the reverse. But Mr. Duclos has shewn us only the prince, and neglected the history of his age. *Virgil's Georgicks, translated into English by Martyn:* useful for its knowledge of the plants mentioned by Virgil.

The 38th volume of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée* contains the *Harleian Miscellany, vol. iii.* We meet with the *Process of Nicholas Antony, burnt at Geneva in* 1632, not for inventing a new heresy, but for preferring the Jewish religion to the Christian. It forms the counterpart to the history of Servetus.—*Description of Iceland, by Mr. Anderson.*

derson. The country and the manners of its inhabitants are equally strange: Death only can make them quit this wretched island.—*The Necessity of Public Worship, by Mr. de la Chapelle, in answer to an anonymous Letter.* Mr. de la Chapelle's adversary is a minister in the Pays de Vaud, of the name of Allamand, and never did I know a man of a finer genius. His mind embraced all kinds of learning, but philosophy was his principal study. On all questions, he had contrived systems, at least arguments, equally new and ingenious. His ideas were refined and perspicuous; his expression natural and happy. He was justly reproached with too much subtilty of thought, with pride, ambition, and excessive warmth of temper. This man, qualified to enlighten or disturb a nation, lived and died in obscurity. He left nothing in writing, excepting a few short performances in answer to questions put to him.—*Travels into Egypt, by Mr. Granger*: bold, but superficial. The canals of the ancient kings carried the waters of the Nile and fertility into all the provinces of Egypt. These canals are not kept in repair by the Turks. The country has lost its fruitfulness; and Mr. Granger gives the lie to all ancient writers, who declare that it formerly was fruitful.—A *Poem* of *Peter Ebuto*, on the *Troubles of Sicily in the Reign of the Emperor Henry VI.* published from the library of Berne by Mr. Engel. The work is curious: poetry is the history of barbarous ages; and has then all the circumstantial minuteness which history requires.—" *Letters of a Frenchman*,"

 true;

true; " *on the English*," false. Poor Abbé le Blanc!

The 39th volume of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée* contains a letter of the librarian of Geneva, on a singular bull of Clement VI. Singular indeed! This bull is a permission, granted in 1354, to all the confessors of all the kings of France, to grant dispensations to their sovereigns from the obligation of oaths which it might be inconvenient for them to observe. The librarian's reflexions and researches throw much light on the authenticity, the character, the object, and the style of this bull. This letter is written with moderation and taste.—*Amintor and Theodora, by Mr. Mallet.* If my friend should ever attain poetic fame, it will be acquired by this work. Mr. Maty furnished the extract, which pleased Mallet so much that he requested his friendship. This anecdote I learned from both parties.—*Travels into Western Gothland, by Mr. Linnæus; and into Siberia, by Mr. Gimelin.* These two works, the latter especially, which opens to us an unknown world, do much honour to the sovereigns of the North.—*The Works of Virgil, with the Commentaries of Heinsius and Peter Burman.* As this is the latest, so it is the best edition of Virgil and Servius.—*Haller's Poems, translated from the German*: distinguished by a rich imagination, energy of style, and an air of philosophy, which he has thought fit to lay aside. —*Theory of agreeable Sentiments, by Mr. de Pouilly.* Unity and variety are the sources of our pleasures. The idea seems to be just; but it has not

not enough either of novelty or precision to deserve being expanded into a book. I read also *Lady Mary Wortley Montague's Letters*, just published. They contain an account of a journey in which she accompanied her husband in his embassy to Constantinople; and are lively and entertaining. I am most pleased with what she says concerning those inner apartments into which men are not allowed to penetrate. She maintains that the Turkish women enjoy a great deal of liberty, and walk out alone veiled, as often as they please, on pretence of going to the bath or the mosque. The Turks marry only one wife: and though some use the permission of concubinage with slaves, they are regarded as libertines, and forsaken by their wives. She studied the Turkish language; and speaks in high terms of the Turkish music and poetry. The manners, customs, and genius of the Greeks seem to her to have undergone little change since the days of Homer.

Feb. 1st.]—I read *Ovid's Fasti, l. iv. p. 599—610.* The festival of Palilia is an object of much attention; it is different from that of the foundation of Rome, though both happened on the same day, the 21st of April. To what extravagances is not the human mind liable! Purify a nation! and that too with the blood of a horse, the husk of a bean, and the ashes of the bowels of a calf killed in the belly of its mother, and burnt on the altar of Vesta. Ovid clearly justifies the founder of Rome from the guilt of killing his brother. Remus was put to death in consequence of a wise law made by

his brother, and which this prince unintentionally violated. If Romulus did not shew grief for his death, this was to maintain the inviolable sanctity of his laws, a thing necessary in his infant kingdom.

Feb. 2d.]—I read *Ovid's Fasti, l. v. p.* 610—620. His account of the different etymologies of the month of May is curious, and well expressed. We may distinguish in it an Oriental allegory, a Greek fable, and a Roman tradition. The issuing of the gods from chaos, and the majesty of Olympus arranging the celestial hierarchy, is sublimely extravagant. The picture of the Muses is well delineated; but Ovid should have remembered that these infallible divinities were always of one mind.

3d.]—I read *Ovid's Fasti, l. v. p.* 620—630. He explains the origin of the Floral games in a manner less dishonourable for his religion. It is not credible that any people should have erected altars to a harlot. It was enough for them to celebrate the festival of a goddess, in whom they already believed, by the dances of naked girls. All the ceremonies of this goddess savoured of debauchery; but the season productive of flowers too naturally inspires those with licentious sentiments who have never heard of the courtesan Flora. Why have recourse to fable for what may be found in nature?

I read *Ovid's Fasti, l. v. p.* 630—643. The poet's genius ennobles every object; even nine black beans thrown behind the back, to which he gives an air of solemnity, and even of sublimity. He chiefly employs that doubtful and faint colouring

ing which renders objects more terrible, by shewing them partially and confusedly; silence, obscurity, the shadow which follows us with light steps, and which we dare not look behind us to see; all these touches belong to that kind of sublimity which is well pointed out by Mr. Burke.* The temple of Jupiter the Avenger must have been magnificent. The worship of the Pagans had at least more consistency than that of the Catholics. Mars the Avenger punishes the murderers of a great warrior, his descendant. This is more natural than the interference of an apostle or hermit in wars and victories; and wars often undertaken merely for worldly interests.

Feb. 6th.]—I went to the library to consult the article *Flora* in Bayle's Dictionary. Lactantius too well imitates the fathers of his age. The Floral games, founded A. U. C. 514, first celebrated occasionally, afterwards rendered annual in 580, by an order of the senate, and their expense defrayed by money levied in fines; all this has not any resemblance to the testamentary arrangement of a courtesan.

7th.]—I read *Ovid's Fasti, l. vi. p.* 648—687, the conclusion of the book, and of all that part of the work which has come down to us. The six other books, which completed the Roman calendar, have perished. The beginning of the sixth book is beautiful. The dispute of the three goddesses is more pleasing, because borrowed from

* Upon the Sublime and Beautiful.

that of Paris and Mount Ida. Juno's speech is also cast in the same mould with that in the first book of the Æneid; but the amiable Hebe expresses herself with those graces that are peculiar to Ovid.

Feb. 8th.]—I read a little pamphlet of thirty-eight pages, by John James Rousseau. It contains an abstract of Plato's arguments against imitative poetry, especially the drama. I was astonished at the weakness and falseness of the whole first part, which treats of the imperfection of imitation. Towards the conclusion, his reasonings are more specious. I acknowledge that the theatre, and especially that of Athens, sometimes paints its heroes too weak and too much alive to their misfortunes. But some indulgence must be granted to humanity, which groans in secret, or pours its grief into the bosom of a friend. The spectators are indeed confidents of the poet, but not of his characters.

9th.]—While I waited for the sequel of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée,* I read an excellent work on *the Method and Choice of our Studies, by the Abbé Fleury; Paris,* 1753, in 12*mo. pp.* 364. The whole breathes a spirit of truth and virtue, together with that clearness and strength of reason, and that superior good sense, which is more uncommon than wit, and almost as rare as genius. The author was a Roman Catholic and a priest; but this fault is perceived by those only who are neither the one nor the other. He begins by the history of education in different countries, of which he gives us a beautiful picture. That of the Greeks alone was philosophical and national. The want of an accu-

rate

rate education among the Romans was supplied by virtue and natural good sense. The studies of the barbarians of the North were as barbarous as themselves. To ages of ignorance succeeded those of the pretended philosophy of Aristotle, the Arabs and scholastics. The humanists of the fifteenth century revived the knowledge of the ancients. From all these united, is composed that chaos of learning taught in our universities and colleges, alike destitute of system, order, and utility. The Abbé Fleury, who wishes to bring down science from the heavens to the earth, proposes a plan equally short and reasonable, the care of the body and the mind, with the knowledge of economy and laws. A Frenchman justly reckons history and politics among those studies which are rather curious than useful. The citizen of a free country regards them as indispensable. To this treatise the Abbé Fleury has added *a Discourse on Plato*. He despises both his physics and metaphysics; but sets the highest value on his logic, morals, style, and method.

Feb. 10th.]—I read over with care the six books of *Ovid's Fasti;* and have written the reflexions, which occurred to me in the perusal. See Vol. IV. p. 354.

11th.]—I began to read *Mr. Addison*'s charming little *Treatise on ancient Medals,* in the third volume of his Works, *London,* 1746. I read p. 1—113. He considers the different advantages that may be derived from the study of medals; and dwells on the striking connexion between their

reverses and the descriptions of Latin poets. In this view, he examines two series of medals; the one containing allegorical personages, and the other enigmatic symbols. Each class furnishes him with twenty examples. The passages of the poets are selected with taste; and the author's reflexions are replete with judgment and sagacity. No man ever benefited more than Mr. Addison by the study of the Belles Lettres. His works have much contributed to improve the English language and literature.

Feb. 12th.]—I finished *Addison*'s work, *Dialogues upon the Usefulness of ancient Medals; p.* 113—167: besides which, the plates take up sixty-eight pages. The third series of examples contains the representation of countries on medals: it is curious. Mr. Addison has a third dialogue, in which the parallel is drawn between ancient and modern medals; rather flattering for the ancients. In the first dialogue, the author sets out well; his characters are well marked; and the whole has the air of a free conversation among polite and learned friends: but the two following dialogues might as well have been called letters or essays. Pope's epistle is worthy of himself; but the inscription on his imaginary medal of Craggs, filling six verses, would not have been relished by Addison.* It is a bad compliment to a didactic work, to violate, in commending it, the most important precept which it contains.

* V. Dialog. iii. p. 154—156.

I began

I began *Spanheim*'s noble work *de Præstantia et Usu Numismatum, in two volumes, 4to. Amsterdam.* This is not the best edition; but I make use of it till I receive that of London, 1708, from Geneva. I read the *Preface* and *Dissertation I. p.* 1—49, on the beauty and entertainment of medallic knowledge: and *Dissertation II. p.* 49—68, on the assistance which it may afford to grammarians in ascertaining the letters and orthography of ancient languages. I finished some reflexions on *Ovid's Fasti.* See Vol. IV. p. 354.

Feb. 13th.]—I wrote some remarks concerning the allegorical personages on medals. See Vol. V. p. 35.

I read *Spanheim, de Usu et Præstantia Numismatum, Dissert. II. p.* 68—93. It contains the sequel of his grammatical observations. They are curious, but rather dry. Spanheim forgets his politeness in refuting Tristan. The latter's mistake indeed was a most absurd one.

I finished the fortieth volume of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée.* It contains *Dr. Middleton's Treatise on the Roman Senate.* The question concerning the mode of entering into the Roman senate appears to me capable of an easy answer. The nomination belonged successively to the kings, consuls, and censors. But as they always named the questors, their right of naming gradually became of less value as the questors became more numerous, and was reduced to a mere formality, when their number became sufficient to supply that of the senate.

nate.—*History of Sweden, by Mr. Dalin, in Swedish.* This is a new country. Two thousand years ago the mountains of Sweden, as well as those of Denmark, stood in an archipelago of little islands intersected by canals and straits. The sea retired, and still continues to retire, the space of fifty inches, each century. It is thought also that the ocean, which covered a far greater surface towards the beginning of the Roman empire, opened a communication with the Caspian Sea. This circumstance, and a climate milder than the present, facilitated the emigrations of the Scythians. Their most celebrated colony travelled to the North in the year of J. C. 100, under the conduct of Odin, a Scythian from the banks of the Tanais. This legislator of the North resided at Upsal, the seat of his religion and empire. His successors, both kings and priests, were masters of a fine country, and respected by the other kings of the nation. They reigned at Upsal till A. C. 870. Their family was not extinct in Norway till 1060.

Feb. 15th.]—I read *Spanheim, de Præstantia et Usu Numismatum, Dissert. II. p.* 93—112: and found it a tiresome declamation on the morality and policy to be learned from medals; in which the author has contrived to introduce all the technical medallic terms. Why does he justify the senate for removing the only check that remained on the tyranny of the emperors? They praised them, he says, to shew to them the road of virtue and glory. This excuse was good in the first year of Domitian's reign; but was good for nothing in the

the fifteenth. Besides, what new praise was kept in reserve for Trajan?

Feb. 16th.]—I read *Spanheim, de Præstantia Numismatum, Dissert. II. p.* 112—122. He describes the advantages which natural history may derive from medals. I saw with pleasure the proof of what I had said in my Essay on the subjects of the Circus and Amphitheatre.

I finished the forty-first volume of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée.* It contains *Anson's Voyage, first and second Extract.* I know few books that are more amusing; but the hero is painted in too flattering colours. When afterwards raised to the first employments of state, he was unable to support the weight of his renown. One praise indeed belongs to him, that of choosing and employing merit. Brett, Saunders, Rodney, and Keppel are among those whom he brought forward and educated.—*Mr. le Moine's Treatise on Miracles.* Such a work tends to injure the cause of religion which it endeavours to support. How ill qualified are we to ascertain the powers of nature, and of angels! Do we know exactly the extent of those belonging to our fellow-creatures?—*Morals.* The enemies of Revelation can no longer be accused of hostility to natural religion. Poor Toussaint is now the editor of the Brussels Gazette. Strange employment for a philosopher!—*Penelope's Web, or Machiavel Physician, by Mr. de la Metrie:* a severe, ingenious, and learned satire against the faculty in Paris, particularly Astruc, Sylva, Chirac, and Winslow.

Feb.

Feb. 17th.]—This morning was lost, except that I found time to read *Spanheim, de Præstantia Numismatum, Dissert. III. p.* 166—196. He continues the same subject; panthers, serpents, dolphins. The part respecting serpents, those ministers of oracles, and tutelary genii, is particularly curious.

18th.]—In the evening I read a tale in verse, which was lent to me, just published by Voltaire. *What most pleases Women?* Command. The design is borrowed from Pope's Wife of Bath. The narrative is rather diffuse, and the verses have not that natural ease and briskness which is an essential requisite. I borrowed at the same time *the Panegyric of the Duke of Sully, by Mr. Thomas:* a performance which gained the prize proposed by the French Academy.

19th.]—Instead of continuing Spanheim, I resumed my *Geographical Collection on Italy*, which I wish to put out of hand. I wrote two pages and an half of it, on Etruria.

I finished *Sully's Panegyric.* Mr. Thomas is a great orator. What strength of thought, what rapidity of style! He has the soul of a citizen, the sense of a philosopher, and the pencil of a great painter. His manner is that of Demosthenes, but of Demosthenes who has sacrificed to the graces. United with the pomp of eloquence, we find an accurate detail of particulars, which are never minute when they are well chosen and well expressed; and that historical truth which always embellishes the panegyric of every man entitled to public praise.

praise. The parallel of Sully with Colbert is not drawn with flattery, scarcely with equity, towards the former. Mr. Thomas dwells too long on the comparison of the difficulties which these two ministers had respectively to encounter. The horrors of the League, forty years of civil war, enthusiasm and independence in the public mind, and eight hundred millions of debt; these were difficulties incomparably greater than the caprices of the Fronde, some extortions on the part of Cardinal Mazarine, a nation destitute of either principles or leaders of rebellion, and long weary of domestic disturbances. Mr. Thomas does not always remember that a panegyric ought to hold the middle place between a history and a funeral oration. Perhaps the strength and sublimity of his style, replete with images as bold as they are natural, might have enabled him to dispense with comparisons, apostrophes, and all those figures, which more properly belong to poetry. I am certain he would have done well to omit his comparison of Sully's operations with those of eternal wisdom; a species of false sublime which can only tend to degrade both the compared objects.

Feb. 20th.]—I wrote a page and a half of my *Geographical Collection* on the Tiber, and the rivers which flow into it.

I finished the forty-second volume of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée.* If we consider only *Mr. Ellis's Voyage to Hudson's Bay,* the existence of a north-west passage will appear very doubtful. Be that as it may, the Company will always endeavour to prevent

prevent its discovery.—*An Essay, by Mr. Deslandes, on the Marine of the Ancients.* The ancients never made use of any but trireme gallies, that is, vessels with three tire of oars of different lengths. The quadriremes, &c. had decks above these barns of oars, provided with machines of war; but they had only three tire of oars.—*Maclaurin's Account of Sir Isaac Newton's Discoveries.* A work admired by all mathematicians. I hope to be able at some future time to bestow on it enlightened approbation.—*Narrative of a Voyage to Peru, by Mr. Boucher.* The Cordilleras form the highest chain of mountains in the world. The top of Chimboraco is 3217 fathoms above the sea: at the height of 2400 the snow never melts. The province of Quito, though a valley in the Cordilleras, is the highest inhabited country known. Subsisting monuments still attest the former greatness of the Incas. We yet behold the vestiges of the causeway extending 400 leagues from Cusco to Quito.—*The Harleian Miscellany, vol. vi.* contains the sequel of a work distinguished by the spirit of sound philosophy. From the axiom that the Eternal Being is all-sufficient in himself, a religion is deduced, free from superstition, contradictions, and eternal punishments.—*Travels in Turkey and Persia, by Mr. Otter:* curious, but dry.—*The Happy Life, by Mr. de la Metrie:* the work of a fool, whose laughter is poisonous.—*Remarks on Bayle's Dictionary.* Intolerant superstition is more dangerous than impiety.

Feb. 24th.]—I wrote a page and an half of my *Geo-*

Geographical Collection, on the subject of Umbria. I begin to put the materials in order, belonging to each region of Italy, which will be of much use to me. I finished the forty-third volume of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée*. It contains *Leibnizii Protogea:* a posthumous work of this great man, on the original structure of the earth. Chaos first reigned; a conflagration melted the mass; and different substances acquired different degrees of hardness from fluid water to vitrified gems, in proportion to the time they were in cooling.—*The History of the Office of Stadtholder, and of the Parliament of England, by the Abbé Raynal.* The pictures which he draws are filled with pretty antitheses.—*The History of Jovian, and the Translation of some Works of Julian, by the Abbé de la Bleterie:* admirable, in point of erudition, taste, elegance, and I will add, moderation. Julian was a Pagan, but the Abbé hates only the Jesuits.—*The Spirit of Laws.* What occasion was there to speak of it here?—*Lord Bolingbroke's Patriot King.* This lord had strength and elevation of mind; but he was a sorry philosopher.—*Middleton's Free Inquiry into the Miracles, &c.* This man was endowed with penetration and accuracy. He saw where his principles led; but he did not think proper to draw the consequences.

Feb. 26th.]—I wrote three pages of my *Geographical Collection*, on the subject of *Samnium.* I have now finished the country of the Sabines, and a part of the territories of the Marsi.

27th.]—I wrote two pages of the chapter *Samnium*

nium in my *Geographical Collection*, describing the lake *Fucinus*, and the countries of the *Equi* and *Peligni*.

I also read *Spanheim, de Usu et Præstantia Numismatum, Dissert. III. p.* 196—245. He treats of fabulous animals, the sphinx, hydra, sirenes, the birds of Stymphalus, the phœnix, &c. We may perceive that the genius of the Greeks, romantic as it was, employed itself rather in embellishment than invention. The sphinx was originally an Ethiopian ape, which the inhabitants of Thebais chose for the symbol of mystery, and placed at the gates of their temples.

Feb. 28th.]—I read in *Spanheim* only *Dissert. III. p.* 245—253. He treats of monsters and hieroglyphics, whose names are unknown.

I finished the forty-fourth volume of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée*. It contains *Bower's Lives of the Popes; first and second Extract.* The beginnings of Christian Rome are at least as obscure and fabulous as those of the Pagan. The author is reproached with making a partial and ill-digested compilation of papal biography. He is a rogue unmasked, who enjoyed, for twenty years, the favour of the public, because he had quitted a sect to which he still secretly adhered; and because he had been a counsellor of the inquisition in the town of Macerata, where an inquisition never existed.—*The free Voice of a Citizen.* When a king of Poland writes on the constitution of his country, we should not expect to find the trite topics of a rhetorician, or the speculative dreams of a pedant.

—*A*

—*A Treatise on Systems, by the Abbé Condillac:* judicious, and abounding with fine thoughts; but the Abbé sometimes confounds theory and truths flowing from a few general principles, with those practical arts which require talents and experience, and which from their nature are liable to great uncertainty.—*The Toleration of the Asiatics:* truths common and important, expressed with much boldness.—*The Art of hatching Eggs, &c. by Mr. Réaumur.* That proposed is sure and easy. This author will make me in love with natural history. How extraordinary an instinct is that of the chicken, which employs itself half a day in the difficult work of its own birth!—*Essay on Moral Philosophy, by Mr. Maupertuis.* No; you are not able to make me hate life.

The Eloge of Mr. Schultens. This learned man preferred the Jews too much to the Arabians.

March 1st.]—I read *Spanheim, Dissert. IV. p. 253—265.* From animals, he proceeds to plants, and particularly the lotus, with which the Egyptian medals often crown their kings, gods, and sacred animals.

2d.]—I read *Spanheim, Dissert. IV. p. 265—310.* He still treats of the plants represented on medals.

I finished the forty-fifth volume of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée.* It contains *Edmond's Negotiations,* published by *Dr. Birch:* curious, in as far as it relates to the character, last years, and death of Queen Elizabeth.—*Memoirs of Brandenburgh.* They are well written; but the memoirs of the

author himself—how impatiently do I expect them!—*Treatise on Ice, by Mr. Mairan:* judicious and profound. I perceived, as well as the journal-writer, that causes ought not to be multiplied without necessity; and that fire set in motion is sufficient without the subtile matter.—*Natural History, by Mr. de Buffon:* a great painter, and an original genius. The reviewer endeavours to defend the deluge; but confesses that shells are found in the mountains only at the elevation of six hundred feet.—*A Collection of Pieces of Eloquence of the French Academy:* vox et præterea nihil.—*The History of Sweden, by Mr. Dalin, in Swedish, Vol. ii.* Superstition and clerical power reached the highest pitch in Sweden. At the time of their conversion, the Swedes adopted the whole papal system, and became Christians after the fashion of the twelfth century. They could not plead the authority of any ancient traditions; their history furnished them not with any argument against the Roman faith, and their ignorance hindered them from seeking such arguments in the history of other nations, in reason, or in scripture.—*Parallel of the Arundelian Marbles with the Egyptian Chronicles.* I perceive that the author, the Abbé Richer du Bouchet, has a great contempt for these marbles; and that he is deep in Manethon. All his discoveries are connected with a general system of chronology, which he does not explain. I do not expect much from it.

March 3d.]—I read *Spanheim, Dissert. IV. p.* 310—340; and *Dissert. V. p.* 340—344. He concludes

cludes the article of plants; I am glad of it; they are but little connected with medals: Spanheim was not a botanist, nor do I wish to become one. I have now finished the most interesting part of his work. The second dissertation is dry, but useful: his declamations on morals and politics might be reduced to ten pages; and from the two last dissertations I would select only a few facts, cleared from all circumstances foreign to the subject.

March 4th.]—I read *Spanheim, Dissert. V. p.* 344—373. This part is replete with erudition, and enters into many curious particulars concerning the horns which adorn the head of Ammon, Juno, Bacchus, Rivers, Alexander, and his successors.

5th.]—I glanced over *the New Aretin.* Gross ignorance, blackguard buffoonery, and impertinent reasonings, which have not even the merit of novelty, disgrace this wretched performance, which would be thrown by with disgust, did it not attack religion with the most shocking indecency.

6th.]—I finished the forty-sixth volume of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée.* It contains *Suetonius, by Oudendorp.* The edition is good, but unnecessary after that of Grævius. Why are the excellent commentaries of Torrentius and Casaubon omitted? —*Memoirs of Queen Christina:* a curious work, and of immense industry.—*Memoirs of the Academy of Petersburgh.* All the institutions of the Russians ought to be well contrived, and skilfully proportioned. They may be made at one cast,

from models highly improved among their neighbours.—*A New Historical and Critical Dictionary, by Mr. de Chaufepié:* the learning and accuracy of Bayle, without his philosophy and genius.

March 9th.]—I wrote three pages and an half of my *Geographical Collection.* I have now finished the chapter on *Samnium,* by a complete abridgment of what concerns the *Samnites* and the Duchy of *Beneventum.* I have also begun the chapter on *Apulia;* and finished the first division, viz. the territory of the *Hirpini.*

10th.]—I wrote nearly four pages of my *Geographical Collection;* containing the remainder of *Apulia.* There is a pretty extensive article on *Tarentum.*

I finished the forty-seventh volume of *Bibliothèque Raisonnée.* It contains *Critical Memoirs on the Swiss, by Mr. de Bochart;* turning on the vain and futile science of etymology.—*Wetstein's New Testament.* The Alexandrian manuscript appears to have been written in Egypt towards the end of the fifth century.—*Letters on Jubilees, by Mr. Le Chais:* learned and philosophical.—*Monogamy, by Mr. de Premontval.* Why should religion be introduced into a question depending on calculation and circumstances?—*Defence of Christianity, by Dr. Stebbing.* He is a good polemic, but embraces too wide a field; the outermost works should be relinquished.—*Moses defended against Appian, by the Abbé Richer du Bouchet.* He still throws an air of mystery over his chronological system. I speak

speak not decidedly, but to me he appears a little of a visionary. 1. He speaks of the Egyptian dynasties as he would of the court of Lewis XIV.; shewing too much confidence and certainty on a subject, which admits only of probability and conjecture. 2. When he investigates the key to Manethon's historical fragment, he quits the road of criticism, but gives us to understand that this knot can be unravelled only by geometrical analysis. Does not this savour of madness? 3. Esau and Osiris! Their identity, I see, is the foundation of his system. How easily might it be refuted! No two princes, if Osiris was really a prince, had ever less resemblance.

March 11th.]—I wrote two pages of the chapter on *Lucania* in my *Geographical Collection;* comprehending almost the whole of *Lucania* properly so called.

12th.]—I wrote two pages on the chapter of *Lucania,* comprehending the rest of proper *Lucania* and a part of *Bruttium.*

13th.]—I wrote only three quarters of a page of my chapter on *Lucania,* being a continuation of *Bruttium.*

14th.]—I read a new work by Voltaire; *Treatise on Toleration.* The end is commendable; to awaken in the soul the feelings of humanity, and display the dreadful consequences of superstition. But in point of execution this work is a trifling collection of common-place remarks, in which the author expatiates rather on every other topic than the great principles belonging to his subject. I

am diverted with his false and contradictory conclusions concerning ancient history. This history, he says, is filled with prodigies. They cannot be true; therefore ancient history consists merely of fables and conjectures.* Again, this history is filled with prodigies: we are obliged to believe them; therefore the principles of nature, as well as of men, were quite different then from what they are at present.† He calls in question the infamous debaucheries of Tiberius in the island of Capreæ. Yet Tacitus and Suetonius were almost the contemporaries of that prince. I perceive not any marks of hatred in their works. They often justify Tiberius, and distinguish with as much penetration as honesty the different stages of the dissimulation, cruelty, and public debaucheries of that emperor. The abominable licentiousness of those times is well known; and it is not matter of surprise that Tiberius should refuse nothing to his appetites, when he had the unbounded power of gratifying them with impunity, especially when they were concealed by his retirement from the public eye, which is the only restraint on the behaviour of a despot. As for those refinements in debauchery which astonish Voltaire, it is precisely in an old profligate of seventy that I should expect to meet with them.‡

March 15th.]—I finished the forty-eighth volume

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

† Idem, c. xii. p. 127—129.

‡ Idem, c. viii. p. 59—63.

of

of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée.* It contains the *Discoveries made at Herculaneum, by the Marquis Venuti.* This ancient city, which deserved to be examined more accurately and faithfully, was found at the depth of seventy-three feet under many successive beds of earth and vitrified stone. Herculaneum was but an obscure place; yet it was adorned by a theatre three hundred feet in circumference, raised on brick pilasters, covered with a beautiful varnish, and ornamented with cornices of marble.—*Letters on Jubilees.* It is difficult to distinguish with theologians between the defilement of sin and its punishment. In the church of the Feuillans at Paris, indulgences may be procured, in the space of one Lent, for 150,000 years.—*Essay on Spirit.* This work of the Bishop of Clogher contains a metaphysical Arianism.—*Dissertation on the Chronology of Usher.* The Abbé Richer again. This man is a fool. Wherefore so much rage against the Jews and Protestants in treating a question of criticism? He rejects the chronology of the Jews, because it came from the school of Tiberias, and is approved by a Protestant bishop.

March 16th.]—I wrote a page of the chapter of *Lucania* in my *Geographical Collection;* it is the continuation of *Bruttium.*

17th.]—I wrote a page and an half of my chapter on *Lucania,* concerning *Magna Græcia:* after which I went to the library to read Freret's learned researches on the first inhabitants of Italy; *Me-*

moirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres, vol. xviii, p. 72—114.

March 18th.]—I wrote a page and an half of the chapter entitled "*Nations,*" in my *Geographical Collection;* it treats of the first communities in Italy.

19th.]—I wrote a page and an half on the chapter "*Nations,*" concerning the first communities in Italy.

I finished the forty-ninth volume of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée.* It contains *Letters on the Use of the Pronoun Thou, by Mr. Vernet:* I am inclined to think both *thou* and *you* ought to be used.—*Considerations on Morals, by Mr. Du Clos.* The work is in general good: some chapters treating of the connexion of genius with character are excellent. Du Clos, before he was secretary of the academy, had been that of the coffee-house; where he carefully treasured up the conversations of men of wit.—*The Roman History of Dion Cassius, by Messrs. Fabricius and Raimar;* an excellent edition. *Maupertuis's Works;* and *Appeal to the Public, by Mr. Kenig.* In his own works, Maupertuis appears only as an extravagant visionary, whose fame rests not on any solid basis. In his dispute with Kenig he is a cowardly persecutor, who employs the secular arm to crush one of his colleagues.—*The Spirit of Nations:* a wretched imitation.—*The Treasury of Imperial Medals, by Morel, with the Commentaries of Gori and Havercamp:* what riches!—*Wetstein's New Testament.*

In

In a dispute which the Franciscans had with John XXII. they first gave that explanation of the Revelations, which makes the Pope Antichrist. Numerous swarms of those monks left their convents, and embraced Luther's reformation. They spread this Capuchin notion among the Protestants.

March 20th.]—I wrote a page and an half of my *Geographical Collection*, which finishes the chapter on the *Nations of Italy*.

21st.]—I wrote four pages of the chapter *Campania* in my *Geographical Collection*. They treat of *the Division of that Country and Latium proper*.

I finished the fiftieth volume of the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée*. It contains, *Essay on the Nature and Office of Sacrificer*. The Christian clergy have perhaps succeeded only to the philosophers and prophets, who taught morality; and not to the priests, who performed sacrifices and other parts of the ceremonial law.—*Scarron's Works*. His comic Romance alone will live: in other parts of his works, the wit is rather in the style than in the thought. At best, it results from the contrast between his character and situation.—*St. Clement's two Epistles, in Syriac and Latin. Dissertation on two Epistles, &c.* Dr. Lardner disputes Mr. Wetstein's discovery of this monument of the first Christians. *Sub judice lis est*. St. Clement's ideas on celibacy are carried, I perceive, to great extravagance. But even *they* are natural to the enthusiasm of a rising and persecuted sect! If these epistles are authentic, St. John must have written his

his Gospel a long time before the old age of Clement, who was only in his thirtieth year in A. D. 60.

It is a great convenience to have always at hand some book containing easy and interesting productions, that may be read by snatches, at moments which would otherwise be lost. Nothing answers this end better than a good journal; which title the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée* certainly merits. It may be divided however into two parts, of nearly equal extent, but of completely different characters. The first part is adapted to the taste for true learning which prevailed in the seventeenth century; containing a great deal of theology, jurisprudence, and Belles Lettres; erudition drawn from the source, and mixed with sound criticism. The spirit of religious controversy is rather too prevalent; and we are disgusted with too much minuteness, or provoked at too much asperity. The second part of the journal has more affinity with the taste at present; uniting much indifference about theology, with superficiality of learning, and boldness in philosophy; its tone is dogmatical, and its style more broken into short sentences and more metaphorical.

March 22d.]—I wrote a page and an half of my *Geographical Collection*, containing *A Description of the Countries of the Rutuli and Hernici*, comprehended in the chapter on *Campania*.

23d.]—I wrote near three pages of my *Geographical Collection*, on the countries of the *Volsci* and

and *Ausones*, comprehended in the chapter on *Campania*.

March 24th.]—I wrote a page of my chapter on *Campania*, which is the beginning of *Campania proper*.

25th.]—I wrote about three pages, finishing the chapter on *Campania*, and inserting some detached materials into other chapters.

26th.]—I wrote nearly three pages of my chapter on *Rome*.

27th.]—I wrote more than a page and an half of my chapter on *Rome*.

28th.]—I wrote more than two pages of the chapter on *Rome*.

29th.]—I wrote two pages on the *Itineraries and high Roads of the Romans:* and stop short at present with a rich fund of ninety-two folio pages closely written. My travels in Italy, with my future studies, will swell this collection to such a magnitude, that it will be necessary for me only to arrange my materials to have a complete description of Italy.

30th.]—I resumed the perusal of *Spanheim, de Usu et Præstantia Numismatum;* of which I read *Dissert. V. p.* 373—436. He treats of the medals of kings, particularly the successors of Alexander, and the epithets bestowed on them—friends to the Romans or Greeks; victorious; thunderers; great kings; king of kings; autocrator, or possessor of independent power; the name of God in general; and the particular names of Bacchus, of God the Saviour, or Soter; and of God manifested on earth,

Epi-

Epiphanes, which is not fully translated by "illustrious."—All these medals are Greek. We have not any other medals of Barbarian kings, but those struck by the Greek cities in their dominions.

I read *Piron's Comedy, Metromanie*, which there was an intention of acting at Mon Repos. The versification is beautiful, and many of the sentiments correct and well expressed. This applies to the whole scene between Mr. Ballivau and Damis. But I never read any thing worse contrived than the plot. There is much confusion in that part which regards the lovers Dorante and Lucile. The part of Damis is diverting, but unnatural. Where is it possible to find a poet that will resign a rich and handsome mistress for another that has no existence but in Mercury? What an extravagant attempt is it, to endeavour to render the character of this poet at once heroical and ridiculous! Compare together his scene with his uncle and that with his valet. I know that in Molière's masterpiece, the Misanthrope is at once ridiculous and respectable. But this happens because his faults consist in virtues carried to excess; which, though ridiculous in their effects, are respectable in their principle. There is no connexion in the part of Damis. The bad poet is one character; the just and generous man who pardons his friend's faults, and answers his insults only by good offices, is quite a different one. If probability is not violated, unity at least is not maintained. But how improbable is the reception which Damis gives to the last declaration of Dorante. His transports cannot be

be conceived as natural, without supposing him domineered by the *Metromanie* in its utmost force. Yet he receives an account of the fall of his tragedy with indifference, calling this a trifling matter. Had he pardoned Dorante for attempting to put him to death, but remained inexorable to the crime of hissing his play, the character would have appeared to me to be better supported.

March 31st.]—I read *Spanheim, Dissert. V. p.* 476—494; and *Dissert. VI. p.* 494—553. He proceeds to the consular medals; the names and surnames of the Romans, and their different offices represented on medals. I expected to have found more novelty in this part of his work.

I went to the library to read *Mr. de la Condamine's Journal of his Travels in Italy*, in the *Memoirs of the Academy of Sciences for* 1757, *p.* 386—411. I was pleased to find the heights of several mountains in fathoms measured by the barometer. They are as follow:

Level of the sea	0
The Rhone, and Lake of Geneva and Canigon the top of the Pyrenees	1410
Quito in Peru	1430
The road over Mount Cenis	1460
The highest point of Mount Cenis	1510
Pic of Teneriffe	2150
Mont Blanc, 14 or 15 leagues to the south-east of Geneva, and visible at 60 leagues off, at Langres	2676
Chimboraco, the highest mountain of the Cordilleras of the Andes, and perhaps of the world	3220

Mr. de la Condamine remarks, that in the Roman highways, the joinings of the stones are never placed in

in the same direction with that of the motion of the carriages that travelled over them; and that the bed of the Tiber must have acquired ten or twelve feet in height, because the ancient pavement of the pantheon is overflowed to that height every winter. The emerald of Genoa is only a piece of glass.

April 1st.]—I read *Spanheim, Dissert. VI. p.* 533—589; and *Dissert. VII. p.* 589—633. He continues the chapter concerning offices, particularly those of legates and proprætors, whom the emperors sent into the provinces, and who were distinguished by the epithet "Consular" towards the time of the Antonines. He then proceeds to the medals of emperors and empresses. I have met with nothing more curious than the article concerning those princesses. I should not be a stranger at their courts, since I could distinguish the two Faustinas by their respective head-dresses.

2d.]—I read *Spanheim, Dissert. VII. p.* 633—660. He continues to speak of women, and the relations of the Cæsars.

3d.]—I read *Spanheim, Dissert. VIII. p.* 660—737. This part is very curious; containing an account of the different titles, which, by their union, formed the imperial authority: Cæsar, Augustus, Imperator, High Priest, Father of the Country, Proconsul, Tribune—all these taken together rendered the emperors far greater than kings. This last title was also given to them as early as the time of Domitian by Greek historians and Latin poets, though those princes themselves did not venture to

to assume it, till the time of Constantine and the lower empire, when all republican maxims had been effaced from the minds of their subjects.

I went to the library to re-examine Mr. de la Condamine's Journal, which I had read too hastily. I met with the two following particulars concerning the height of mountains. 1. The 1460 fathoms given for the altitude of Mount Cenis are not applicable to the road, but to a station far more elevated, which Mr. de la Condamine reached with the utmost difficulty. The Pilgrim's Hospital is five hundred fathoms lower. 2. Falio de Duillier made the Lake of Geneva 426 fathoms above the level of the sea, and Mont Blanc 2000 fathoms higher: in all 2426 fathoms. But of the two elements of this calculation, the one is taken too high, and the other too low. Mr. de Cheseaux, measuring a larger base, found Mont Blanc to be 2250 fathoms above the level of the lake; but the height given to the lake above the sea, corrected by barometrical observations at Geneva, Turin, and Genoa, appears to be only 188, instead of 426 fathoms: so that the true height of Mont Blanc is 2438 fathoms. Mr. de la Condamine thus rectifies, in the History of the Academy, the notions which he had not sufficiently examined when he published his journal.

April 4th.]—I read *Spanheim, de Usu Numismatum, Dissert. VIII. p. 737—757.* After discussing the honorary titles of princes, he proceeds to the medals called the *Spintriæ* of Tiberius: he believes them to have been pieces of money that were

were scattered among the common people at the obscene games of Flora. He then treats of colonies; sacred, free, and independent cities; the bounties of the emperors; the *vehiculatio Italiæ;* the arrear of imposts; the whole forming a classic book on the subject of medals.

I finished *Bayle's General Criticism on Maimbourg's History of Calvinism; in* 12*mo. Villa Franca,* 1684, *third edition.* The fashion of the age made the philosopher Bayle enter the lists of controversy; into which he brought with him a measure of knowledge, precision, and candour, as well as entertainment, seldom exhibited there. In his reasonings concerning infallibility, and the rights of an erroneous conscience, you see the accurate and enlightened dialectician; but he is rather too diffuse. No man was ever better qualified than Bayle for assuming the character of his adversary, shewing his system in a new garb, and for availing himself of all places open to assault; which is one of the greatest advantages of the sceptical philosophy. His chapters on the marriage of the clergy are full of pleasantry, learning, and knowledge of human nature; and his two letters on the love of parents towards their children, and on jealousy, contain a profound philosophy; in which he unfolds a chain of prejudices connected with our existence, necessary for our happiness, and intended by the Supreme Being to supply the place of a reason too exalted for the bulk of mankind, and too weak to be a principle of action.

action. The new letters appear to me far superior to the two first volumes.

April 5th.]—I read only the ninth Dissert. of *Spanheim, p.* 813—834. He treats of kings appointed by the Romans.

7th.]—I spent the whole morning in the library, reading very extensive articles in the second part of the third volume of *Monfaucon's Explanation of Antiquities.* He treats of the theatres and amphitheatres of the Romans.

9th.]—I read a considerable part of *Keysler*, in order to extract from him whatever might be useful in my travels in Italy; on which I set out in a few days with Guise. I am much pleased with Keysler; his work is useful, curious, and learned without affectation. When I consider how well he examined Italy in nine months, I am sensible that time is long, when we know how to make a good use of it.

10th.]—I read *Spanheim, Dissert. IX. p.* 834—860. He treats of the victories of the emperors, their public works, and the speeches which *they only* had a right to make to the soldiers. The heads of accusation against Metius Volusianus were not so ridiculous according to Roman, as they would be according to modern manners. Montesquieu and Spanheim think alike on this subject; the suggestions of genius are confirmed by erudition.

11th.]—I read *Spanheim, Dissert. IX. p.* 860—914; which concludes the work. He treats of the assistance which chronology and geography may

derive from medals. Mr. d'Alembert's ignorance on this subject is pardonable.

April 12th.]—I re-examined Spanheim's work which is a real treasury of medallic erudition, a classic book on this science.

14th.]—I read hastily Vaillant's book on the medals of colonies, with a reference to the article of Julius Cæsar. I much wish that I had time to examine it more deeply.

16th.]—I found leisure, amidst multiplied occupations, to read Vaillant down to the reign of Claudius. I wish he had mentioned the cabinets in which his medals are to be found.

Genoa, June 11th.]—I have done nothing in the way of study but read the first seven epistles of the first book of Horace; a delightful philosopher and an excellent poet. At leisure moments I translated into English some parts of my Collection, which suggested to me various observations concerning the different idioms of the two languages, and the extreme difficulty of writing in both, without injuring the purity of either. One morning I gave way to reflexions which had often occurred to me, on ancient coins; and was so well disposed for diligence, that, with the assistance of a few books, I might have made great progress in the subject. I believe that the pound Troy was the ancient Roman pound. Until more accurate researches are made, which however have hitherto been neglected, I would propose the following table. The denarius should be ascertained by a mean proportional between the estimate of Greaves and

and Arbuthnot, and the conclusion resulting from the Farnese Congius; deducting a sixth part for alloy.

The Roman denarius, or Greek drachma, will make 7½ English pence, about 14 French sous.

The Attic talent 187*l.* 10*s.*; about 4280 French livres.

The sestertium, or *great sesterce*, 7*l.* 16*s.* 3*d.* or 180 French livres.

Florence, June 24th.]—All the English dined at Sir Horace Mann's. I have already mentioned their names, except that of Consul Dick, who is come from Leghorn with his wife in order to be present at the arrival of the Duke of York, who is expected against the festival of St. Peter. The knight gave us an excellent dinner, but it was not very lively. * * * * * * * * * engrossed the conversation and talked poetry, politics, and chemistry with an astonishing volubility. This man is certainly not without genius or knowledge; but his self-sufficiency, his affectation, and an eccentricity, bordering on folly, render him very unpleasing. He associates but little with the other English.

25th.]—I procured two volumes of *Mr. Gori's Symbolæ Florentinæ*, in order to read Mr. Muratori's dissertation on the brazen table found near Velleia, which he has prefixed to an accurate plate of the table itself. See *Symbolæ, Vol. v. p.* 1---56, and seven sheets for the table itself. It is written with as much precision and perspicuity as learning. Mr. Muratori is not a mere antiquary. He proves clearly that Trajan

first instituted the *Pueri Alimentárii* in Italy, A. D. 103; and that this institution was supported by his successors to the time of Pertinax, who entirely abolished it. He thinks that this inscription, far longer than any other, may throw much light on the history, geography, and economy of that age. I quite agree with him; but, after maturely considering the inscription, do not think that he has seen all the consequences which ought to be drawn from it.

July 2d.]—I carefully re-examined Muratori's dissertation. I take the trouble of extracting from the bronze table the rents which a vast number of citizens of Velleia covenanted to pay, and the funds from which they were to raise them. The task is dry and unpleasant; but, before building an edifice, it is necessary to lay the foundation; there must be bricklayers as well as architects. I hope to benefit by this enumeration.

4th.]—I finished the volume of *Statues*, with Gori's observations.

7th.]—We were forced to dine with ********* who courts us as assiduously as we avoid him. During the repast he amused us much by his airs of greatness, and his ideas of economy, which are extravagant to a degree. There is a good deal of gasconade in them, I know, but he certainly realises them in some measure. He has much vanity and ambition, and endeavours to unite the two characters of philosopher and voluptuary. I do not think he professes the least taste for the arts or antiquities which attract so many travellers. According

cording to him, a person may see Rome in twenty days. This trait is enough for me.

July 25th.]—Lord Palmerston, whom we saw at Lausanne, is arrived here from Padua. He has completed his travels, and I think to his satisfaction. Sir Horace Mann took us to his house to dinner. After dinner there was a boat-race on the Arno, which we, and the rest of the English, saw from the windows of our apartment. It is one of those things (there are so many of them) of which the description may be better than the reality. The boats were so little ornamented, and the race so short, that we merely saw that the Florentines have some idea of public spectacles, but know not how to execute them. We passed the evening in an assembly at the Countess Accaioli's.

August 23d.]—The two Damers dined with us. They are really good young men; and though extremely wild, are by no means devoid of abilities and good sense. The youngest was in the Guards, which he left, because Lord Tyrawley had refused him permission to travel. I suspect that there was some political motive for this.

26th.]—* * * * * * * * * is returned from his tour. He distinguished himself at Lucca by his declared contempt of the city and the state, by his misplaced hauteur, and by his many sarcasms. The republic, which has always prided itself on its attentions to the English, adopted with regret the resolution of making him quit Lucca, which it communicated to Sir Horace Mann. When this was intimated to* * * * * * * * * he requested leave to see an

Opera, and to obtain it, made very unseasonable submissions. An officer of the Guards attended him all the day, and in the evening conducted him to the theatre without his sword. He departed the next day. Must this madman always be getting into scrapes? He has made himself many enemies; what will he do in England?

Sept. 2d.]—I have begun to form an inclination. It is for a certain Madame Gianni, a princess if you please, since she is a Medici by birth, and whose branch ought to have succeeded to the Grand Duchy on the extinction of that of Cosmo I. if violence had permitted them to claim the constitution of Charles V.

HINTS

Camp, near Winchester, 26th July, 1761.

HINTS OF SOME SUBJECTS FOR HISTORY.

I would despise an author regardless of the benefit of his readers: I would admire him who, solely attentive to this benefit, should be totally indifferent to his own fame. I stand in neither of these predicaments. My own inclination as well as the taste of the present age, have made me decide in favour of history. Convinced of its merit, my reason cannot blush at the choice. But this is not all. Am I worthy of pursuing a walk of literature, which Tacitus thought worthy of him, and of which Pliny doubted whether he was himself worthy?* The part of an historian is as honourable as that of a mere chronicler or compiler of gazettes is contemptible. For which task I am fit, it is impossible to know, until I have tried my strength; and to make the experiment, I ought soon to choose some subject of history, which may do me credit, if well treated; and whose importance, even though my work should be unsuccessful, may console me for employing too much time in a species of composition for which I was not well qualified. I proceed, therefore, to review some subjects for history; to indicate their advan-

* Vide Plin. Secund. Epist. Lib. v. Ep. viii.

tages and defects; and to point out that subject which I may think fit to prefer.

The history of Richard I. of England's crusade against the Saracens.

The history of Richard I. of England, and his crusade against the Saracens, is alluring by the marvellous. A king of England fighting at the head of an allied army of English and French under the walls of Ascalon! There are good materials for executing such an undertaking. Without speaking of the general chronicles, we know two contemporary and accurate historians; and what is of great importance to a lover of the truth, the one a Christian, and the other a Mahomedan; I mean William of Tyre, and the Arabian, whose history of Saladin is translated by Mr. Schultens. Two monkish authors, at least, have left particular descriptions of this crusade; and two other monks have celebrated it in historical poems. But, on the other hand, this Richard was a fit hero only for monks. With the ferocity of a gladiator, he united the cruelty of a tyrant; and both were unsuccessfully employed in a cause where superstition silenced religion, justice, and policy; and against one of the most accomplished princes in history. How little are we interested in the exploits of Richard! Besides, this transaction is too remote, and too deeply buried in the darkness of the middle ages, to attract much notice at present.

EXTRACTS

EXTRACTS FROM MR. GIBBON'S COMMON-PLACE BOOKS, MEMORANDA, &c.

THERE is some philosophical amusement in tracing the birth and progress of error. Till the beginning of the ninth century, the two Dionysii of Athens, and of Paris, however adorned with imaginary trophies, were carefully distinguished from each other in the Greek and in the Latin churches. Under the reign of Lewis, the son of Charlemagne, about the year 824, Hilduia, abbot of St. Denys, resolved to confound them, and to dignify the Gallican church, by assigning its origin, not to an obscure bishop of the third century, but to a celebrated philosopher of Athens, who received his mission from the Apostles themselves. As the genuine writers of antiquity refused to countenance this opinion, Hilduia, though he sometimes quoted and corrupted them, found it necessary to *create* the works of Aristarchus, of Visbius, &c. which existed only in his fancy, or, at the most, in the suspicious archives of his convent. The zeal and correspondence of the Benedictine monks spread the tale as far as Rome and Constantinople. It was published by Anastasius in the Latin, and by Methodius in the Greek tongue. From the east, it was reverberated back into France with such an increase of sound, it was so grateful to the ear of national vanity, that as early as the year 876, the famous Hincmar, Archbishop

bishop of Rheims, could scarcely persuade himself that there still existed any remains of incredulity. In the seventeenth century, Sirmond the Jesuit, and the indefatigable Launoy, ventured to restore the long-lost distinction of the two Dionysii; and the bigots, after some struggle, were reduced to silence. See Varia de duobus Dionysiis Opuscula, in 8vo. Paris, 1660.

The two extraordinary circumstances in the legend of George of Cappadocia are his gradual transformations from a heretic to a saint, and from a saint to a knight-errant. 1. It clearly appears from Epiphanius (Hæres. lxxvi.) that some persons revered George as a martyr, because he had been massacred by the fury of the Pagans. But as Epiphanius observes, with truth, that his vices, not his faith, had been the cause of his death; the Arians disguised the object of their veneration by changing the time and place of his martyrdom, stigmatised his adversary Athanasius under the title of Athanasius the Magician, and when they returned to the Catholic church, they brought with them a new saint of whose real character they had insensibly lost the remembrance. At first, he was received with coldness and distrust; and in the year 494, the Council of Rome, held under Pope Gelasius, mentions his acts as composed by the heretics, and his person as better known to God than to men. But in the succeeding century his glory broke out with sudden lustre, both in the east and in the west. See the contemporary testimonies

timonies of Procopius (de Edificiis, l. iii); of Venantius Fortunatus (l. ii. carm. 13); of Gregory of Tours (de Gloriâ Martyrum, l. i. c. 101); and of Gregory of Rome (in Libro Sacrament.) New legends were invented by the lively fancy of the Greeks, which described the stupendous miracles and sufferings of the *great martyr:* and from Lydda in Palestine, (see Glaber, l. iii. c. 7. Wilhelm. Tyr. l. 8. (22),) the supposed place of his burial, devout pilgrims transported the suspicious relics which adorned the temples erected to his honour in all the countries of Europe and Asia. 2. The genius of chivalry and romance mistook the symbolical representations which were common to St. George of Cappadocia, and to several other saints, the dragon painted under their feet was designed for the devil, whom the martyr transpierced with the spiritual lance of faith, and thus delivered the church, described under the figure of a woman. But in the time of the crusades the dragon, so common in eastern romance, was considered as a real monster slain near the city of Silena, in Libya, by the Christian hero, who (like another Perseus) delivered from his fury a beautiful and royal damsel named St. Margaret. In the great battle of Antioch, St. George fought on the side of the Christians, at the head of an innumerable host, whose shields, banners, &c. were perfectly white: and the truth of this prodigy, so analagous to his character, is attested by contemporaries and eye-witnesses. (Robert. Hist. Hierosolym. l. v. et vii. Petrus Tudebrod. ap. Duchesne, tom. iv.). The name of St. George,

George, who on other occasions, in Spain and Italy, is said to have lent a similar aid, was invoked by princes and warriors as that of their peculiar patron. Cities and kingdoms, Malta, Genoa, Barcelona, Valencia, Arragon, England, &c. adopted him as their tutelary saint; and even the Turks have vied with the Christians in celebrating the martial prowess of their celestial enemy, whom they style the knight of the white horse. (Cotobii. in Itinerar. Cantacuzen in Apol. iii. contra Mahametanos.) An ample collection of whatever relates to St. George may be found in the Bollandists. Acta Sanctorum, mens. April. Jan. iii. p. 100—163. The first who discovered the Arian persecutor under the mask of sanctity was Isaac Pontanus de Rebus Amstelod. l. ii. c. 4. and although Father Papebroch (Acta S. S. Boll. p. 112.) is extremely angry with him, the more candid Abbé de Longuerne (Longuewand) embraces the opinion of Pontanus with pleasure, and assurance. Perhaps our knights of the garter would be somewhat astonished at reading this short history of their patron.

It would be absurd to quote, or even to refute the recent forgeries of Flavius Dexter, Marcus Maximus, Julian Peter, or Liutprand, by which the Spaniards have endeavoured to support their favourite tradition, that they received the Gospel from the Apostle St. James, in the fifteen years which elapsed between the death of Christ and his own martyrdom. If we except the ambiguous passage

passage of St. Jerome, (Comment. ad Isaiam, c. 38. 42.) the earliest testimonies which can be produced are those of two Spanish bishops, Isidore of Seville and Julian of Toledo, who both flourished in the seventh century. In the ancient liturgy, which after the conquest of the Arabs acquired the title of Mozarabic, St. James is celebrated as the Apostle of Spain. His pretensions were peaceably admitted into the offices of most of the Latin churches, and when with the other arts, the art of criticism was restored, he could already boast an uninterrupted possession of 900 years. When the Roman Breviary was corrected under Clement VIII. a serious attention was paid to the doubts of Cardinal Baronius, and the positive assertion of the mission of St. James into Spain was exchanged for the qualified expression of "mox Hispaniam adiisse, et aliquos discipulos ad fidem convertisse ecclesiarum illius provinciæ *traditio* est." This national disgrace was obliterated in the year 1635, after forty years negociation; but by the anxious policy of the court of Rome the new form was composed in such a manner as to guard the pre-eminence of St. Peter from the interference of any other Apostle in the West. From that time the Spaniards have triumphed; the French critics Noël, Alexandre, and Tillemont, have been obliged to offer their difficulties with diffidence and respect; and it is pleasant enough to see them stigmatised as free-thinkers by the Bollandists. Acta Sanctorum, mens. Julii, tom. vi. p. 69—114.

About

About the year 814, one hundred years after the conquest of Spain by the Arabs, Theodeorier, Bishop of Iria Flavia, in Gallicia, guided by some nocturnal and præternatural lights, had the good fortune to discover in the adjacent forest of Compostella, an ancient tomb overgrown with brambles, which contained the body of the patron and Apostle of Spain. A rude and hasty chapel, suitable to the poverty of the Christians, was immediately built by Alphonso the Chaste, King of Leon; and in the year 876, his successor Alphonso the Third erected on that spot a temple more worthy of the majesty of the saint. By the verses of Walafridus Strabo, (Cænis. Antiq. Lecteon. tom. vi. p. 661.) who died in 849, and by the martyrologies of Ado and Usward, it is evident that before the end of the ninth century, the tomb of St. James was celebrated throughout Europe; nor was it difficult to frame a legend which accounted for the conveyance of his body from the country where he had suffered martyrdom to the country where he had preached the Gospel. The solitude of Compostella was insensibly changed into a flourishing city, which acquired the episcopal and even the metropolitan honours of the deserted sees of Iria Flavia, and Merida. During the tenth and the succeeding centuries, the Spaniards, the French, the Germans, and the Flemings, resorted in pilgrimage to the shrine of St. James of Compostella; and such was the ardour of their zeal, that quarrels, and even murders, very frequently happened while the several nations contended for the privilege

lege of watching before the altar. (Innocent. III. Epistol. Edit. Baluz. l. x. p. 43.) On this new theatre the Apostle of Spain soon displayed his miraculous powers for the relief of his friends and the punishment of his enemies. The former experienced his aid in the most imminent dangers and the most desperate diseases; and the Arabian general Almanzar, who had dared to violate the sanctuary of Compostella, lost the greatest part of his army by the effects of the dysentery (Sampirus Asturicensis, in Edit. Sandoonl. p. 70. Roderic Toletan. l. v. c. 16.) In the wars between the Christians and the Moors, it was impossible that St. James could remain an indifferent spectator; and the Spanish soldiers, particularly the military order which under his patronage was founded in the 12th century, devoutly invoked his aid as that of a good and valiant knight; strange as that title might appear for a Saint who had probably never been on horseback in his life, (see Monachus Siliensis apud Francisc. de Berganza Antiquit. Hispan. p. 543.) it was soon justified by nocturnal visions, which prepared the minds of the Spaniards for the belief of a more public and visible apparition. At first it seems probable that they contented themselves with celebrating the miraculous aid which he had given to their ancestors, and we may observe that his exploits in the battle of Clavigium so pompously described by Mariana (l. vii. c. 13) and Roderic of Toledo (l. iv. c. 13) are unnoticed by the more ancient writers. But as the habits of faith were insensibly confirmed by time,

time, and by repeated acts of credibility, the warriors of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries could persuade themselves and their contemporaries that, with their own eyes, they had seen their heroic apostle, mounted on a white horse, leading them to battle and to victory. (See Lucas Tudensis ad Ann. 1230, tom. iv. Hispania Illustrat. p. 114). In succeeding ages St. James displayed his prowess in Italy, Flanders, India, and America, (see a curious circumstance in Robertson's History of America, vol. ii. p. 448.) and his influence was felt, even when his presence was invisible. The day of his festival was auspicious to the arms of Spain, according to the admirable observation of Grotius, "Diem quem Hispani felicem sibi credunt, et credendo sæpe faciunt." Charles the Fifth chose for the invasion of Provence that holy day which in the preceding year had been crowned by the conquest of Tunis; but on this occasion St. James and the Emperor were obliged to retire with disgrace. (See a fine passage in the Mémoires de du Bellay, quoted by the Abbé d'Artigny, Mélanges d'Histoire, &c. tom. ii. p. 290.)

The Bollandists, by whom I have been guided, have laboured the article of St. James with indefatigable diligence. Act. Sanctor. Mensis Jul. tom. vi. p. 1—124.

Tacitus describes the site of Jerusalem with his accustomed brevity and precision; "duos *colles* immensum editos claudebant *muri* per artem obliqui (Hist. v. ii. See likewise Josephus de B. J. l. vi.

l. vi. c. 6). The hill situated to the south was called Sion, and originally constituted the ancient or upper city. The northern hill called Acra was gradually covered by the Temple, by the buildings of the new or lower city, and in modern times by those which surround the modern sepulchre. Jerusalem has insensibly moved toward the north, and the hill of Sion is long since deserted.

By the comparison of the measures taken on the spot by Des Haies and Maundrell, it appears that the actual circumference of Jerusalem amounts to 2000 or 1960 French toises.

According to the measurement of a Syrian engineer (Euseb. Prep. Evangel. l. ix. c. 36.) the circumference of ancient Jerusalem was twenty-seven stadia, which gives us 2550 toises, and agrees perfectly with the nature of the ground as represented in Des Haies's plan.

It results from the best authorities, and the most accurate measures, that the enclosure of the great Mosque of Jerusalem (supposed to contain the whole ground of the ancient temple) is about 215 toises in length and 172 in breadth, and consequently about one Roman mile, or eight stadia in circumference. But if we deduct the waste ground allotted for the court of the Gentiles, the temple itself formed a square, each side of which was equal to 500 Hebrew cubits, or 142 French toises.

(A curious dissertation of M. d'Anville Sur l'Ancienne Jérusalem. Paris, 1747. pp. 75. It is now out of print and was lent me by that geographer himself.)

PLINY JUNIOR.—Le traducteur François des Lettres de Pline a fait quelques méprises que je relèverai. Il dit dans sa vie de Pline " que le royaume de Bithynie avoit été légué aux Romains par Attalus fils de Prusias, un de ses rois, et qui se disoit affranchi du peuple Romain."(1) I^ment. Le prince qui légua la Bithynie aux Romains ne s'appela point Attalus; son nom étoit Nicomède. II^ment. Il n'étoit point le fils de Prusias.(2) III^ment. Faut-il entendre les mots " qui se disoit affranchi du peuple Romain" de cet Attale, ou de Prusias? c'étoit seulement du dernier qu'on pouvoit le dire avec vérité. Ce même traducteur dans un autre endroit(3) traduit le mot Forojulii par celui de Frioul. Mais il est certain que l'endroit en question étoit une ville en Provence, près de Marseilles.(4) On l'appèle à présent Fréjus.

(1) Lettres de Pline, tom. ii. p. 41 de la Vie de l'Auteur.
(2) Appian. in Bell. Mithrid. p. 175. 215. Edit. Hen. Steph. Vell. Pater. lib. ii. p. 4. 39. Tit. Liv. Epit. lib. 93.
(3) C. Plin. Epist. lib. v. Ep. 19.
(4) Cellar. Notit. Orbis Antiquæ, tom. i. p. 150. Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire de Brandenbourg, tom. i. p. 153.

CROMWELL.—L'Europe avoit accordé le titre de grand alors à trois princes: à Louis Quatorze, à Cromwell, et à Fréderic Guillaume. A Cromwell pour avoir sacrifié tous les devoirs d'un bon citoyen à la gloire de régner sur l'Angleterre; pour avoir perverti ses talens, qui, au lieu de devenir utiles à sa patrie, ne servirent qu'à son ambition; pour avoir caché ses impostures sous le masque du fanatisme; assujetti sa nation à sa tyrannie en combattant pour ses libertés; pour être devenu le meurtrier de son roi, qu'il immola à ses fureurs; pour être hardi, artificieux, passionné, violent, injuste, et non vertueux; pour avoir des grandes qualités, et manquer des bonnes.

BOCHART.

Bochart.—Je relèverai deux petites méprises dans lesquelles M. de Bochart est tombé. I^ment. Il cite, pour prouver que l'empereur Conrad II. n'avoit jamais pris le titre de Roi de Bourgogne, une charte de l'empereur Henri III. son fils et successeur, qui finit ainsi; Signum Domini Henrici Regis Invic. Teutonicom Tertii, Secundi Romanorum Imperatoris Invictissimi, et Burgundionum Primi. Se seroit-il dit le premier (dit M. de Bochart), si Conrad son père avoit porté en quelque façon le titre de Roi de Bourgogne? Mais comment ne voyoit-il pas lui-même que le Primus ne disoit rien, sinon que ce prince étoit le premier Roi de Bourgogne du nom de Henri? Pouvoit-il s'appeler le troisième Roi des Teutones, ou le second empereur? Au lieu qu'il étoit bien Henri II. comme empereur, et III. comme Roi d'Allemagne; Henri l'Oiseleur n'étant considéré que comme Roi d'Allemagne, parcequ'il n'avoit point reçu la couronne impériale des mains du Pape.(1)

II^ment. Il dit que les Tigurini étoient les seuls, excepté Hannibal et les Samnites, qui eussent fait passer les Romains sous le joug.(2) Sans rechercher des exemples bien loin, les Numantines(3) et Jugurtha(4) firent subir cette ignominie à des armées Romaines dans le même siècle que les Tigurini. Je ne blâme point M. de Bochart d'avoir traduit le mot Interpres(5) d'un passage de Cicéron(6) par celui d'interprète. Je sais bien que Interpres le signifie, mais il me semble qu'il auroit été plus conforme aux fonctions des légats dont Cicéron parle s'il l'avoit rendu par celui d'entremetteur;

(1) M. de Bochart, Mémoires sur la Suisse Ancienne, tom. ii. p. 263.
(2) Idem. tom. ii. p. 342.
(3) Vell. Paterc. Hist. Rom. lib. ii. c. 1. Plut. in Tib. Graccho.
(4) Sallust. in Bell. Jug. c. 38.
(5) M. de Bochart, Mémoires sur la Suisse Ancienne, tom. i. p. 461.
(6) Cicer. in Vat. c. 15.

d'une personne qui est employée dans la médiation de quelque affaire. C'est dans ce sens que les meilleurs auteurs s'en servent.(7)

(7) Virgil. Æneid. lib. iv. v. 608. Cicer. Epist. ad Famil. lib. x. Ep. 15. 17. V. aussi les Remarques de M. Ross, l'editeur Anglois, là-dessus. Tit. Liv. Hist. lib. ii. c. 33.

Ambrones.—M. de Bochart(1) croit ne devoir pas admettre les Ambrones entre les quatre peuples qui formoient la cité Helvétienne du temps de César. Sa meilleure raison pour cela est le témoignage de César lui-même, qui dit que les Tigurini furent les seuls des cantons Helvétiens qui joignoient l'armée des Cimbres et des Teutons dans leur guerre contre les Romains.(2) Or il est certain que les Ambrones furent de cette expédition. Il acquiesce assez dans l'idée du P. Oudin,(3) qui les plaçoit dans le pays qu'occupoient depuis les Sébusiens, qui étoient resserrés entre les confins des Séquanois, le Rhone, et l'Ains. Aussi trouve-t-on dans ces quartiers-là beaucoup de noms qui ressemblent fort au leur, comme Ambournay, petite ville de Bugey, &c. Il faut convenir qu'Ambro, qui signifioit en Celtique pays d'eau, convient assez bien à celui-ci. Car les terres du bord du Rhone depuis l'Ecluse jusqu'à Lyon étoient pour la plûpart des marais. C'est ce qui fit dire à Ammien Marcellin que le Rhone, en sortant du Lac Léman, passe par de vastes marais, par immensa paludum, dans le pays des Séquanois, le Bugey. Il croit néanmoins que le P. Oudin à trop resserré les limites, et tant à cause de la ressemblance du nom, que parceque cette nation paroît avoir été fort nombreuse, il veut qu'elle s'étendoit jusqu'à Ambrun, en Dauphiné.

(1) M. de Bochart, Mémoires sur l'Ancienne Suisse, tom. ii. p. 586, &c.
(2) Cæsar de Bello Gall. lib. i. c. 12.
(3) V. la Dissert. du P. Oudin dans le Recueil de Pièces d'Hist. et de Littérat., tom. iv. p. 1.

Cid.

CID.—Après l'Illusion Comique, M. Corneille se releva plus grand et plus fort que jamais, et fit le Cid. Jamais pièce de théâtre n'eut un si grand succès. Je me souviens d'avoir vu en ma vie un homme de guerre et un mathématicien qui, de toutes les comédies du monde, ne connoissoient que le Cid. L'horrible barbarie où ils vivoient n'avoit pu empêcher le nom du Cid d'aller jusqu'à eux. M. Corneille avoit dans son cabinet cette pièce traduite dans toutes les langues de l'Europe, hors l'Esclavonne, et la Turque. Elle étoit en Allemand, en Anglois, en Flamand, et par une exactitude Flamande on l'avoit rendue vers pour vers. Elle étoit en Italien, et, ce qui est plus étonnant, en Espagnol. Les Espagnols avoient bien voulu copier eux-mêmes une pièce dont l'original leur appartenoit. M. Pelisson dit dans son Histoire de l'Académie qu'en plusieurs provinces de France il étoit passé en proverbe de dire, "Cela est beau comme le Cid." Si ce proverbe a péri il faut s'en prendre aux auteurs, qui ne le goûtoient pas; et à la cour, où c'eût été très mal parler, que de s'en servir dans le ministère du Cardinal Richelieu.

Vie de Corneille, p. 72. mise devant l'édition de ses ouvrages de la Haye. 1740.

BERNE.—M. de Bochart n'est point dans l'idée générale au sujet du nom de la ville de Berne. On croit que Berchtold, Duc de Zaringue, son fondateur, le lui donna à l'occasion d'un ours qu'on avoit pris dans l'endroit où est à présent la ville, *Bar* signifiant en Allemand un Ours. M. de Bochart veut le tirer de Bern, qui dans la langue Celtique veut dire une Colline; nom assez fréquent dans les

Bochart, Mémoires sur la Suisse Ancienne, tom. iii. p. 118–127.

pays Celtiques, et qui convient fort bien à la situation de Berne. Voici les remarques qu'il fait sur le sentiment commun.

I^ment. Que quoiqu'il y eût quelque conformité entre Bar et Bern, ces deux mots ne se confondoient point, et n'étoient point synonymes dans l'idiome Allemand en usage au douzième siècle. Ce n'est que dans l'ancienne langue de Scanie qu'on voit une dans le nom de l'Ours.

II^ment. Parceque cette histoire suppose que Berchtold étoit dans le pays au printems de l'an 1191. Or il est certain que ce prince étoit à la Terre Sainte avec l'empereur Fréderic I. l'automne de 1190, et il est vraisemblable qu'il n'en revint que l'an 1193.

III^ment. Il remarque que de toutes les chroniques qui en parlent il n'y en a aucune plus ancienne que 1420, près de 230 ans après la fondation de la ville.

IV^ment. Que tous les monumens qu'on cite sont postérieurs à la première des chroniques, et que par conséquence, ils ne prouvent rien, sinon que cette tradition étoit répandue alors.

V^ment. Que les armes de Berne, qui sont un Ours, ne décident de rien, mille autres raisons pouvant y avoir donné lieu aussi bien que la prétendue chasse de l'ours.

M. de Watteville, Hist. de la Confédér. Helvét. tom. i. p. 94. Berne, 1754.

Si j'osois combattre une opinion si généralement reçue (l'étymologie et l'origine du nom de Berne) je hasarderois bien de dire que je crois l'histoire de cette dénomination une pure tradition, qu'on peut pardonner au siècle qui vit paroître la première his-

histoire de Berne. Ce ne fut qu'en l'an 1420 que le Chancelier Conrad Justinger reçut l'ordre d'y travailler. V. Kettler, tom. i. p. 122. Je n'ai qu'une conjecture à opposer à cette tradition. Elle est fondée sur la signification Celtique du mot Bern, qui vouloit dire l'endroit où l'on s'assembloit pour rendre la justice. V. Wachter, Glossar. German. Voce Bar. Le château de Nideck, près duquel la ville à été bâtie, étoit vraisemblablement un de ces lieux de justice, dont le Duc aura voulu renouveller et conserver la mémoire; c'est pourquoi il aura donné le nom de Berne à sa nouvelle ville.

SATURNALES.—L'opinion commune est, que durant cette fête, les valets changeoient non seulement d'équipage, mais de condition avec leurs maîtres, et en étoient servis à table. Je trouve néanmoins sur ce dernier article, que Sénèque, (1) Stace, (2) Plutarque, (3) Justin, (4) Lucien, (5) et Macrobe, (6) parlant de cette fête, se contentoient de dire que les valets mangeoient avec leurs maîtres, et des mêmes viandes, et là-dessus rapportent l'origine de cette coutume à l'égalité qui étoit sous le règne de Saturne sans aucune distinction de maîtres ou de valets. Servius en parle aussi. (7) Athénée en parle un peu autrement, (8) et comme les Romains ne traitoient pas seulement leurs valets, mais les servoient, ne laisse pas de reconnoître que c'étoit une coutume Grecque. Lucius Accius, ancien poëte Latin, dit que les Romains avoient reçu cette fête des Grecs, et sur-

Les Césars de l'empereur Julien, traduits par M. Spanheim, p. 3. 6. Rem. 3. Amsterdam, 1728.

(1) Senecs, Epist. 47.
(2) Stace, in Sylvis Kal. Decem.
(3) Plut. in Numa.
(4) Just. lib. xliii. c. 1.
(5) Lucien in Satur.
(6) Macrob. in Satur. l. i. c. 7.
(7) Serv. ad Æneid. 8.
(8) Athen. lib. xiv.

tout des Athéniens, qui l'aimoient beaucoup. (9) On voit des traces de cette institution parmi les Egyptiens, les Babyloniens, et les Perses. M. Bochart (10) en attribue l'origine à la malice des descendans de Cham, qui vouloient tourner en ridicule la prophétie de Noé contr'eux; M. Huet au Jubilé des Hébreux, où on voyoit quelques-uns des mêmes usages. (11)

(9) Macrob. in Satur. l. i. c. 7.

(10) Boch. in Phal. l. i. c. 1.

(11) Huet. Dem. Evan. p. 136.

GIANTS.—Monsieur l'Abbé Banier nous donne le précis de ce qu'on a dit pour et contre l'existence des Géans. M. l'Abbé Zilladet prétend qu'il y a eu des villes et des peuples tous entiers de Géans. M. Henrion va encore plus loin, et nous donne une espèce d'échelle chronologique sur la différence de la taille des hommes jusques Jésus Christ. Adam selon lui avoit 123 pieds 9 pouces de haut, et Eve 118 pieds 9 pouces; d'où il établit une règle de proportion entre les hommes et les femmes à raison de 25 à 24. Il donne 20 pieds de moins à Noé qu'à Adam, 28 à Abraham, 13 à Moïse, 10 à Hercule, et ainsi des autres.

Mém. de l'Académie des Belles Lettres, tom. i. p. 125. Tostatus in Deutr. l. xxvii. Theod. Ryckius Orat. de Gigant. Numbers, xiii. 33. 34 Odyss. i. vers 576. Eusebius Prep. Evan. lib. ix. c. 13. Phlégon de Tralles de Mirac. ch. 14. Pausanias in Attic. c. 25, et in Arcad. ch. 29. Philostrat. in Heroi. Plutarch in Sertorio. Plin. Hist. l. vii. c. 16.

Ceux qui soutiennent l'existence des Géans, se fondent, I^ment. sur l'autorité de l'Ecriture qui parle des Géans, des fils d'Enac, et du lit d'Og, roi de Basan; II^ment. sur le témoignage des auteurs profanes; et III^ment. sur les os monstrueux qu'on a trouvés dans plusieurs endroits. Leurs adversaires leur ont répondu que les Géans de l'Ecriture étoient des gens remarquables plutôt par l'énormité de leur conduite, que par celle de leur taille; et que d'ailleurs leur taille, quoique au-dessus de l'ordinaire,

naire, n'approchoit pas à la grandeur que ces messieurs leur attribuent. A l'égard des os énormes une grande partie de ces histoires sont fabuleuses, ou du moins exagérées; et le reste des os sont supposés d'avoir été les os des éléphans, ou de quelques autres bêtes fort grandes. Au reste, selon eux, à juger de l'exacte proportion de la nature, il paroît que des hommes de notre taille ont été faits pour cultiver cette terre.

GIANNONE.—Je marquerai quelques erreurs dont l'exactitude de M. Giannone dans son Histoire de Naples ne l'a point garanti.

I^ment. (1) Il fait une faute d'omission en prouvant que Naples étoit une ville Grecque par un passage de Tacite seulement. N'avoit-il jamais lu Velleius Paterculus, qui dit formellement, (2) que Naples a été bâti par les Cuméens; que Cumes étoit une colonie des Chalcidiens; et que ceux-ci descendoient des Athéniens?

(1) Giannone, Hist. du Royaume de Naples, tom. i. p. 20.
(2) Vell. Paterc. Hist. l. i. c. 4.

II^ment. L'empereur Fréderic I., Barberousse, n'étoit point le fils (3), mais bien le neveu de l'empereur Conrad II (III).

(3) Giannone, Hist. de Naples, tom. ii. p. 440.

III^ment. Il dit (4) que la France est le seul état Chrétien où le clergé fait un ordre du royaume; en Suède et en Danemarc le clergé en fait un.

(4) Idem, tom. iii. p. 13.

IV^ment. Robert, Cardinal de Genève, n'étoit point Allemand. (5) Il étoit, comme notre auteur dit lui-même, de la famille des comtes du Genevois. Or je n'ai jamais entendu compter le Genevois pour une partie de l'Allemagne.

(5) Idem, tom. iv. p. 327.

CURA-

M. de Bochart, Mémoires sur l'Ancienne Suisse, tom. ii. p. 312–340.

CURATORS.—Les Curateurs (à prendre l'idée que M. de Bochart nous donne sur ce sujet) étoient les magistrats des villes municipales du tems de l'empire Romain. Il est difficile de prononcer d'une façon bien exacte sur leurs fonctions, et leur pouvoir; cela varioit selon la constitution des endroits différens. Dans quelques villes ils avoient de la juridiction, dans des autres ils n'en avoient point. Ici, c'étoient les magistrats principaux; là, ils n'étoient que subordonnés. Les décurions, ou les conseillers des municipes, les élirent, aussi bien que tous leurs autres magistrats. Pour que l'élection fût dans les règles, il falloit deux tiers des voix du conseil, et la confirmation du gouverneur de la province. Quelquefois le peuple demandoit au conseil les magistrats qu'il souhaitoit, mais c'étoit sans effet de droit, si le conseil n'approuvoit cette réquisition par un décret. L'emploi de curateur étoit pour une année. Comme ceux qui en étoient revêtus étoient obligés à donner des spectacles au peuple, et à plusieurs autres dépenses considérables, on se soucioit assez peu de s'en charger. Aussi les empereurs furent-ils obligés de faire des loix fort sévères là-dessus. Ils n'étoient obligés pourtant d'entrer en charge que trois mois après leur élection, afin qu'ils eussent le tems de porter leur appel devant les gouverneurs des provinces au cas qu'ils voulussent en faire. On ne pouvoit point les obliger de l'avoir plus d'une année; et les citoyens qui l'avoient accepté plus d'une fois avoient grand soin de le mettre parmi leurs titres sur les monu-

monumens publics. (1) Quelques savans ont cru qu'il falloit être citoyen Romain pour y parvenir ; mais M. de Bochart rend fort vraisemblable, tant par des autorités que par des raisonnemens, que les provinciaux en jouissoient également.

(1) Gruter. cccIv. 3. Reines. Cl. vi. 114.

SELDEN.—Le petit traité de Selden de Diis Syriis est un chef-d'œuvre d'érudition. Tout ce que les recherches les plus singulières peuvent fournir de curieux sur cette matière, ce savant homme l'a mis en œuvre. S. Bochart, excellent juge en cette matière, l'appèle *libellum aureum;* et le célèbre Vossius l'a presqu'entièrement copié dans son traité de l'idolâtrie, qui est aussi dans son genre ce que nous avons de plus achevé. Scædius, à l'imitation de Selden, a fait aussi un traité des divinités Germaines. Mais excepté ce qu'il puise dans l'auteur Anglois, il n'a rien de fort curieux ; ce sont des recherches vagues, des conjectures souvent sans fondement, et qui apprennent peu de chose. On a fait plusieurs éditions du traité de Selden. Je me suis cependant toujours servi de celle de Leyde, 1629, qui est assez correcte.

Vigneul Marville, Mél. d'Hist. et de Litt. tom. iii. p. 56.

BAYLE.—Je marquerai une petite faute de cet illustre savant. Il dit (1) que Charles II. roi de Naples, de la maison d'Anjou, n'eut que quatre fils :—Charles Martel, qui fut roi d'Hongrie ; Robert, qui succéda à son père dans celui de Naples ; Jean, fondateur de la branche des ducs de Duraz ; et Philippe, fondateur de celle des princes d'Achaie. Or il est certain qu'outre ces quatre fils il en eut encore

(1) Bayle, Dict. Hist. et Critique. Article de Jeanne, reine de Naples. Rem. A.

encore quatre dont l'un nommé Louis fut canonisé par Pape Jean XXII.(2)

(2) Giannone, Hist. Civ. du Royaume de Naples, tom. iii. p. 195. Anderson, Tables Genealogical, p. 691.

VELLEIUS PATERCULUS.—G. Vossius, dans cette vie de Velleius Paterculus qu'il a tiré de son grand ouvrage de Historicis Latinis, et qu'il a mis devant l'Elzivir édition de cet auteur de l'an 1639, rapporte (1) un fragment de son Histoire Gauloise que Wolfgangius Lazius dit avoir trouvé. Il contient la description d'une grande défaite des Romains par les peuples de la Norique, et de la Rhætie. Gerard Vossius ajoute que Marcus Velserus avoit prouvé avec un grand soin qu'il étoit supposé. N'ayant jamais vu les ouvrages de Velserus, je ne sais pas de quels argumens il s'est servi, mais en voici quatre qui en démontrent la fausseté. I^ment. On y fait les Macédoniens alliés des Romains; ils avoient été leurs sujets depuis que la Macédoine eut été conquise par Paule Emilie, l'an de Rome 535. II^ment. On y dit que C. Verres étoit tribun dans cette guerre, et qu'il n'évita la mort, qu'en se cachant dans les marais. Si cela étoit, est-il croyable que Cicéron, qui dans ses plaidoyers contre Verres nous trace une espèce de tableau de toute sa vie infame, (2) qu'il eût (dis-je) passé en silence un trait qui ouvroit un si beau champ à ses invectives? III^ment. Il n'est point vrai que Verres étoit proconsul de la Sicile; il n'y a qu'ouvrir les Verrines de Cicéron pour voir qu'il n'en étoit que le Préteur. IV^ment. Il est faux que Verres étoit puni de mort pour son administration de la Sicile; il étoit banni, et sa mort n'arriva que près de trente ans après,

(1) Gerard Vossius in illa Vita, p. 3, 4, 5. Wolfgangius Lazius, l. i. Commentariorum Reip. Roman. c. 3. l. v. c. 5. &c. M. Velserus in Rer. Augustan. Vindelic. Libris.

(2) Cicero in Verrem, l. i. passim.

après, Marc Antoine l'ayant fait mourir pour avoir ses statues, et sa vaisselle Corinthienne.(3) Peut-on s'imaginer que Vell. Paterculus eût fait des bévues si grossières sur des événemens qui touchoient de si près à son tems ?(4)

(3) Plin. Nat. Hist. l. xxxiv. c. 2.
(4) De 100 ans seulement. Car Verres fut jugé l'an 683. Vell. Pater. écrivit son Hist. l'an 783 de Rome.

Vertot (Abbé de.)—Je relèverai deux ou trois bévues de ce célèbre historien. I^ment. Il dit que dans la Guerre Sociale C. Marius, Q. Catulus, Cn. Pompeius, et L. Sylla ne se firent point de peine de servir sous les consuls en qualité de lieutenans, quoiqu'ils eussent tous commandé des armées auparavant comme consuls, et généraux. (1) Je l'avoue bien de Marius et de Catulus, mais non pas des autres. Je ne comprends pas comment M. de Vertot ait pu laisser passer une faute si frappante. Sans parler du témoignage exprès de Velleius Paterculus, (2) (son auteur favori,) ni de Cicéron, (3) il n'avoit qu'à jetter les yeux sur les Fastes Consulaires pour voir que la Guerre Sociale éclata sous le consulat de Julius César et de P. Rutilius Lupus A. U. C. 663 ; au lieu que Cn. Pompée ne fut consul que A. U. C. 664, et L. Sylla que l'année suivante. II^ment. Il dit (4) que le Pompée, qui se ménagea si adroitement entre les deux partis de Marius et de Sylla pendant le siège de Rome, s'appeloit Quintus, et avoit été consul avec Sylla. Il se trompe ; celui-ci s'appeloit Cn. Pompeius Strabon, et avoit été consul l'année auparavant. (5) III^ment. M. de Vertot dit que Cicéron prononça sa seconde Philippique contre Marc Antoine en plein sénat,

(1) Vertot, Révol. de la République Romaine, tom. iii. p. 32. LaHaye, 1722.
(2) Vell. Pat. l. ii. c. 15. du moins pour Sulla.
(3) Cicer. pro Fonteio, c. 13. du moins aussi pour Sulla.
(4) Vertot, Rév. Rom. tom. iii. 61.
(5) V. les Fastes Consulaires sur cette année. Fabricius de Vita Cicer. ad eund. annum, &c.

sénat, (6) que voyant Antoine prêt d'envahir la Gaule Cisalpine il persuada au sénat de lui opposer les troupes du jeune César. Voilà deux, ou plutôt trois fautes. 1. Tout écolier doit savoir que Cicéron ne prononça point sa seconde Philippique en sénat. (7) Il l'a composa en réponse à une invective que Marc Antoine avoit prononcé contre lui dans cette assemblée, le 19 de Septembre A. U. C. 709, mais que, ne pouvant pas y venir sans danger, il se contenta de la publier. 2. Cicéron ne craignoit pas qu'Antoine ne se jettât dans la Gaule Cisalpine. Il n'y a qu'à lire sa troisième Philippique pour voir que ce consul assiégeoit déjà D. Brutus dans Modène avant que Cicéron eut fait cette proposition au sénat. 3. Il paroît que M. de Vertot croyoit que ce fut dans la seconde Philippique qu'il l'a fit. Il se trompe: ce ne fut que dans la troisième.(8) IV^ment. Il dit que les consuls Hirtius et Pansa ne joignirent Decimus Brutus qu'après le retour des ambassadeurs du sénat.(9) Je sais bien que Pansa ne s'approchoit de Brutus qu'environ le 15 d'Avril, (10) mais pour Hirtius il y étoit avant même que les députés fussent revenus de Modène, (11) ce qu'ils ne firent qu'au commencement de Février. V^ment. Il rapporte d'une façon tout à fait contraire à la vérité. Il dit (12) que Marc Antoine répondit aux députés, que puisque le sénat voulut lui arracher une province que les souffrages du peuple lui avoit donnée, il n'auroit plus d'égard à l'amnestie qu'il avoit accordée aux conjurateurs, mais qu'il les poursuivroit sans en épargner aucun. Bien loin de répondre ainsi,

Velleius Paterculus, Hist. Rom. l. ii. c. 20.

(6) Révolut. Romaines, tom. iii. p. 565.

(7) Voyez Manutium in Argument. Philip. 2.

(8) Voyez toute la troisième Philippique.

(9) Rév. Rom. tom. iii. p. 368.

(10) Epist. ad Famil. l. x. Epist. 32. Edit. Ross.

(11) Philip. v. c. 4.

(12) Révol. Romaines, tom. iii. p. 361.

ainsi, il dit (13) qu'il vouloit bien abandonner la Gaule Cisalpine, pourvu qu'en échange on lui donnât la Gaule Transalpine pour cinq ans; qu'on confirmât tous ses actes; qu'on rappellât tous ses partisans, et quelques autres conditions semblables.

(13) Philipp. viii. c. 8, 9.

Depuis que j'avois écrit ces remarques, on m'a attaqué sur la première d'entr'elles, se fondant pour cela sur une équivoque dans le texte de M. de Vertot. Il dit que tous les chefs dont il s'agit, avoient commandé des armées en qualité de consuls, et généraux. On conclut de là que s'ils avoient commandé des armées en qualité de généraux, bien qu'ils n'eussent pas encore été consuls, que j'avois tort de le blâmer. Je pourrois dire, que pour rendre cette excuse de beaucoup de force, il auroit fallu s'être servi d'un *ou* au lieu d'un *et*. Mais venons à l'essentiel. Il est sûr que, pour parler à la Romaine, on ne pouvoit donner le titre de général qu'à ceux qui combattoient sous leurs propres auspices, ce qui au tems de la république n'étoit accordé qu'aux consuls, proconsuls, et aux préteurs lorsqu'ils recevoient une province au sortir de leur emploi. Il faudroit donc rechercher l'époque de la préture de Sulla, et de Cn. Pompée. Celle du premier tomba sur l'année avant la Guerre Sociale; c'est à dire, A.U.C. 662. Il n'y avoit donc point de place entre deux pour sa province, ni pour son commandement militaire. Pour ce qui est de Pompée, le cas (je l'avoue) n'est point le même. Outre un mot de Cicéron sur sa quæsture, aucun ancien ne nous a rien dit sur ces honneurs anté-

antérieurs au consulat. Je conviens même que comme Pompée précéda Sulla dans le consulat il est assez vraisemblable qu'ils suivirent le même ordre dans leur préture. Mais de la vraisemblance d'une chose à son existence il y a du chemin, et je ne saurois pardonner à M. de Vertot d'avoir avancé ce fait sans témoignage, puisque ouvent des circonstances faisoient qu'on ne prit point de province après sa préture. La réflexion là-dessus n'a guère plus de fondement, viz. que l'amour de la patrie leur avoit fait consentir à prendre ces emplois, puisque, selon son propre aveu, ces lieutenans commandoient des armées à part, et avoient le titre de proconsul. Vraiment le grand effort pour ceux qui ne faisoient que sortir de la préture pour accepter un titre qui ne se donnoit qu'à ceux qui avoient été consuls!

Giannone, Hist. Civ. du Royaume de Naples, i. p. 29. tom. Cicero in Orat. ii. de Lege Agrar. contra Rullum, c. 31.

NAPLES.—M. Giannone asserts that Naples did not become a Roman colony before the reign of Vespasian, or at most before that of Augustus: a passage of Cicero well considered will convince us that Naples lost the state of an allied city before the consulate of Cicero, or A. U. C. 690. Cicero, speaking against the Agrarian law of Rullus, says that "Lege permitti (to the decemvirs of that law) ut quæ velint municipia, quas velint veteres colonias, suis colonis occupent. Calenum municipium complebunt: Theanum oppriment; Atellam, Cumas, NEAPOLIN, Pompeios, Nuceriam suis præsidiis devincient. Puteolos vero, qui nunc in sua potestate sunt, suo jure libertateque utuntur. Totos

novo

novo populo et adventitiis copiis occupabunt." By this passage we see that as that power was only granted to the decemvirs over the municipal towns, and the colonies, that Naples was one of the two; but we know that Naples was never a municipal city; she must then have been a colony at that time.

Scholiast (on Cicero.)—Le vieux Scholiaste, qui nous a donné quelques commentaires sur diverses harangues de Cicéron, fait quelques fautes que je ne laisserai pas passer en silence. I^ment. Cicéron, en énumérant toutes les féries qui pouvoient renvoyer le jugement de Verres jusques à l'année de Rome 684, parle de quelques jeux votifs de Pompée.(1) Asconius nous apprend dans une note,(2) que c'étoient des jeux que Pompée avoit voué pendant la guerre avec Sertoire, en cas qu'il y remportât la victoire. Si le Scholiaste s'étoit contenté de nous dire la même chose tout simplement, tout alloit bien; mais il ajoute une doute si c'étoit dans cette guerre, dans celle contre les pirates, on dans celle de Mithridate que Pompée les voua.(3) Pouvoit-il ignorer que des loix Gabinia et Manilia (qui lui confièrent successivement la conduite de ces deux guerres) la première ne fut faite que A.U.C. 686, et l'autre que l'année suivante? II^ment. Il dit(4) que le royaume de Bithynie parvint au peuple Romain par la mort de Nicomède qui mourut intestat. Il est faux. Nicomède fit un testament par lequel il fit le peuple Romain

(1) Cicero in Verrem, Actio i. c. 10.
(2) Asconius ad eum locum.
(3) Vet. Schol. ad eund.
(4) Idem, ad Orat. pro Lege Manil. c. 2.

son héritier.(5) III^ment. Il n'est pas vrai qu'Ariobarzanes fut envoyé par les Romains en Bithynie. Il ne fut jamais roi de Bithynie, mais bien de la Cappadoce.(6) IV^ment. Il parle d'un consul Milienus (7) qui fut fait prisonnier par les pirates. Je n'en trouve aucun de ce nom dans les Fastes Consulaires. S'il m'étoit permis de hasarder une conjecture, je dirois que le Milienus du Scholiaste pourroit bien être le C. Bilienus de Cicéron. Il en parle avec éloge, et dit qu'il auroit sûrement obtenu le consulat, si sa prétension n'eût pas tombé justement dans les tems turbulens de Marius.(8) Le Scholiaste auroit bien pu croire qu'il avoit été fait consul en effet.

(5) Appian. de Bell. Mithrid. p. 184. 218. Edit. Steph.

(6) V. eundem, p. 209. aliosque scriptores qui bellum illud narraverunt.

(7) Vet. Schol. ad Orat. pro Lege Manil. c. 12.

(8) Cicero. in Bruto, sive de Clar. Orator. c. 47.

Rapin (Thoyras.)—M. Rapin de Thoyras se trompe quand il dit que l'empereur Fréderic II. laissa par son testament le royaume de Sicile à son fils Henri.(1) On voit par le testament de ce prince qu'il ne démembra pas ses états en Italie. Il les laissa tous entiers à son ainé Conrad; léguant seulement à Henri ou le royaume d'Arles, ou celui de Jérusalem, à l'option du même Conrad. M. Giannone a corrigé Inveges pour la même faute.(2)

N. B. Je me sers de la copie du testament de Fréderic qu'a inséré M. Gianonne, et laquelle il assure, après d'Afflitto, être conforme à celle qu'on conservoit ci-devant dans les archives royales.(3) L'auteur du recueil des actes publics jusqu'à l'an 1700 le rapporte aussi, mais fort en abrégé; et omet même une circonstance fort essentielle, puisque omettant

(1) Rapin, Hist. d'Angleterre, tom. ii. p. 441.

(2) Giannone, Hist. Civ. du Royaume de Naples, tom. ii. p. 615.

(3) Idem, p. 617-620.

omettant l'option de Conrad, il fait léguer à Henri par son père le royaume de Jérusalem purement et simplement.(4)

(4)Recueil des Actes Publics, tom. i. p.69. La Haye, 1700.

Fresnoy (Lenglot de.)—Monsieur l'Abbé Lenglot de Fresnoy se trompe lorsqu'il nous dit, (1) que Maximilien I. reçut de sa femme Marie les provinces de Groningue, d'Overissel, et de Frize. Il ne les posséda jamais non plus que son fils Philippe. Ce fut son petit-fils Charles Quint qui s'en rendit maître par des achats.(2)

(1)Méthode pour étud. l'Hist. tom. iv. p. 51. Paris, 1735.

(2) Anderson's Royal Genealogical Tables, p. 603.

Habits.—Les habits à fleurs passoient chez les anciens non seulement pour un habillement de femme mais même de courtisanes, qui seules avoient droit d'en porter à Sparte, à Athènes, à Syracuse, et chez les Locriens; ou en tout cas c'étoit la parure des gens de plaisir, ou efféminés, comme des eunuques, des maqueraux, des bacchantes, des gens qui montent sur le théâtre—ou tout au plus c'étoit l'équipage des prêtres, ou des femmes en des processions publiques; ou, enfin, celui des épouses. Par la loi Oppia ces habits à fleurs, ou de diverses couleurs, furent défendus aux dames Romaines, et elles n'eurent la permission d'en porter que depuis qu'on leur ôta les habits de pourpre. Cet habillement passoit encore chez les Grecs pour celui des Barbares, comme, entre autres, des rois de Perse. Ces habillemens de femmes, et particulièrement à fleurs, étoient défendus aux hommes par les anciens canons de l'église, comme aux femmes les habits d'homme. Tertullien re-

Les Césars de Julien, par M. Spanheim, p. 276, 277—Rem. 947.

marque qu'il ne trouve point d'habillement maudit par Dieu que celui de femme en homme. " Nullum denique cultum a Deo interdictum invenio nisi muliebris in viro." D'où vient aussi que Maimonides dans son traité de l'idolâtrie, défend que l'homme ne se pare des ornemens de femme, et surtout de ces habits de diverses couleurs, et bigarrés? Après tout il y a quelques pères de l'église (pour le dire en passant) qui prétendent que la robe du Seigneur sans couture étoit versicolor. Clément Alexandrin tache de rendre raison de cela.

Cependant il y auroit un passage de Donat qui feroit croire que ces habits de diverses couleurs étoient en usage parmi les jeunes gens. En parlant de la manière dont les acteurs doivent être habillés convenablement aux différens originaux qu'ils représentent, il dit—

(1) Donat. Fragmen. quod in capita Comed. Terent. apparet.

" Adolescentibus discolor attribuitur." (1)*

AVENTICUM.—Aussitôt que j'ai compris qu'il falloit chercher les fondateurs d'Aventicum dans les parties méridionales des Gaules, je me suis rappelé qu'il y avoit un peuple dont Pline appèle une des villes Maritima Avaticorum, et que dans le même chapitre cet auteur dit que les Avantici furent joints par l'empereur Galba au département de la Gaule Narbonnoise. M. de Bochart, qui est

M. de Bochart, Mém. sur l'ancienne Suisse, tom. i. p 87, 8, 9.

* The Adelphi of Terence was acted by the sons and daughters of Hercules II. before Paul III. and the Roman court, at Ferrara. Cynthii J. Baptist. Gyraldi, in Thesaur. Antiquitat. Italiæ. tom. vii, p. 62.

dans

dans l'idée que l'Helvétie fut peuplée par de colonies des Gaulois méridionaux, croit que les Avantici (car selon lui il faut corriger le premier passage de Pline par le second) furent les fondateurs d'Aventicum. Il dérive ce nom d'Arvent, qui signifie en Celte, eau dont le cours est rapide.

Cicéron, dans sa harangue pour Cornelius Balbus, après avoir allégué les exemples de plusieurs illustres Romains, qui avoit donné la bourgeoisie de Rome à des particuliers des villes alliées de la république, termine cette énumération par celui de M. Crassus qui conféra ce droit à un allié Aventicien. (1) Il est vrai que toutes les éditions de Cicéron font ce particulier bourgeois d'Alatre. Mais comme les manuscrits contredisent cette leçon, Cluvier et Gronovius en doutoient de la bonté. Ce dernier (2) vouloit qu'on lût Aventicensem, au lieu d'Alatrinensem, parceque les noms qu'on trouve dans les manuscrits n'en sont pas fort éloignés, et qu'Alatri, ville fort près de Rome, n'auroit guère été mise par Cicéron dans la même classe que les autres dont il venoit de parler, qui en étoient très éloignées. Mais cette remarque est plus spécieuse que solide. Il n'y a qu'avoir lu ce même plaidoyer de Cicéron avec quelque attention pour sentir qu'un exemple, tiré d'Aventicum, seroit allé directement contre le but de l'orateur. Il veut prouver que les généraux Romains pour pouvoir donner la bourgeoisie de Rome à des particuliers des villes alliées n'avoient pas le soin du consentement des villes mêmes, à moins que la nécessité de ce consentement ne fût stipulée par leurs alli-

(1) Cicer. pro Balbo, c. 22.

(2) Gronovius ad illum locum, Edit. Cic. Verbug.

ances. Auroit-il apporté, pour justifier sa thèse, un exemple tiré d'une ville des Helvétiens après nous avoir dit un moment auparavant (3) que les Helvétiens étoient du nombre de ces peuples dont les alliances le portoient? Auroit-il accusé M. Crassus présent d'avoir violé de la sorte une alliance des plus sacrées? Cette remarque est de M. de Bochart (4), mais j'en avois fait la première partie avant d'avoir lu son ouvrage.

(3) Cicer. pro Balbo, c. 13.

(4) M. de Bochart, Mémoires sur la Suisse Ancienne, tom. i. p. 469.

Holommanus.—Je relèverai une petite faute de ce savant. Cicéron dit (1) qu'un certain Q. Lollius, qui avoit quitté la Sicile pour éviter la tyrannie du Préteur Verres, fut tué en chemin, et qu'on le fit passer pour avoir été tué par les fugitifs. Holommanus, dans sa note à cet endroit, explique le mot fugitif, par ceux "qui in Siciliâ Athenione duce grassabantur:" s'il eut dit "in Italiâ Spartaco duce vel aliquo Spartacano," il auroit parlé plus juste. La rebellion des esclaves en Sicile sous la conduite d'Athénion et de Tryphon, fut finie par la mort de leurs chefs, par M. Aquillius, alors collègue de Marius dans son cinquième consulat. (2) Or ces personnages furent consuls A. U. C. 652. Mais ce meurtre n'auroit pas pu arriver avant A. U. C. 680: la première année du gouvernement de Verres.

(1) Cicero in Verrem, l. iii. c. 25.

(2) Diodor. Siculus in Eclog. lib. xxxvi.

Irish Language.—On croit que l'Irlandois étoit l'ancien langage des Scythes. C'est ce qu'affirment les auteurs même du pays. (1) Brerewood étoit apparemment dans cette idée, puisqu'il met cette

M. de Bochart, Mémoires sur la Suisse Ancienne, tom. ii. p. 18. (1) V. la Préface du

cette langue au nombre des quatorze langues mères, que lui et d'autres ont comptées, qui subsistent en Europe sans la Latine. (2) Il faut convenir que l'Irlandois diffère fort du Gallois, du Bas Breton, et du Basque ; mais il n'est pas moins certain qu'on y trouve quantité de mots, qui, s'ils ne sont pas tirés du Latin, viennent de la même source, c'est-à-dire, du Celtique. J'ai rencontré dans l'Irlandois plusieurs termes du langage du peuple du Pays de Vaud ; lesquels je n'ai pas trouvé dans les dictionnaires des trois autres dialectes, ni du Germanique. Une preuve de l'antiquité de l'Irlandois est que ses caractères sont purement des lettres Grecques ; et que n'en ayant que dix-sept il faut qu'il les ait reçu avant la guerre de Troye, puisqu'il ne fut que pendant ce fameux siège que Palamède ajouta à l'alphabet Grec les quatre lettres qu'on lui attribue ; et que de ces quatre l'alphabet Irlandois n'en a aucune, non plus que des quatre dont Simonide fut l'auteur. De sorte que c'est l'alphabet de Cadmus que reçurent les habitans de l'Irlande, et non pas l'alphabet Ionien adopté par toute la Grèce. (3) Les Irlandois n'y ont ajouté que l'F, et comme ils l'écrivent à la Latine et non par φ, il est probable qu'ils ne s'en sont servis que depuis que l'empereur Claude l'eut fait ajouter à l'alphabet Latin. Une langue où ne paroît que celle de Cadmus est assurément de la plus haute antiquité, et s'est conservée plus entière qu'aucune autre qu'on connoisse. A l'égard de son abondance l'auteur du Dictionnaire pose en fait dans sa préface, que de toutes les langues mortes, ou vivantes, au-

seul Dictionnaire Irlandois que nous ayons. Paris, 1732, chez Guerin.

(2) Brerewood Scrutin. Linguar. c. 4.

(3) Plin. Hist. Nat. l. x. c. 57.

cune n'est plus riche en mots, ni plus élégante en expressions que l'Irlandoise.

De Watteville, Histoire de la Confédération Helv. tom. i. p. 169–174.

Coucy (Enguerrand de.)—Le Duc Léopold d'Autriche, mort en 1326, avoit laissé une fille unique, qui fut mariée au sire de Coucy, un des plus gros seigneurs de France. La dot de cette dame avoit été assurée sur plusieurs villes et châteaux de l'Alsace et de l'Argeu. Le sire de Coucy ne se mit jamais en possession de ces domaines. Son fils Enguerrand, qui s'étoit marié à une princesse d'Angleterre, les réclama. Les ducs d'Autriche, ayant refusé de les lui remettre, De Coucy profita de la trève qui venoit de se conclure entre la France et l'Angleterre, et se fit suivre de 40,000 hommes de cette nation, résolu de maintenir ses droits par les armes. Léopold se fortifia de l'alliance des Suisses, et se prépara à opposer ses forces à celles de ses ennemis. Ceux-ci s'approchèrent des frontières de l'Helvétie environ la St. Martin de l'année 1375. Ils firent d'horribles dégâts dans les parties septentrionales de la Suisse, prirent Walenbourg, Balstal, Buren, Altreu, Aarwargen, Fridau, &c. Une partie de leur armée passa la Reus, et la Limmat, et mit tout le pays jusqu'à Wettinger à feu et à sang. Mais un corps considérable de ces troupes fut surpris et défait par les Bernois dans le couvent de Fraubennen, entre Berne et Soleure, la nuit du 26 ou 27 de Décembre, avec la perte de 800 hommes. Le sire de Coucy, voyant que son armée étoit affoiblie, et qu'elle ne pouvoit subsister dans un pays ruiné,

prit

prit le parti de se retirer par l'Alsace. On appèle en Suisse cette armée étrangère du nom de Guglers, à cause des petits chapeaux qu'ils portoient: eugelhut signifiant un chapeau en Allemand.

On voit encore de nos jours (1) une colonne de pierre, monument (érigé si je m'en souviens en 1648) de cette mémorable action près de Fraubennen. D'un côté il y a une inscription Allemande, et de l'autre ces vers Latins.

(1) Je le vis Oct. 15, 1755.

Uxoris dotem repetens Cussinus amatæ
Dux Anglus, frater quam dabat Austriacus;
Per mare trajecit validarum signa cohortum,
Miles ubique premens arva aliena jugo.
Hoc rupere loco Bernates hostica castra,
Multos et cum justo Marte dedêre neci.
Sic Deus Omnipotens ab apertis protegat Ursum, (2)
Protegat occultis hostis ab insidiis.

(2) Les armes de Berne sont un Ours.

Néanmoins, si l'on s'en rapporte à M. de Wattewille, il y a deux méprises dans cette courte inscription. I^meut. Cussinus, ou le sire de Coucy, n'étoit point un général Anglois; il avoit épousé, à la vérité, une princesse d'Angleterre, et son armée étoit principalement composée de troupes non autorisées de cette nation; mais pour Cussinus lui-même, il étoit seigneur François. Sa famille, une des plus illustres de la Picardie, s'éteignit au quinzième siècle. II ^me. La femme de ce de Coucy n'étoit point Autrichienne; je viens de dire qu'elle étoit Angloise. La femme de son père étoit Autrichienne, et c'étoit sa dot qu'il redemandoit. J'omets la petite faute de parler d'un duc d'Autriche

triche son frère quoiqu'elle fut fille unique de Léopold archiduc d'Autriche.*

Primum Westmonasteriensi postmodum Oxoniensi studio traditus eram. Ingulphi Historia, p. 73. in tom. 1. Rerum Anglicarum Script. a Fell et Gale. Oxon. 1684. Some have doubted, but the editors have found this passage in all MSS. (Gibson's Cambden, Vol. I. p. 305.) Ingulphus boasts of his proficiency in Aristotle and Tully's Rhetoric, yet in 1048 Aristotle was unknown; Oxford lay in ruins, had neither cathedral nor monastery to which the studies were confined. The Divinity Lectures of Robert Pulein in the abbey of Oseney (1129—1135) I consider as the punctum saliens of the University. Cambden, ubi supra. Nicholson, (English Library, p. 150—152.) is free, learned, and lively.

Matthew Paris, Hist. Major, Lond. 1684, gives the first historic titles of the Oxford studies.

In 1209 the clerks applied to *artes liberales;* they lodged three or four together in *hospitia* hired. Provoked by an act of injustice recesserunt ab Oxoniâ ad tria millia clericorum, quam magistri, quam discipuli, ita quod nec unus ex omni *Universitate* remansit. Some went to Cambridge, others to Reading: villani Oxoniæ vacuam reliquerunt, p. 191.

In 1252, convocatâ scholarium universitate quæ de diversis mundi partibus illic studuit, &c. p. 740.

* The Common-place Book from which the preceding articles are taken is dated March, 1755.

In

In 1257, statuta Universitatis *antiqua* et approbata. Oxon. Univers. schola secund. Ecclesiæ. p. 811.

The series of Chancellors of the University begins in 1233. Ayliffe's Hist. of Oxford. Vol. II. p. 278.

The first charter of Henry III. is in 1244, (Appendix, p. 6,) but it supposes the previous state of the *University*.

In 1109 Joffrid, Abbot of Croyland, sent a colony of Monks, who opened public schools at Cambridge of Grammar, Logic, Rhetoric, and Theology after the manner studii Aurelianensis. Ex isto fonte videmus totam Angliam factam frugiferam per plurimos magistros et doctores de Cantabrigiâ exeuntes. (Petri Blesenis Continuatio Ingulphi in Script. Rerum Anglicar. tom. i. p. 114, 115. He died circa 1200.) Curious but spurious: Frater Terricus (frater is probably a mendicant friar) acutissimus sophista, logicam Aristotelis juxta Porphyrii et Averoiz isagogas et commenta, adolescentioribus tradidit. But Averroes was not born till 1131. He interpreted Aristotle 1187—1192, and died after 1200. D'Herbelot, p. 715. Bayle, tom. i. p. 384—91. Saxius places him at 1198.

Επιζητητος δε τινος τινα δει μανθανειν τους παιδας ταυτ' (ειπεν) οις δε ανδρες γενομενοι χρησονται. Agesilaus, Apothegmata Græc. Hen. Steph. 1568. p. 306.

Henry, a Protestant, an Anabaptist, an apostate Monk,

Monk, a wandering preacher, speciem pietatis habens cujus virtutem penitus abnegavit. His gains were spent ludendo aleis, aut in usus turpiores. Frequenter siquidem post diurnum populi plausum, nocte insecutâ cum meretricibus inventus est, et interdum etiam cum conjugatis. Inquire, si placet, vir nobilis quomodo de Lausanâ civitate exierit, &c. St. Bernard. Epist. 242, tom. i. p. 239. Edit. Mabillon. Venet. 1750.

Juxta lacum etiam LAUSANENSEM totius diei itinere pergens penitus non attendit aut se videre non videt. Cum enim vespere facto de eodem lacû socii colloquerentur, interrogabat eos, ubi lacus ille esset, et mirati sunt universi. S. Bernardi Vita secunda, Auctore Alano (a Monk and Bishop of Auxerre. He died at Clairvaux A. D. 1383) c. 16, No. 45. Opera, tom. vi. p. 1383. 1mo. Vet. iii. tom. i. p. 1232.

DEMETRIUS SOTER.—Excerpta quædam (ex antiquissimo MS. codice nuper in Ambrosianâ Bibliothecâ reperto) nunc primum in lucem edita, Mediolani (c'est à dire à Rome) MDCCXLIV. v idus Januarias. Horis antilucanis, superiorum permissu.

Argumentum.—Demetrius, Seleuci filius, Soter postea dictus, clam ex urbe ad patriam liberandam proficiscitur.

> Heroum soboles, sceptri Demetrius hæres
> Antiqui, Romæ lentos inglorius annos
>
> Degebat

Degebat, non sponte suâ, tristemque juventam
Mulcebat, sylvis captus studiisque Dianæ.
Longa sed interea patrium trans æquora regnum
Vastabat, populis et Dîs invisa, potestas,
Captivique Lares Dominum clamore ciebant.
Haud paucis cultus, sed plurimus observatus,
Quid faceret juvenis? Venatum ad littora Circes
Fingit iter de more, canes, solitamque cohortem
Præmittit comitum, vigilem sic decipit urbem,
Ignotasque vias, ignotus et ipse, capessit.

Demetrius ante discessum amicis mentem aperit.

Sit satis; audivi: jam me nec vester, amici,
Fallit amor, pietasque meæ studiosa juventæ,
Nec generosa fides; et qua sapientia nullam
Horret inire viam, qua ducit ad ardua virtus,
Hac capienda mihi est. Hanc olim numina legem
Nascenti posuere, lubens mea fata capessam.
Non me degenerem, non pulchræ laudis egentem
Arguat aut præsens, aut postera nesciat ætas,
Nec proavis quæ terra meis regnata superbum
Nomen et imperium late diffundit in oras
Sordeat ulterius, dominis calcata protervis,
Sed servatorem norint in principe cives.

Le Cardinal Monti fit ces vers à l'occasion du voyage du jeune Chevalier de St. George en France, qui partit de Rome, le 5 des Ides, ou le 9 de Janvier, 1744.

Since the year 1756 Russia has been engaged almost without interruption in the Prussian, the Polish, and the Turkish wars. During the last mentioned war the Empress at the same time employed *seven armies*, (on the Danube, in Crim Tartary,

tary, in Georgia, in Greece, in Poland, in Ingria, and against the rebel Pugascheff,) and four fleets, on the Baltic, the Archipelago, the Black Sea, and the Danube. Whilst she was making these extraordinary efforts she supported the splendour of her court, encouraged the arts of England, France, and Italy, by her expensive orders, which were most punctually paid; and increased one third the salaries of almost all her officers. As soon as the war was at an end she suppressed some taxes (about seven or eight millions of French livres); and she is now paying off about ten millions which she borrowed in Holland, and which forms the whole national debt of Russia.

The army at present consists of four regiments of Guards, one cavalry and three infantry, that compose the formidable body of about 10,000 men which has so often disposed of the throne; of one hundred and five regiments of infantry (1600 men each) making about 170,000 men. To these we must add the artillery between 20 and 30,000, and the cavalry, dragoons, &c. between 40 and 50,000. Upon the whole we may compute the establishment of regular forces at about 250,000; and had the Turkish war continued, both men and money were provided for an augmentation of 50,000 more. To this establishment we must add the stationary garrisons of the remote provinces, and the numerous bodies of irregulars, Cossacks, Calmucks, &c. which are always ready to obey the commands of the Russian monarch.

There is not any direct land-tax in Russia, and the revenue

revenue arises from the capitation, the consumption, and the customs. 1. The clergy and nobility are exempt from the capitation, which is assessed chiefly on the peasants; but as these are all *villains* the tax ultimately falls on their masters, and must be tolerably proportioned to their landed property. The master, who enjoys the fruit of his slave's labour, is obliged to give him a piece of land to cultivate, sufficient not only for his own subsistence, but likewise for the payment of the tax which is estimated at about four livres on the head of every male, from the moment of his birth to the age of sixty. Not less than ten millions of persons are rated to the capitation, which consequently must amount to about forty millions. 2. The nobles have the exclusive privilege of making salt, and distilling spirituous liquors, on their estates, but they can dispose of them only to the empress. On the other hand the licensed venders of those necessary articles can purchase them only in the imperial magazines. By this double monopoly the crown gains two or three hundred per cent. and raises an indirect excise. 3. The customs, both on exports and imports, are excessively high; but they are exacted only on the frontiers of the empire, and the interior commerce is entirely free. To these great articles we must add the mines, the tribute of furs, &c., which in the whole form a revenue of one hundred and fifty millions of French livres. The population of Russia, without including the savages of the north,

north, or the *wandering* Tartars, whose allegiance is voluntary and precarious, has been computed at twenty-two millions.

From the Prince Bariatinski, Minister from Russia, at Paris.

Peter III. was poisoned in a glass of brandy. On his refusing a second glass he was forcibly thrown down and strangled with a handkerchief by Orlof le Balafré, Teplow, Potemkin, and the youngest of the Princes Baratinski. When the body was exposed the marks of violence on the neck, &c. were evident. Orlof instantly returned to Petersburg and appeared at the Empress's dinner in the disorder of a murderer. She caught his eye, rose from table, called him into her closet, sent for Count Panin, to whom she imparted the news, and returned to dinner with her usual ease and cheerfulness.

These particulars are taken from a history of the Revolution in 1762 composed by M. Rulhière, a French officer, who was an attentive spectator, and who afterwards conversed with the principal actors. Prudence prevents him from publishing, but he reads his Narrative to large companies, and I have already heard it twice. It is an entertaining spirited piece of historical composition not unworthy of being compared with Vertot's Conspiracy of Portugal. But I find that Rulhière's fidelity is impeached by persons perhaps partial, but certainly well-informed; by the *Baron de Goltz*

Goltz the Prussian minister, by the Count de Swaloff, Elizabeth's favourite, and by the Princess d'Askoff herself.

The deaths of religious persons of both sexes is about 1800 per annum; and as there is some reason to believe that about one out of thirty die every year, the whole number of persons in France, engaged in the monastic life, is about 54,000, of whom we may reckon 24,000 men and 30,000 women.

M. Garnier, and the originals of the Controle Général.

MEXICO.—The ancient empire was said to contain ten millions of souls: at present about one.(1) (1) Hist. Philosophique des deux Indes, tom. iii. p. 75.

The city once 200,000, now 50,000,—afflicted by inundation. Los Angelos, near Tlascala, has gained by its loss. Id. p. 117.

From the mines 65,000,000 (of livres) are annually coined at Mexico. The king has a fifth on the silver, a tenth on the gold, as those mines are more casual. The gold coined is about a fifth of the silver. Id. p. 108. 109.

Mexico is highly taxed, yet the net revenue returned to Europe is only 6,300,800*l.* Las Casas persuaded the Court of Spain to restore liberty, but not property, to the Mexican Indians. They are no where so happy, noble, and ingenious as in his diocese of Chiapa. Id. p. 114. Id. p. 77.

1. Immortality of the soul rejected only by the barbarous Otomites, believed by the Mexicans.

Clavigero, Storia Antica del Messico, tom. ii. p. 4. —2. Mictlanteuchlti, God of Hell and his wife—a subterraneous dwelling, black priests, nocturnal sacrifices, &c. p. 17.—3. The Hades in the centre of the earth; gate of Paradise, perilous journey, pleasant abode with the God of Waters—the Supreme Heaven in the sun, p. 4, 5, 6—94.—4. The souls of those who died in war or child-bearing held the first place; the second for the drowned, the dropsical, the thunderstruck, infants, &c.; vulgar deaths in the third, p. 5.—5. Noble Tlascalans. —6. A similar life and body? Utensils, arms, gold deposited in sepulchres. Their Techichi slain to accompany them (p. 94—99). The same as the Alco, a mute melancholy sort of dog, now extinct. (Tom. i. p. 73.) False criticism on Pope. (Warton, vol. ii. p. 129.)—7. Transmigration of plebeian souls into vile animals, of noble into the humming bird. (p. 5) Beautiful image—Buffon's fine description of 43 species of Oiseaux-Mouches and Colibris. (tom. xxi. p. 1—64, in 4to.)

Hist. Philosophique des deux Indes, tom. iii. p. 392. Id. p. 418.

Spain contained thirteen or fourteen millions before the discovery of America.

In the year 1747 only 7,423,590 souls, including 180,046 head of clergy.

Id. p. 338.

Her manufactures flourished till the expulsion of the Moors. Segovia cloths the best in Europe.

Id. p. 401.

60,000 silk looms at Seville. About fifty millions (French) of merchandizes are sent annually from Cadiz to America. About an eighth part is Spanish property.

About

About seventeen millions of piasters (89,250,000*l.*) arrive annually at Cadiz from America in gold and silver. The account seems particular and exact. Hist. Philosophique des deux Indes, tom. iii. p. 431.

Portugal.—The number of its inhabitants has sunk from 3,000,000 to 1,800,000. Id.

Brasil.—Its gold mines (under the tropic of Capricorn) were discovered about the year 1730. The Portuguese content themselves with the quantity which the torrents wash down into the vallies. It amounts annually to about 45,000,000*l.* The king has one fifth. The importation diminishes the proportion of gold to silver. Id. p. 528.

The mine of diamonds was discovered about the year 1730—given to an exclusive company, and the country round it dispeopled—the government—who is the agent in Europe—under articles to sell no more annually than 1,250,000*l.*—bought and cut by the Dutch and English, chiefly sold in France—are 10 per cent inferior to East India diamonds. Id. p. 534.

	Carats.
Great Mogul's . . .	279 1/16
The Great Duke's . .	139
The Sancy	106
The Pitt	136
The King of Portugal's (inestimable if not a topaz.)	1280

Russia.—To what causes may we ascribe the abject slavery of the Russians, the brethren of

those hardy Poles and Bohemians, who so long asserted and abused the right of freedom? Perhaps to the following causes. 1. The Russians derived the knowledge of Christianity and the rudiments of a civil education from a servile and superstitious people, the Greeks of Constantinople. 2. The Tartar conquerors broke and degraded the spirit of the Russian nation. 3. After the Russians had lost all communication with the Euxine and the Baltic, they were wholly separated and in a great measure secluded from the rest of Europe, and the civilized part of the human race. 4. The accidental advantage of fire-arms enabled the Czars to extend their empire over the north of Asia; and the power of prejudice was enforced by that of the sword.

HERCULES.

——— Qualemque vagæ post crimina noctis
Thestius obstupuit *toties* socer.
Statius in Sylv. l. iii. Ep. i. v. 42.

The question is therefore *quoties*, and according to the three different tales which prevailed among the Greeks, the amorous prowess of Hercules will excite the idea of a *man*, of a *hero*, or of a *god*.

I. When young Hercules was six feet high and only eighteen years of age, he hunted the lion on Mount Cithæron in Bœotia, and was hospitably entertained by Thestius, prince of Thespiæ. Every night, by the command of their father, one of the fifty daughters of Thestius shared the bed of Hercules; and the young hero embraced all these *virgins* with

with such undistinguishing and irresistible vigour, that at the expiration of fifty prolific nights he was still persuaded of the identity of his companion. Such is the modest and perhaps the original account of the first of the labours of Hercules, as it is given by Apollodorus.(1)

(1) Hist. Poet. l. ii. c. 4. p. 96.

II. According to another relation the conversion of the fifty virgins into wives and mothers was effected by the indefatigable Hercules within the space of *seven days*. Athenæus(2) has extracted this anecdote from the writings of Herodotus, or rather Herodotus the Lycian, who, as it appears by another quotation,(3) had composed at least seventeen books on the actions of Hercules.

(2) Deipnosophist. l. xiii. p. 556.

(3) Id. l. ix. p. 410.

III. But the popular opinion which at length prevailed ascribed to Hercules the singular honour of consummating in one and the same night his fifty, or at least his forty-nine marriages. This miracle, which seems to be insinuated by Diodorus Siculus,(4) is positively affirmed by Pausanias,(5) and that diligent traveller has recorded the virtue of one of the daughters of Thestius, who refusing to submit to the common fate of her sisters, was invested by Hercules with the sacerdotal dignity, and condemned to a life of perpetual celibacy. The Christian apologists have adopted this third account, which according to their ideas of merit, was the least honourable to the son of Jupiter. "Hercules, sanctus deus, natas quinquaginta de Thestio, *nocte unâ* perdocuit, et nomen virginitatis exponere et genetricum pondera sustinere."(6)

(4) Id. l. iv. p. 274. Edit. Wess.

(5) Id. l. ix. p. 763. Edit. Kuhr.

(6) Arnobius, l. iv. p. 145. His Commentator Elmenhorst, p. 144, quotes several of the fathers on this interesting topic.

The vigour of a demigod can be matched only

by that of a prophet. In the space of a single hour each of the eleven wives of Mahomet successively acknowledged him as a tender and active husband. This anecdote is related by Belon on the faith of an Arabic book entitled "Des Bonnes Coutumes de Mahomet."(7)

(7) Observations dans ses Voyages, l. iii. c. x. p. 179.

See Le Clerc (Gorlus)'s Edition. Amsterdam, 1703.

Severus (Cornelius).—The poem of Ætna, though its author is praised by Ovid and Quintilian, discovers very little taste or invention. The philosophy is narrow, and probably erroneous (see the long descant on the virtues of the millstone); the style languid, harsh, and perplexed. Instead of the ornaments of nature and propriety, the barren writer consumes a fourth of his poem in mythological stories which he affects to despise. The prettiest passages are the complaint of the preference given to the lucrative over the curious arts (v. 250—283), and the power of fire (533—561).

Παιδεραστια.—Herodotus observes with the most placid indifference that the Persians were fond of adopting new customs and new pleasures. From the Medes they borrowed their dress, from the Egyptians their breast plates By the Greeks they were taught to forget the distinction of sexes, απ' Ελληνων μαθοντες παισι μισγονται.(1)

(1) L. i. c. 135.

Noue (de la).—The situation and behaviour of de la Noue at the siege of La Rochelle is perhaps without parallel in history. 1. Such was his established reputation for honour and virtue, that in the

the heat of the civil wars of France immediately after the massacre of St. Bartholomew, Catherine of Medicis and her son entrusted this zealous Protestant to negociate with the Rochellois. 2. By the election of the people, and with the consent of the court, he accepted the military command in the revolted city. 3. During the siege of La Rochelle, he performed with admirable courage and conduct all the duties of a soldier and a mediator. 4. When the fanaticism of the Rochellois had rejected equitable conditions of peace, he obeyed the summons of the Duke of Anjou, repaired to the royal standard, and afterwards retired to his own house, with the esteem and confidence of both parties.

Such wonders require much stronger evidence than the partial authority of a biographer: and it is almost as singular that they are attested in all the material circumstances, by D'Aubigny, a violent protestant, (1) by Thuanus, a moderate philosopher, (2) and by Davila, a bigotted catholic. (3) The testimony of Davila is the more valuable as he betrays some inclination to *suspect* the *intentions* of de la Noue, in his return to the royal camp.

(1) Hist. Universelle, tom. ii. p. 34—45.
(2) Hist. sui Temporis, liii. 12. lvi. 5.
(3) Istoria delleGuerre Civile di Francia, tom. i. p. 326–330. Edit. Lond.

Shoes.—The practice of nailing shoes to the hoofs of horses, &c. was unknown to the ancients; who occasionally tied them with strings round the feet of those animals. (1)

(1) Gesner, Lexicon ad Script. de Re Rustica, p. 132, 133.

HINTS.

HISTORIANS, friends to virtue?

Yes,—with exceptions.

1. Allow great latitude in the means.

2. Incline more to personal than to social virtues.

Difference of the civil wars in France and England.

1. The English caused by riches and long peace. The French by long wars and impatience of ease. Union of the House of Commons. Power and discords of the Guises, Bourbons, &c.

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2. The English chiefly used the axe; the French the dagger.—Contrast, Mary Queen of Scots beheaded,—the Marshal d'Ancre murdered. Cause of this difference,—the superior corruption of the French?—Equity of the English? Fanaticism? Independence of the French nobles?—The custom borrowed from the Italians and communicated to the Scotch.

3. The English left to themselves. The Pope, Spain,

Spain, England, &c. took part in the French wars. The Duke of Mayenne preferred to the Admiral de Coligny.

Davila's general Errors.

1. The election and even existence of Pharamund doubtful. The assembly and resolution of the Franks chimerical.

2. The stability of their government ridiculous. It varied every age.*

3. The Salic Law not fundamental: established by accidents in the 14th century.

4. The first prince had no inherent right to the Regency. The point is yet undetermined.

Henry III. studied politics with an Italian abbé. Vanity of that science. Ignorance why *we* have acted—how *we* shall act—how *others* will act. Our sense, eloquence, secrecy, &c. the only principles assisted by the confidence of others.—Example of Henry III. his inactivity, his violence. Of Henry IV. The proper time for changing his religion; how very nice. If too soon the Catholics would be suspicious; if too late grown desperate.

The effect of civil wars on the minds of men. A general ferment of fanaticism, discord, and faction. Two singular exceptions. Montaigne in his retire-

* See Mably's Observations sur l'Histoire de France, &c.

ment.

ment. Henry IV. on the throne. He loved and trusted mankind.—How different from Charles II.!

France little altered by 40 years civil war. The same limits. The succession attacked but preserved. The regal authority unimpaired. Violent principles detested and forgotten.

Power of the governors of provinces, direct and absolute over the military. Their levies, expeditions, disposal of offices, strong places, gentlemen and guards—indirect over the finances and justice; only checked by the Parliaments.

The Duke of Mayenne, &c. wanted to make them hereditary.—The followers of Henry IV. made the same demand; had he consented, the feudal system was again established.

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1. French cavalry famous in the 16th century—All noblesse, 5000 gentlemen at once in the army of Henry IV. Brave but impatient of labour and fatigue. Laid aside their lances, and fought with pistols and carbines. The custom blamed but at last adopted.

2. The Spanish infantry well disciplined. Walloons, Italians. The Duke of Parma. Retreat from before Amiens. Saying of Henry IV.

3. Swiss phalanx. March from Meaux.

4. English and Germans, brave but undisciplined.

Religious wars.

1. Persecution inspires union, obstinacy, and at last

last resentment.—A sect becomes a party. Why Christianity suffered so long.—Greeks and Asiatics—Objection from martyrs—Difference of active and passive courage.—Chinese.

2. Connexion of religion and politics. The leaders seldom free from enthusiasm, or the followers from ambition.

3. Other passions mix with these. Massacre of Paris owing to revenge—of Charles IX.—of Guise—of the Parisians.

The ruling passion? very rare. Most passions confined to times, place, persons, circumstances.—Love, hatred, revenge, jealousy, vanity, &c.—Patriotism seldom even a passion.—Ambition generally mixed with other passions,—often subservient to them—when pure, as in Cæsar, Richelieu, must succeed or perish—Avarice perhaps the only ruling permanent passion.

"Search then the ruling passion, there alone
"The fools are constant, and the wise are known," &c.
POPE.

Bobinet in the Comtesse d'Escarbagnes, and Sir Hugh in the Merry Wives of Windsor—ridiculous resemblance without probability of imitation.

The Popish worship like the Pagan? Certainly. Huetius's Ode will serve for either Mary or Diana—But this resemblance probably without imitation—Reasons. 1. Images, ornaments, garlands, lights, odours, music, affect the senses of all men—are

—are found in the worship of the Indians, Chinese, Americans, &c.

2. Images opposed whilst the Pagans subsisted, received as soon as they were extinct.

3. The jubilee invented by Priests who had scarcely heard of the secular games.

4. Monks and relics of Martyrs, the favourite superstitions of the 4th century, detested by the Pagans.

Middleton, elegant and just (in facts), carries his parallel too far—the sacerdotal order on quite different principles from that of old Rome—Warburton dogmatic, just in his inference, weak in his argument.

See Huetii Commentarius, p. 258—262.

Freedom of Thought.

1. Infallible authority allows not the faculties of the mind fair play—May be just and happy, but is a yoke—Faith of the Pagan light and easy,—of the Christian binding and comprehensive—of the Papist variable—Plutarch, Tillotson, and Bellarmin.

2. Authority of Doctors,—a voluntary slavery under the name of reason—how common!—the ancient sects—professed philosophers how bigotted—Romans, &c. more liberal, heard several before they chose—obstinate in their choice, yet sometimes changed.

3. Authority of our own systems. Men of imagination dogmatic.—Bolingbroke.—True freedom and

and scepticism—ease and pleasantry—Bayle and a student of Salamanca.

A free-thinker may be rational or wild, superficial or profound—however, the road is open before him and his sight clear.

Freedom of individual relative to general slavery—an Englishman may reject with contempt what an Italian examines with caution—yet the Italian the free-thinker—il voto sanguinario of Muratori—the tenets of Atterbury and Courayer nearly the same, their manner of thinking how different—the one tended to slavery, the other to liberty.

Maxim of La Bruyère of governments; when quiet how ever disturbed! when disturbed how ever quiet! very just.—Supported by the interest of a few, courtiers, priests, soldiers—real power of the latter—honour and attachment—despotic government more secure in large states—indolence, prejudices, &c. of the multitude—chain of imitation—power of habit—necessity of order—every conspiracy a new society—danger of each individual—extreme danger of strong passions and great talents—when the charm is once broken, every man feels his real strength, and despises the idol.—hopes succeed to fears—the bond of faction grows stronger, that of government weaker—vicissitude.

Character and conduct of Brutus—obstinate patriotism of Scipio and Cato after the battle of Pharsalia—

salia—collect a formidable force in Africa(1)—second civil war—Brutus the nephew and disciple of Cato—remained quiet in Italy—studied eloquence with Cicero—their panegyrics on Cato(2)—attended with no danger.

The more moderate patriots had submitted to Cæsar—Cicero, Varro, Marcellus, &c.—their motives, horror of civil war, despair of success, cruelty of the Pompeian party, Cæsar's mildness, hopes that he would restore the Republic—their private life, melancholy complaints. Cicero's boldness. (3)

Brutus submitted immediately after the battle—made the first advances—revealed Pompey's designs, (4) was admitted into friendship and confidence—Proconsul of the Cisalpine Gaul(5)—his equity and mildness (6)—importance of the province, military force (7)—had the war been trans-

(1) Lucan. Pharsal. ix. 18, &c.

——— Magni post funera, partes
Libertatis erunt.

Hist. de Bello Afric. c. 1, 2, &c. &c.—M. Guichardt's Military Comment.

(2) Cic. Orator. c. 10.—Ad Attic. xiii. 46; xii. 21.

(3) See Cicero to Atticus, Varro, Papirius, Pætus, Cecinna, &c.—Pro Mariell. 8, 9. pro Ligario 3, et passim.

(4) Plut. in Brut. Bayle au mot *Brutus*.

(5) Plut. Aurel. Victor de V. J. C. 82. Cic. ad Fam. vi. 6. xiii. 10, &c.

(6) Cic. Orator. c. 10.—Plut.

(7) Montesquieu, Grandeur des Romains, c. xi. Ac. Philippic. iii. c. 5.

ferred

ferred to Italy, Brutus must have betrayed Cæsar or the republic.

His further honours, first prætor and consul elect (1)—preferred to Cassius—no freedom of election (2)—voluntary engagements—to obey the decree (3)—to defend the person of Cæsar (4)—no faith with tyrants (5)—excuse rather than motive.

Respect for Brutus (6)—tyrannicide, hatred of kings—greatness of Rome—fame of Cæsar, humanity of Brutus.

> In scelus it Pharium, Romani pœna tyranni;
> Exemplumque perit. (7)
>
> L'exemple, que tu dois, périroit avec toi. (8)

Fine imitation—the sentiment itself truly Roman—great in Lucan's mouth—far greater in Pompey's widow—has a sublime effect in the tragedy, as it engages Cornelia to discover the conspiracy, and save the life of her enemy.

Thucydides and Guicciardini in the true station for historians of their own times—mistake of Mr.

(1) Vell. Pat. l. ii. c. 56. 58. Plut.

(2) Sueton. in Cæsar. c. 41. 76.—Lucan. v. 381, &c.

> ——— Finget solemnia campi
> Et non admissæ *dirimit* suffragia plebis.

Leg. *diribet*, meo periculo.

(3) Appian de Bell. Civ. l. ii. p. 494.

(4) Cic. pro Marcell. c. 10.

(5) Appian de B. C. l. ii. p. 515.

(6) Vell. Pat. l. ii. c. 72. M. Auton. et August. apud Plut. in Brut.

(7) Lucan, x. 343.

(8) Le Pompée de Corneille, acte iv. scèn. 4.

Wharton

Wharton as to the latter (1)—both acquainted with the business of peace and war—their characters procured them every information—had studied the greatest men of their times—better acquainted with them all, than each of them was with the others—personal knowledge of great men, the chief advantage of their personal memoirs—Disappointed in those of Cæsar—we perceive the scholar and the soldier, we lose the man—except in the simplicity with which he relates his greatest actions—the memoirs of Xenophon much more characteristic—those of De Retz still more so—pity the events are so little interesting.

(1) Adventurer, No. 123.

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REMARKS

ON

BLACKSTONE'S COMMENTARIES,

REFERRED TO IN MR. GIBBON'S MEMOIRS.

This excellent work, which Mr. Blackstone read as Vinerian Professor, may be considered as a rational System of the English Jurisprudence, digested into a natural method, and cleared of the pedantry, the obscurity, and the superfluities which rendered it the unknown horror of all men of taste.

Unfortunately for this useful science, the foreign clergy, who poured in shoals into England after the Norman conquest, had little relish for the old common law of this country; they had formed the design of erecting upon its ruins the new system of civil and canon law which had just begun to revive in the court of Rome and the Italian Universities. The artful designs of these ecclesiastics were however constantly disappointed by the steady opposition of the nobility and laity, who supported the municipal law of England against these innovations; till at last, despairing of success, the clergy affected to despise what they were unable to destroy, and withdrew almost entirely from the secular tribunals. The Court of

Chancery, of which they retained the direction, adopted many of the forms of the civil law, and as they were the sole masters of the two universities, they easily proscribed a science which they abhorred, and reduced the students of the common law to the necessity of erecting peculiar schools in London, and within the neighbourhood of the courts of justice. Although two hundred years have now elapsed since the Reformation, yet the reverence for established customs will easily account for so material a defect in our academical character not having been sooner corrected.

I have entirely omitted a metaphysical inquiry upon the nature of laws in general, eternal and positive laws, and a number of sublime terms, which I admire as much as I can without understanding them. Instead of following this high priori road, would it not be better humbly to investigate the desires, fears, passions, and opinions of the human being; and to discover from thence what means an able legislator can employ to connect the private happiness of each individual with the observance of those laws which secure the well-being of the whole.

Mr. Blackstone speaks with uncommon respect of the old common law, which the generality of lawyers highly prefer to the statute law. He will find it however difficult to persuade an impartial reader that old customs (begun in barbarous ages, and since continued from a blind reverence to antiquity) deserve more respect than the positive decrees of the legislative power. I can indeed suspect

suspect that a general rule which is gathered only from a rude and prodigious mass of particular examples and opinions will easily acquire a prolixity and an uncertainty which will at last render the priests of Themis the sole interpreters of her oracles.

I wish Mr. Blackstone had talked a little less of Egbert, and of a right suspended from Edward the Confessor to James I. Such a suspension must be equivalent to a total extinction.*

* The remainder, being principally extracts, is omitted.

INDEX EXPURGATORIUS.

1. Mr. Hurd (English Commentary on Horace, tom. ii. p. 38, &c.) represents himself as the first discoverer of the Allegory in the third Georgic; and as such receives the compliments of his friend Warburton. (Divine Legation, vol. i. p. 295.) The Jesuit Catrou had however explained it upon the same principle many years before. (Virgile de Catrou, tom. ii. p. 452, &c.)

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2. M. Dacier (V. Horace de Dacier, sur le v. 67 de la première Satire du l. ii.) is doubly mistaken in supposing that the Metellus of Lucilius was the Metellus Numidicus; between whom and Scipio Africanus, some jealousy had arisen from their several African exploits. 1. The sense of Horace supposes that Scipio was an impartial judge; consequently no adversary of Metellus. 2. Scipio had never an opportunity of being jealous of the other's African glory. Scipio died in the consulship of M. Aquilius and C. Sempronius. (Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 4.) A.U.C. 624. (V. Pigh. Annal. ad ann.) Metellus was consul with the province of Numidia in 644. (Pigh. ad ann.) M. Dacier might also have considered that the intimacy which the satirist enjoyed with Scipio, supposes him much older than

than twenty when that hero died, and consequently that Eusebius brings his birth too low (to the 158th Olympiad.) M. Bayle (Dictionnaire au mot Lucilius, Not. G.) drew the same conclusion, though from less decisive circumstances.

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3. Mr. Hume would infer from the list of the Belgic army in Cæsar, (de Bell. Gallico, l. ii. c. 4.) the number of inhabitants in all Gaul. He justly enough considers Belgium (more properly the Belgic Gaul) as one fourth of the whole; at least with regard to population: but he forgot that not above half the Belgic nations entered into the alliance; which circumstance must double the calculation. (V. Hume's Essays, in 4to. 1758. p. 247.) It is wonderful that Mr. Wallace (Numbers of Mankind, p. 71, &c. Appendix, p. 312, &c.) should rather choose to refute him by the most improbable conjectures, than by so plain a fact. In the same place Mr. Hume observes, that the numbers in Cæsar are to be depended upon; as the Greek translation checks the original. Mr. Hume must know that this version (which is a very indifferent one) is attributed by the learned to Gaza or Planudes; and consequently not older than our most recent MSS.

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4. In the Notitia of the Western Empire, we meet among the officers of the city of Rome with the Consularis Aquarum. I believe that this employ no longer subsisted in the Theodosian age. 1. Because it appears here out of its rank, and

amongst the subalterns. 2. Because we find no commission for it among the formulæ of Cassiodorus. 3. Because the functions of this place are exactly the same with the Comes Formarum, who is very well known in those times. I therefore suspect that the Consularis Aquarum was lost in the Comes Formarum about the age of Constantine.

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5. Abbé Mongault had decided, that the Nice, where Brutus pleaded before Cæsar for King Dejotarus, was the Italian and not the Bithynian city of that name. (Epîtres de Cicéron à Atticus, l. xiv. 1.) Dr. Middleton (Life of Cicero, v. ii. p. 407.) has echoed it from him, with a severe censure upon the Jesuits Catrou and Rouillé. Both leader and follower are mistaken. 1. Nice in Italy was a wretched town among the Alps, where Cæsar upon his return from Spain would never have stopped to try a cause which he could so easily try a few days afterwards at Rome. Nice in Bithynia was a great city, (in the neighbourhood of Galatia,) through which Cæsar must have passed in his progress, when "Jura in tetrarchas, reges, civitates distribuit;" (Hist. de Bell. Alex. c. 78.) nay, we are told in the same chapter that he actually decided a cause against Dejotarus. Brutus appears to have been in Asia about that time. 2. Cicero's Dialogue de Claris Oratoribus was written after Brutus's oration for Dejotarus. (V. c. 3.) It was likewise written before the death of Marcellus, (c. 71.) who was killed A.U.C. 707. (V. Fabric. in Vit. Ciceron. ad ann.) Therefore the oration was in

in 706, when Cæsar was in Asia, not in 708 when he was returning from Spain. Although the dialogue of Cicero may be feigned, yet we know how very attentive the ancients were in preserving the chronology of these kind of fictions. (C. 60.) The only foundation of Mongault's opinion seems to be some obscure places (Epist. ad Attic. l. xiii. 39, 40.) where Cicero hints at a journey Brutus made to meet Cæsar, but without any relation either to Nice or Dejotarus.

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6. Cicero (pro Lege Manilia, c. 4) speaks of Ecbatana, as the royal seat of Mithridates. I suppose it is not necessary to prove that Ecbatana was the capital of Media, or that Media was never a part of that prince's empire. Tully was probably but an indifferent geographer, and the celebrated name of Ecbatana sounded extremely well. A lesson for critics!

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7. Mr. Guthrie (English Translation of Cicero's Letters to Atticus, l. ix. 10.) translates Getæ by Goths; a barbarous name which was first heard of 250 years after Cicero's death. V. Cluverii German. l. iii.

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8. Hirtius must be mistaken when he says (De Bell. Gall. l. viii. c. 46.) that Q. Cicero was sent into winter quarters in Belgium, when it appears that he was serving under his brother in Cilicia the 13th of October (Cicer. ad Attic. l. v. 20.) of

the same year, A. U. C. 702. (V. Pigh. ad annum.)

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9. M. Guichardt (Mémoires Militaires sur les Grecs et les Romains, tom. ii. p. 220.) attributes the stay of Cæsar in Egypt not to Cleopatra, but to the Etesian winds, which Hirtius seems to confirm. But this reason or pretence could only relate to a very inconsiderable part of the nine months (Appian de Bell. Civil. l. ii. p. 484.) which he spent there; since the season of the Etesian winds is over some time before the autumnal equinox (V. Plin. Hist. Natur. l. ii. c. 47) and Cæsar did not land in Egypt before the middle of August. The proof of this depends upon an accurate survey of the then irregular Roman Calendar. I adopt the system of M. de la Nauze (V. Mémoires de Littérature, tom. xxvi.) as it appears to me far more probable than that of Archbishop Usher. In general some light may be thrown upon Cæsar's transactions in Egypt.

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10. Sallust is no very correct historian. I blame, 1. His Chronology. Let any one consider the context of his history from the siege of Numantia to the Consulship of Calphurnius Bestia. (V. Bell. Jugurth. c. 5—29.) A fair reader can never imagine a space of more than five or six years. There were really twenty-two. (V. Pigh. ad ann. U. C. 620 et 642.) 2. His Geography. Notwithstanding his laboured description of Africa, nothing can be more confused than his Geography, without either

either division of provinces or fixing of towns. We scarce perceive any distance between Capsa and the river Mulucha (Bell. Jugurthin. c. 94—97, &c.) situated at the two extremities of Numidia, perhaps 500 miles from each other. 3. Having undertaken a particular history of the Jugurthine war, he neither informs us of the fall of the conquered province nor of the captive king.

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11. M. de Montesquieu quotes the famous inscription of the Rubicon as ancient and authentic. (Considérations sur la Grandeur des Romains, c. xi. p. 123.) We may excuse Blondus, and Leander Alberti, for having been deceived by so very gross an imposition, which carries its own condemnation along with it; has been regularly confuted by Cluverius (Ital. Antiq. l. 1. c. 28. p. 297.) and must be rejected by every scholar in Europe.

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12. M. Muratori is grossly mistaken in the interpretation of a passage of Olympiodorus preserved by Photius. (V. Annali d'Italia, tom. iv. p. 83.) The historian speaks of several rich senators who enjoyed an annual income of forty centenaries of gold, others of fifteen, others of ten, &c. The annalist understands by a centenary of gold 100,000 pieces of gold, which he supposes nearly equivalent to the crowns or ducats of our time. But the real signification of centenary, κεντηνάριον, means only one hundred pounds weight of gold (which was the general and legal computation under the lower empire). I owe Salmasius the justice of observing,

serving, that he has given the true explanation of this word. (V. Comment. ad Script. Hist. August, p. 418.) Muratori's erroneous reckoning would increase the fortunes of these wealthy senators in the enormous proportion of at least seven to one.

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13. M. Freret justifies the common reading of Pliny the Naturalist (l. iii. 5) which allows 13,200 paces for the circuit of Rome; by an ingenious calculation drawn from the measure of the surfaces of the fourteen regions as set down in the Notitia. The circumference deduced from them is 13,549 paces. This seeming agreement is a real contradiction. Pliny only speaks of the narrower boundaries of Servius Tullius. The Rome of the Notitia (the fourteen regions) comprized all that was contained within the more extensive walls of the Emperor Aurelian. (V. Mém. de Littérature, tom. xxiv. p. 531, &c.

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14. Sir William Temple (V. his Works in folio, tom. i. p. 223) has discovered a fundamental law in the Mamluk empire, which the Mamluks themselves were totally unacquainted with. "The son of a Sultan might inherit his father's private fortune, but he was for ever excluded from the succession. The throne was elective, and the election confined to the native Circassians, who had been brought slaves into Egypt, and had served as private soldiers in the Mamluk bands." The throne was indeed elective like the Roman empire in the third century; but the army elected, deposed, or murdered

murdered their sovereigns according to their own wild caprices, which were unrestrained by either law or principle. As prosperity is seldom the school of manly virtue it is not surprising, that a soldier of fortune was often preferred by his fellow soldiers to the son of a monarch, or a hardy Scythian to the native of that effeminate country, where every race of animals is observed to degenerate. (V. Maillet, Description de l'Egypte, tom. ii. p. 222.) Sir William Temple's notion is as contrary to fact as to reason. The sceptre of the Mamluks was above a century in the hands of the same family. Kelaoun was elected Sultan of Egypt in the year 1279, and was succeeded (with only two or three temporary usurpations) by fourteen of his descendants, two in the first generation, eight in the second, two in the third, and two in the fourth. (V. Pocock, Supplem. ad Abulpharag. dynast. p. 6—32. Hist. Générale des Huns, &c. par M. de Guignes, tom. i. p. 266, 267, tom. v. p. 155—246.) It is unfortunate for letters that the knowledge of facts, and the art of making use of them, are very seldom united. I pass over several other mistakes of Sir William Temple's that I may not seem to treat a polite scholar with the critical severity which he justly enough complained of (tom. i. p. 299); but I can scarce refrain from smiling at his Almanzor, the most accomplished of the western Caliphs, who reigned over Arabia, Egypt, Africa, and Spain; but in fact an imaginary hero of an imaginary empire. Sir William Temple was deceived by some Spanish romances, which he took

took for Arabian history. (V. Ockley's Preface to the Second Volume of his History of the Saracens, p. xxiii.)

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15. M. Maillet (author of the Description de l'Egypte, in 2 vol. 12mo. A la Haye, 1740) seems to have been a curious and accurate observer of whatever fell within his reach during a sixteen years consulship in that country. His account of the physical, moral, commercial and political state of Egypt is clear, copious, and entertaining. But his book has some considerable defects. 1. Though a sensible man the consul was no scholar; he affects to despise the ancients; seldom quotes them, and often mistakes them. This ignorance betrays him into many very gross errors and deprives us of all the lights which he might have extracted from, or reflected upon the writings of those ingenious nations who were so long masters of Egypt. It would be endless to enumerate particulars. Let any one compare his sixth letter with the Pyramidographia of the learned Mr. Greaves. (V. his Works, vol. i. p. 1—164.) 2. He was well versed in Arabian literature, and follows as his oracles those writers, even in respect to those earlier ages, which were to them (as they truly styled it) the time of ignorance, and upon which indeed they can offer us nothing better than traditions, fables, or conjectures. He is even far from accurate in his use of them. His considering the Mamluk princes till the conquest of the Turks as so many descendants of the great Saladin (V. tom. ii. p. 287, and elsewhere)

where) may serve as a specimen. 3. The consul entrusted his materials to a French Abbé (Mascrier) to be revised and fitted for the press. The editor (who, though an affected, is no contemptible writer) seems to have considered amusement as the only end of writing, and idle tales and *ambitious* ornaments as the only source of amusement. Nay, I am well assured that he has improved, or rather spoiled, the honest consul's memoirs by many additions drawn from his own imagination; and what is unfortunate for us, that it is impossible to clear the native soil from these noxious weeds.

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16. M. de Voltaire accuses the author of the Lettres Provinciales of having imputed to the Jesuits " un dessein formé de corrompre les mœurs des hommes." Compare this accusation with the fifth letter and you will be astonished that any man could advance it. " Sachez donc que leur objet n'est pas de corrompre les mœurs; ce n'est pas leur dessein." (Vol. ii. p. 5.) When I meet Voltaire upon Grecian, Roman, or Asiatic ground, I treat him with the indulgence he has so much occasion for; but we might have expected to have found him better acquainted with one of the finest writers of his own country. (V. Oeuvres de Voltaire, tom. xvi. p. 322, et Lettres Provinciales, tom. ii. p. 1—36, in 12mo. à Leyde, 1767.)

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17. M. de Voltaire, speaking of the many instances which seemed to justify *Mademoiselle*'s marriage with a private gentleman, alleges the examples

examples of the daughters of the Roman emperors, and those of the sovereigns of Asia. (Oeuvres de Voltaire, tom. xvi. p. 124.) Both are very unhappily chosen, as the circumstances are totally different. The only kings in the time of the Roman empire were vassals or enemies to it; all barbarians, and all considered with reason as very inferior to a Roman senator. The eastern maxims of domestic government make those unequal alliances the most suitable and the most eligible for a sultan's daughter. She must marry a slave to avoid the being one herself.

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18. The example of Quadratus may give us an idea of the blind or perhaps artful credulity with which Mr. Addison composed his admired little treatise of the Christian Religion. He describes this apologist as a famous philosopher, a convert, and a martyr. (Addison's Works, vol. iii. p. 290.) Dr. Cave was not half so well acquainted with him. (V. Hist. Litterar. p. 32, 33.) I do not find the least trace of his conversion; his martyrdom is founded only upon the modern martyrology of the Greeks, and I see no other proof of his philosophy than his being an Athenian, and that Mr. Addison might suppose that every Athenian was of course a famous philosopher. There is scarce a prejudice or a legend, that this popular writer has not condescended to adopt as the strongest argument.

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19. Pope's verses to Addison upon his Treatise of Medals

Medals have certainly great beauties; but I think I discover two faults in them. 1. I scarce know a more complete piece of tautology than the verses 6, 7, and 8. There cannot be any the most minute difference between *hostile fury*, *barbarian blindness* and *Gothic fire: religious rage*, *Christian zeal*, and *Papal piety*, express one and the same idea. 2. I hardly know a stronger impropriety than complimenting the author of a didactic work by transgressing one of his principal rules. If Mr. Pope had considered how severely his friend condemned all inscriptions in verse, especially when they run into any length, he would never have given a legend of six heroic verses for Mr. Cragg's medal. (V. Addison's Works, vol. III. p. 155, 156.)

> And round the orb in lasting notes be read
> Statesman, yet friend to truth, &c.

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20. Mr. Addison boldly asserts that there never was a single martyr amongst the primitive heretics; and even draws inferences from this undoubted fact, in favour of the truth of pure, orthodox Christianity. (Vol. III. p. 301.) To connect different degrees of persuasion with different modes of opinion, appeared to me highly unphilosophical; however, I consulted my ingenious friend Dr. Middleton who (I recollected) had placed the Christian martyrs in a very new and curious light. (See Free Inquiry, &c. in his works, Vol. I. p. 162—173.) He immediately informed me from the authority of all history, and particularly that of Eusebius,

Eusebius, (Hist. Ecclesiast. v. 16) that the heretics had their martyrs, as well as the orthodox: upon verifying the quotation, I even found that the sectaries boasted of the great number of their martyrs, and that their antagonists did not pretend to deny the fact.

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21. Dr. Lardner (Jewish and Heathen Testimonies, Vol. II. p. 18. 28. 63.) and the celebrated Mosheim, (Ecclesiastical History, translated by Maclaine, Vol. I. p. 76) have both imagined, that as all Domitian's laws had been repealed by the senate, Pliny the younger was at loss what rule of conduct to observe in respect to the Christians. (V. Epist. X. 97.) It may be allowed from the authority of Suetonius (in Domit. c. 23) and Lactantius (de Mortib. Persec. c. 2) that the senate in the first fury of a just revenge, attempted to abolish every memorial of the tyrant; but it should have been recollected, from a still better authority, (Plin. Epist. x. 66,) that his prudent successor soon settled the general administration of the empire, by restoring the constitutions and rescripts of Domitian to their former validity: "Epistolis etiam Domitiani standum est." It is evident from thence, that Domitian enacted no laws relative to the Christians; and that till Pliny thought it necessary to consult the emperor upon a case which grew daily more important, the governors of the provinces had no rule of conduct but their own discretion. This observation might lead to some important

important consequences in regard to the history of the first age of Christianity.

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22. M. de Voltaire has given us, among many other ingenious trifles, a dialogue between Marcus Aurelius and a Recolet friar. The latter accuses the former of having persecuted the Christians to whom he had such obligations. The emperor assures him, that he never persecuted any one. (V. Oeuvres de Voltaire, tom. iv. p. 384.) The poet forgot the characters of his speakers. 1. It is very natural that the friar, a friend to miracles and legends, should adopt the story of the Thundering Legion; but he would likewise have adopted the catastrophe of the fable, which exalts to the highest degree the gratitude of Marcus towards his benefactors. (Tertull. Apolog. c. 5. Lardner's Jewish and Heathen Testimonies. Vol. II. p. 226, &c.) 2. The emperor was too sincere to deny that many martyrs suffered during his reign, and that he himself added to the severity of the laws already in force against the Christians. (V. Lardner, vol. ii. p 179—221; and Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, vol. i. p. 78.)

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23. M. de Voltaire rejects with a magisterial haughtiness the famous Chinese inscription, which relates the origin of Christianity in that country, and asserts with as decisive a confidence that Christianity was absolutely unknown in China in the time of Charlemagne. If he will take the trouble of reading a very curious dissertation in the Es-

tratto della Letteratura Europea, per l'anno, 1761, p. 1, 2, 4, and which is perfectly agreeable to the principles of M. de Guignes, (V. Mém. de l'Acad. tom. 30.) he may see the two following positions established upon the most convincing proofs. 1. It is certain from the Chinese historians, the Nestorian writers, and the Arabian and European travellers, that a very considerable Christian church subsisted in China from the 7th to the 14th century, which at first flourished very much under the peculiar protection of the emperors. 2. That the inscription carries every mark of authenticity, and is perfectly agreeable to the history of those times and even to the character and doctrines of the Nestorian sect. I am not insensible that before this question was so accurately examined, some learned men have had doubts concerning the inscription; but where they doubted, Voltaire decided. Though his objections are very contemptible, yet I am still more offended at the haughtiness of his unbelief, than at his unbelief itself.

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24. M. de Fontenelle, in that elegant piece of history and philosophy which he has extracted from the learned rubbish of Vandale, discovers many ingenious reasons which account for Porphyry's producing or even inventing oracles that were favourable to the Christians. (Oeuvres de Fontenelle, tom. ii. p. 239, &c.) Perhaps if he had attended to the well grounded suspicions of his own author, he might have concluded with still more reason, that Porphyry never did produce them;

them; and that the work in question is spurious. Is not this a little too like the story of the golden tooth?

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25. M. de Fontenelle (tom. ii. p. 383) is mistaken when he thinks the Romans prohibited the Carthaginians by treaty, from offering any more human sacrifices. The original treaties between those powerful republics are still extant in Polybius and Livy. I need only refer to them. Gelon, tyrant of Syracuse, is indeed reported (though not upon the very best authority) to have imposed that humane condition after the battle of Himera. (V. Diodor. Sicul. l. xi. 21; et Wesseling ad loc.) M. de Fontenelle is pleased to accuse the Romans of contradicting their own practice; since they sacrificed a man every year to Jupiter Latiates. But I shall not believe upon the words only of Porphyry, Lactantius, and Prudentius, that human sacrifices were ever a regular part of the Roman worship.

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26. I think M. de Fontenelle has very injudiciously called Homer and Hesiod the first Grecian philosophers. Reason and inspiration are widely different. The first poets were the prophets and theologians of their time; not the philosophers. Several great sects of philosophy, who, from either inclination or policy, chose to connect their system with the established theology, were obliged to consult the most approved interpreters of it; which scheme of conciliation has often betrayed them

into absurdities. Thus in more modern ages the great Descartes has attempted to explain transubstantiation; and the greater Newton to expound the Revelations. Fontenelle might have spared his satirical exclamation, "Voilà les raisonnemens de cette antiquité si vantée." (Oeuvres de Fontenelle, tom. ii. p. 251.)

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27. Lord Shaftesbury has observed that after despotism was fully established at Rome, not a statue, picture, or medal, not a tolerable piece of architecture afterwards appeared. Mr. Addison adopted this remark with great complacency, and Mr. Warton received it too easily. (Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope, p. 176.) However, if we take the period of the reigns of Vespasian and Commodus, which is certainly a very fair one, we must confine this observation to painting alone. For the state of architecture, I need only appeal to the Coliseum and Trajan's column; the statues of Antinous and Marcus Aurelius will give us an idea of the taste of sculpture. Every connoisseur knows that the highest perfection of the Roman medals is to be sought for in the times of Trajan and Hadrian.

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28. The Epistles of Phalaris have been pronounced spurious after a much fuller hearing than they deserved. (See the Controversy between Boyle and Bentley.) Let me however discover another mark of their being so. Phalaris enlarges very much (see Epistle lxx. &c.) upon the glory, the

the honours, and the rewards that awaited the murderers of tyrants. This was, I acknowledge, a general law of nations amongst the Grecian republics; but I think it highly improbable that it could have been so ancient as the age of Phalaris, who (if he was not, as Pliny reports, the first tyrant in the world) may be proved to have flourished about 600 years before Christ. (Bentley against Boyle, p. 29—91.) Such a custom supposes many revolutions of freedom and servitude in the several Grecian republics; who were willing to intimidate future tyrants, by arming and encouraging every private citizen to destroy them. Such was the conduct of the Athenians when they recovered their liberty in 512; and the honours which were paid to the memory of Harmodius and Aristogiton became a model for the rest of Greece.

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29. I am surprised that during that long and sharp controversy concerning the Epistles of Phalaris, neither party should have paid the least attention to the time of the foundation of Agrigentum; since the tyrant could have no existence before his city. This last was built according to the authentic accounts of Thucydides, (lib. vi. sub init.) 153 years later than Syracuse, founded, according to the Chronicle of Eusebius, in the second year of the XIVth Olympiad, (Ant. Ch. 735,) or, according to the more accurate computation, which Sir John Marsham has formed upon the Arundel marbles, A. C. 769. (Canon. Chron. p. 490. 495.) These two epochas will give us 582,

or 616: either of them is sufficient to refute the earlier date, which Eusebius himself has given us for the age of Phalaris; and to reduce that controversy within narrower bounds.

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30. The author of the Adventurer, No. 127, (Mr. Joseph Warton, concealed under the signature of Z.) concludes his ingenious parallel of the ancients and moderns by the following remark: "That age will never again return; when a Pericles, after walking with Plato in a portico built by Phidias, and painted by Apelles, might repair to hear a pleading of Demosthenes, or a tragedy of Sophocles." It will never return, because it never existed. Pericles (who died in the fourth year of the LXXXIXth Olympiad. Ant. Ch. 429. Dio. Sic. l. xii. 46.) was confessedly the patron of Phidias, and the contemporary of Sophocles; but he could enjoy no very great pleasure in the conversation of Plato, who was born the same year that he himself died. (Diogenes Laertius in Platone, v. Stanley's History of Philosophy, p. 154.) The error is still more extraordinary with regard to Apelles and Demosthenes, since both the painter and the orator survived Alexander the Great, whose death is above a century posterior to that of Pericles, (in 323.) And indeed though Athens was the seat of every liberal art, from the days of Themistocles to those of Demetrius Phalareus, yet no particular era will afford Mr. Warton the complete synchronism he seems to wish for; as tragedy was deprived of her famous triumvirate, before the arts of philosophy

phy and eloquence had attained the perfection which they soon after received from the hands of Plato, Aristotle, and Demosthenes.

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31. Dr. Mosheim supposes that the Koran, collected by the successors of Mahomet, and which is now extant, was different from the law, which the Prophet gave the Arabians during his life-time, because in the former he appeals to and extols the latter. This fact, or rather conjecture, is founded only on a reason evidently groundless. The 114 chapters which compose that extraordinary book were brought down by the angel Gabriel upon as many different occasions; and it is no ways absurd that in his later revelations, Mahomet should appeal to those he had already received. Mr. Sale, whom Dr. Mosheim in the same place (Ecclesiastical History, v. i. p. 314) celebrates with reason as the ablest expositor of the Koran would have informed him of that particularity. (See Preliminary Discourse to the English Translation of the Koran, p. 63, 64.)

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32. Dr. Mosheim represents the Norman pirates as absolutely devoid of any religion whatsoever. (Ecclesiastical History, vol. i. p. 432.) It is however certain that these pirates, who were the bravest and the noblest adventurers of the Scandinavian nations, worshipped the gods of their fathers, believed in the immortality of the soul, and received with religious faith the system of doctrine laid down in their Edda, which book M. Mallet (see

Introduction à l'Histoire du Danemarc) has since introduced to the general acquaintance of the public, but which was even then accessible to the curiosity of a German scholar. Dr. Mosheim's proposition is at once groundless and dangerous.

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33. Mr. Christopher Smart, a new and very indifferent translator of Horace, (see Monthly Review, August, 1767,) conjectures, that the first lines of the art of poetry not only condemn an affected and vitiated taste in writing, but are particularly levelled against the Metamorphoses of Ovid, which are so often infected by it. The conjecture is ingenious and supported by some appearances; but it is totally repugnant to Ovid's own chronology of his works. Horace died A. U. C. Cap. 745; Ovid was banished A. U. C. 761. At that very time he was writing the Metamorphoses, and as he was leaving Rome he attempted to commit them to the flames as a rude and imperfect work: paternal love prevailed: Ovid finished the poem at Tomi and sent it to a friend at Rome with a short elegy which may be considered as a preface to it. (Trist. l. 1. Eleg. 7.) It is therefore impossible that Horace could satirise a work which still remained unfinished and in the author's hands sixteen years after Horace's death. Even in the Augustan age there was more than one poet who had occasion for the critic's advice, and the satirist's correction.

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34. M. de Buffon speaks of complete vessels being found in the heart of mountains at a great distance

distance from the sea. A fact, indeed, of a very extraordinary nature, which shews us a lively glimpse of a former world, and of arts cultivated by men who inhabited some country now overwhelmed by the sea, in ages when the modern Alps were buried under the waters; it ought therefore to be supported by some better authority than Gordon's Geographical Grammar, or an obscure commentator of Ovid's Metamorphoses. It is often to be lamented that natural philosophers are too little acquainted with history or the laws of historical evidence. Their ignorance of them sometimes deprives them of the knowledge of facts highly essential to their systems, and at other times deceives them by fables in the dress of truth. Facts either moral or natural are related by men. The value of the evidence must be determined by the character of the witness, and yet all M. de Buffon's witnesses appear levelled by an undiscriminated equality. (Buffon, Histoire Naturelle, tom. i. p. 592.)

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35. Angora is famous for the long, beautiful, and silky hair of several sorts of animals, and particularly of its goats. M. de Buffon, as the general historian of all those animals, has often occasion to speak of so curious a distinction; but he as constantly supposes Angora to be a city of Syria, and even deduces consequences after his method, from the happy climate of that country, so congenial to those animals. (V. Histoire Naturelle, aux Articles de la Chèvre, du Chat, et du Lapin, tom. v. et vi.)

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This supposed Syrian city is, however, in reality one of the most considerable towns of Asia Minor, which at present contains 100,000 souls, and is the seat of a Turkish pasha, and which was formerly, under the name of Ancyra, the capital of the province of Galatia. This breed of goats is even confined to about thirty miles round Ancyra, and easily degenerates when carried to any distance. (V. Pococke's Description of the East, vol. ii. p. ii. p. 86—90.) M. de Buffon was not betrayed into this error by any preconceived system. On the contrary, the latitude of Spain agrees still more strictly with Asia Minor than with Syria.

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36. M. de Voltaire (V. Le Corneille de Voltaire, tom. ix. p. 153.) praises Racine and Corneille for having, both of them, very judiciously avoided shewing the contempt which the Romans and indeed all mankind entertained for the Jewish nation. Berenice was the heroine of their tragedy, and the reader might possibly have thought too much like a Roman. Voltaire might have added, that those poets were equally in the right in representing her as a young princess, although at the time of her separation from Titus she was above fifty. History *must* receive and *can* only explain the most improbable facts when they are properly averred. Poetry ought always to prefer agreeable probabilities to harsh and unlikely truths. The proof of Berenice's age is clear and easy. Her father Agrippa died A. C. 44. She was then sixteen and already married to her uncle Herod, King of Chalcis.

cis. Titus succeeded his father Vespasian in the year 79, 35 years after the death of Agrippa. (V. Tillemont, Histoire des Empereurs, tom. i. p. 839, de l'édit. in 12mo. et toutes les autorités qu'il cite.)

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37. That ingenious trifler, Mr. Horace Walpole, has given us (Royal and Noble Authors, vol. i. p. 67—81.) a very curious article of the brave and learned Earl Rivers. He is, however, inaccurate in the account of a tournament in Smithfield between the Earl and the great Bastard of Burgundy. 1. The tournament which was held just before the death of Philip, Duke of Burgundy, that is to say in the beginning of the summer 1467 (V. Mémoires d'Olivier de la Marche, p. 489, &c. in 4to. à Gand, 1566, et Chronique de Bourgogne dans le second volume de Philippe de Comines, p. 189.) could have no relation with the nuptials of Duke Charles and the Princess of England, which were celebrated in July, 1468. From this mistaken date Mr. Walpole extracts a very puerile reflexion. The hero and the virago might think the combat of their near relation a proper compliment to their union; but the brother of Edward the Fourth's wife can scarcely be deemed a near relation of Edward's sister. 2. Mr. Walpole draws his account of the combat from an Englishman who thought that when the champions were parted the superiority was clearly on Earl Rivers's side. Olivier de la Marche was of a different opinion; but he viewed the whole affair with the partial eyes of a subject of Burgundy. Mr. Walpole shews at least an equal

equal partiality to the English knight, when he extols Earl Rivers's generosity, for disdaining the first day to make use of the advantage he had gained by killing the Bastard's horse. The advantage itself was a contravention of the laws of chivalry; the Earl was forced to excuse himself both to the king, who expressed great anger, and to his adversary who readily accepted his excuses and his assurances that the blow was purely accidental. (V. Oliv. de la Marche, p. 91. Mémoires sur la Chevalerie par M. de St. Palaye, &c.) I am sorry Mr. Walpole never met with Olivier de la Marche. He might have added to his article of Earl Rivers a multitude of those little anecdotes he is so fond of.

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38. M. de Buffon often sacrifices truth to eloquence, and consistency to variety. In the fourth volume of his Natural History, (V. Discours sur la Nature des Animaux, p. 13—34.) the brain is the general sensorium of the animal; and the center of the whole nervous system, with which it communicates by an universal action and reaction; in a word the seat of sentiment and the spring of action in every creature destitute of an intellectual soul. Such is the basis of M. de Buffon's profound though obscure metaphysics. But in the seventh volume (Discours sur les Animaux Carnassiers, p. 13. 16, &c.) this basis is entirely overturned. The brain is degraded into dead matter, insensible, and scarcely organized, which serves only to transmit to the nerves the nourishment it had received from the

the arteries. The diaphragma succeeds to all the former powers of the brain, at least to many of them; for M. de Buffon disdains to acquaint us either with the defects he discovered in his old system, or with the parts of it he still chuses to retain, and the manner he connects them with his new principles. Instead of a candid confession that he had been seduced by a delusive though brilliant hypothesis, he endeavours to make the world forget it, by observing a profound silence on that head, in the copious and curious index he has drawn up himself for his great work.

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39. M. de Buffon seems to be a very poor classical scholar. He always cites Aristotle in Latin, and most of his quotations from the ancients appear borrowed from Gesner and Aldrovandus. It is a great pity, as this ignorance has deprived him of many curious materials. His admirable history of the elephant (Histoire Naturelle, tom. xii. p. 1—93.) might have been still more curious and equally authentic; since I think the testimony of a Pliny, &c. who appeal to the whole Roman people as to what they saw in the amphitheatre, deserves as much credit as the stories a traveller brings back from Congo or Siam. M. de Buffon might perhaps have determined with less confidence that the climate of Europe is too cold for elepants. (V. p. 30---47.) I am sensible that there are no examples of that animal's multiplying or even subsisting in a state of nature beyond the limits of Asia and Africa. But there are many of the elephant's being

being employed in war in Spain, Sicily, and the southern parts of Italy, of their going through all the fatigues of a campaign, &c. Those of Hannibal perished indeed in the severe winter marches that general made over the Alps and Apennines. A curious passage of Juvenal (Sat. xii. 102.) informs us that droves of elephants belonging to the emperor were kept in the fields round Ardea. They were probably maintained for the public shews; and it is to other droves of the same nature that we are to refer the elephant's bones found in Tuscany and other parts of Italy. (V. Dissertazioni del Cavalier Guazzeri, p. 68, &c.)

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40. Father Pagi, to whom good letters have many obligations, shews (in his Dissertatio Hypatica, p. 368.) that he read history like a monk. A writer or two of his own complexion had made use of the words *consulatus*, *fasces*, *&c.* in speaking of the Saracen kings of Corduba, the (khalifs of Spain of the house of Ommiyah.) Now as the kings of France, Italy, &c. of those ages, really took the title of consul, Father Pagi very sagaciously concludes that the Arab khalifs imitated their example, without ever reflecting on the enormous difference there was between them. The northern chiefs had adopted the religion and manners of the conquered nations, and still revered the power they had overturned. The Musulmans detested that religion, were strangers to those manners, and despised that power. The successors of the Prophet would have disdained a title which levelled

levelled them with the servants of the Christian dog. In them the imitation of the Roman style would have been absurd; in the authors of those times it was easy and natural. Sallust was a more correct writer than Eulogius or the Abbot Samson of Cordova; yet Sallust (Bell. Jugurth. c. 12.) speaks of the *Lictor proxumus* of a Numidian prince, who had guards and officess, but who certainly had no lictors. This translation of ideas is common in all languages.

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41. Olearius, as quoted by M. de Buffon, (Histoire Naturelle, tom. xi. p. 241.) rejects with scorn the antipathy which the ancients have supposed between the horse and the camel, and of which they have related such celebrated instances. Every caravan, and every stable in Persia is, according to Olearius, a proof of the contrary. But this reasoning is very fallacious. The instances mentioned by the ancients suppose those animals unacquainted with each other, meeting for the first time, and left entirely to their natural impressions. But it is not the least proof of the empire of man over the animals, that by habit and education he can subdue those impressions, and can establish a degree of harmony and even of familiarity between the most discordant natures. The dog and the cat are domestic evidences of this assertion.

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42. Pliny, speaking of an animal, (Machlis,) supposed to be the rein-deer, says the creature was only to be found in Scandinavia. Cæsar describes the

the same animal as a native of the Hercynian forest in Germany. M. de Buffon is struck with this contradiction, (Histoire Naturelle, tom. xii. p. 82.) which is indeed only apparent. Our author, who is a better naturalist than an antiquarian, did not know that the vast island or peninsula of Scandinavia was considered by most of the ancients as a part of Germany; (V. Cluver. German. Antiq. l. iii. p. 159, &c.) that the ocean was the northern boundary of Germany; (Tacit. de Morib. German. c. 1, &c.) that the Hercynian forest lost itself in the most remote parts of that unknown country. (Cæsar de Bell. Gallic. l. vi. c. 25.)

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43. M. de Buffon asserts (Hist. Natur. tom. xi. p. 229.) that the camel has been so completely subdued by man, that there remains no individuals of the species in a state of nature and freedom. This may be true enough in our times, but it was not so in those of Diodorus Siculus. That curious traveller says there were wild camels in Arabia. (Bibliot. l. iii. c. 44. Edit. Wesseling.) The fact seems probable in itself, and it confirms M. de Buffon's opinion, that the camel was originally a native of Arabia, for whose sandy deserts he and he alone seems formed.

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44. M. Marmontel has made a singular mistake in his elegant translation of Lucan. That poet had said of the Gallic Druids, (Lucan. Pharsal. l. i. v. 452.)

> Solis nosse Deos, et cœli numina vobis
> Aut solis nescire datum.——

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In the French version of the Pharsalia, this exclamation is turned into a panegyric of the doctrine of the Gallican church: "Vous seuls avez le privilège de choisir entre tous les dieux, ceux qu'on doit adorer, ceux qu'on doit méconnoître." But the poet was admiring not the truth but the singularity of the Druidical system of theology. Observing how much it disagreed with that of other nations, he cries out, "The knowledge of the Gods has been granted or has been refused to you alone." (V. le Lucan de Marmontel, tom. i. p. 32.)

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45. The King of Prussia appears throughout his writings an enemy to the English. His description of the battle of Blenheim is a glaring instance of his partiality. (V. l'Art de la Guerre, chant vi.)

> Ainsi le grand Eugène, à ce fameux village
> Où Tallard et Marsin s'étoient très mal postés,
> D'un effort général donna de tous côtés, &c.

The history contained in these lines is as erroneous as the poetry of them is indifferent. The great Eugene, to whom the sole glory of the day is ascribed, commanded the right wing of the allied army, and was so well opposed by Marsin and the Elector of Bavaria, that his repeated attacks made no impression on them. It was his colleague, the Duke of Marlborough, who improved the many blunders of Tallard, passed the rivulet, broke the centre of the French army, took the flower of their troops in the village of Blenheim, and, in a word, obtained a complete victory.

(V. Mémoires de Feuquières, tom. iii. p. 357—387. Kane's Campaigns, p. 57—61. Histoire Générale par Voltaire, tom. v. p. 277.)

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46. The translator of M. de Haller's poems has inserted a note which is to me incomprehensible. The poet (p. 112.) had exclaimed with indignation, "Où coule aujourd'hui le sang des Muhleren et des Bubenberg? *Bubenberg*, (adds the translator,) "famille d'une ancienne noblesse à Berne..... *Muhleren*, un officier de cette famille, qui étoit aussi d'une ancienne noblesse, fit paroître son courage dans la défense de Morat contre Charles le Hardi en 1476." 1. If the family was noble, as it certainly was, it seems superfluous to add that each individual of it was so likewise. 2. I am perfectly well acquainted with the Bubenberg who defended Morat so gallantly against Charles the Hardy. His name was Adrian; and neither Schilling, a contemporary historian, nor that indefatigable collector, M. Leu, (in his Helvetic Dictionary,) makes the least mention of that extraordinary name of Muhleren, which I never heard of, but which M. de Haller himself seems clearly to separate from that of Bubenberg. This passage is more singular, as I have some reason to believe that the translator is M. de Tscharner, of one of the best families of Berne; and who has written with applause a history of his own country in the German language. (V. Choix des Poësies Allemandes, par M. Huber. tom. iii. p. 242.)

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AUGERII GISLENII BUSBEQUII OMNIA QUÆ EXTANT. *Lugd. Batavorum, ex Officinâ Elzevirianâ in* 1633, *in* 12*mo.*

THE Travels of Busbequius consist of four epistles, and contain the narrative of his two embassies from Ferdinand, king of the Romans, and afterwards emperor, to the Ottoman Porte. (November 1554—November 1562.) In the first, he describes his journey from Vienna to Amasia; the second includes the events and observations of a seven years' residence, or rather imprisonment, at C. P. It was his duty and his amusement to study the characters of Soliman II. and his ministers, the policy of the governmenment, the discipline of the camp, and the virtues and vices of the most formidable enemies of Christendom. The tragic adventures of Mustapha and Bajazet are told with the spirit and dignity of an historian. His ears, or those of his interpreters, were always open to the reports of foreign countries, of Crim Tartary, Mingrelia, and Carthay. We are indebted to his curiosity for the first copy of the marbles of Ancyra, and the most ancient MS. of Dioscorides; and he viewed, with the eyes of a naturalist, the numerous collection of animals that enlivened his solitude. Busbequius is my old and familiar acquaintance; a frequent companion in my post-chaise. His latinity is eloquent, his manner is lively, his remarks are judicious.

THE

THE following Notes were written by Mr. Gibbon the summer before his death, at Sheffield-Place, in an interleaved fourth edition of Harwood's View of the various editions of the Greek and Roman Classics. It is to be regretted that he did not go through the whole work as he intended; but these perhaps may be interesting to collectors of books.

HOMER, B. C. 850. The positive age of Homer is of less moment than the relative distance between the author and his work. After three or four centuries he might expatiate in the fields of fiction: but if Homer lived within fourscore years of the Trojan war (Mitford's History of Greece, vol. i. p. 166, &c.) he might converse with the last companions of Ulysses and Æneas, and the probable human part of his narrative may be almost read as the history of his own times.

HOMERI OPERA inter Poetas Græcos Heroici Carminis ab Henr. Stephano.

HOMERI ILIAS, Gr. cum veteribus Scholiast. a Johan. Baptist. Gaspar d'Anse de Villoison. Venet. 1788, in folio.—The vain man had promised a standard Homer, an ancient variorum from the editions of Alexandria, Athens, Marseilles, &c. but—parturiunt montes!

VITA HOMERI, inter Opuscula a Gale, p. 118. A loose Essay on his Universal Knowledge.

VITA HOMERI, ad calcem Herodoti. Some genuine traditions are perhaps mingled with the low tales of a grammarian.

APOTHEOSIS HOMERI, a Gisberto Cupero, Amstel. 1683, in 4to. A curious and learned interpretation of an ancient monument.

ANTIQUITATES HOMERICÆ, ab Everhard. Feilhio Argentorat. 1743, in 12mo. A poor sketch of a noble subject.

GNOMOLOGIA HOMERI, a Jacob. Duport. Cantab. 1660, in 4to.

The moral sentences of Homer, with a copious and entertaining collection of imitations, allusions, applications, parodies, &c. The Abbé de Longuerve, a tasteless pedant, valued Feilhius and Duport more than Homer himself.

GEOGRAPHIA HOMERI, ab H. Schlichthorst. Gotting. 1787, in 12mo.

GEOGRAPHIA HOMERI, ab Aug. Gul. Schlegel. Hanover, 1788, in 12mo.—The tasks of two German students.

AN INQUIRY INTO THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF HOMER. London, 1735, in 8vo, by Blackwall of Aberdeen, or rather by Bishop Berkley. A fine though sometimes fanciful effort of genius and learning.

AN ESSAY ON THE ORIGINAL GENIUS AND WRITINGS OF HOMER, by Robert Wood, Esq. London, 1775, in 4to. Pompous and superficial, the

the scholar, the traveller, and politician! Yet not without taste and merit.

THE ILIAD AND ODYSSEY OF HOMER, BY ALEXANDER POPE. London, 1771, 9 volumes in crown 8vo. The most splendid poetical version that any language has produced.

AN ESSAY ON POPE'S ODYSSEY, BY SPENCE. London, 1747, in 12mo. Pleased Pope, and can please none else; dry and narrow!

ILIAS ET ODYSSEA, BY BARNES, 2 vols. 4to. *2l. 2s.* Cantab. 1711.

When BARNES's HOMER appeared at Cambridge, Dr. Bentley expressed his contempt for the edition and the editor, who understood (he said) as much Greek as a Greek cobbler. Barnes is indeed a vulgar critic, and surely much inferior to Lucian's Micyllus.

ILIAS ET ODYSSEA, Gr. 2 vols. fol. Glasg. 1758.

As the eye is the organ of fancy, I read Homer with more pleasure in the Glasgow folio. Through that fine medium the poet's sense appears more beautiful and transparent. Bishop Louth has said that he could discover only one error in that accurate edition, the omission of an *iota* subscribed to a dative. Yet how could a man of taste read Homer with such literal attention?

HOMERI OPERA, A BERGLERO. 2 VOLS. 12MO. *5s.* AMST. 1707.

DR. CLARKE'S EDITION. 2 VOLS. 4TO. ILIAS, LONDON, 1729; ODYSSEY, 1740.

Though not a Bentley, Dr. Clarke was a scholar

and a critic. Even his metaphysical genius was usefully employed on the nice distinctions of grammar and language. His edition of Homer deserves much esteem.

ERNESTI'S EDITION OF HOMER. 5 VOLS. 8VO. LIPS. 1759.

Ernesti's Homer is a republication of Clarke's edition, with some improvements of his own. But the more original labours of Heyne of Gottingen have raised, and will doubtless answer the public expectation.

A HYMN TO CERES, *attributed to* HOMER, *has very lately been discovered by a German, in a Library at Moscow, and published by Rhunkenius in Holland. Lugd. Bat.* 1780, *in* 8*vo.*

I am by no means ungrateful for the discovery of this mythological hymn; yet I should be far more delighted with the resurrection of the *Margites* of Homer, the picture of private life, and the model of ancient comedy. What an universal genius! We may think indeed of Shakespeare and Voltaire.

HESIOD, B. C. 870. If Hesiod, according to Velleius Paterculus, lived about the first Olympiad, 120 years after Homer, his rustic simplicity will only mark the different state of Bœotian and Ionic civilisation.

HESIODI OPERA ET DIES inter Poetas Gnomicos, BRUNCK. His only genuine work (without the Invocation to the Muses) according to his countrymen near Mount Helicon. (Pausanias, l. ix. p. 771,

p. 771, Edit. Kuhn.) In the Theogony I can discern a more recent age; yet it passed for Hesiod's in the time of Herodotus.

The GNOMICA, or Moral Poems of Theognis, Phocylides and Solon in the *Poetæ Heroici* of *Henry Stephens*, and the *Analecta and Poetæ Gnomici of Brunck.*

PINDAR, *inter Poetas Græcos Lectii.*

THE ODES OF PINDAR, translated into English Verse, with a Dissertation on the Olympic Games, &c. by Gilbert West. London, 1750. 2 vols. in 12mo. West has learning, good sense, and a tolerable style of versification; but Gray and Dryden alone should have translated the Odes of Pindar, and they did much better than translate.

In the Greek Poets of Henry Stephens and Lectius, and in the Analecta and Poetæ Gnomici of Brunck, we may read the fragments yet extant of CALLINUS, ARCHILOCHUS, ALCMAN, MELANIPPIDES, IBYCUS, TELESTES, MIMNERMUS, ALCÆUS, SAPPHO, ERINNA, STESICHORUS, SIMONIDES, PANYASIS, BACCHYLIDES. The shipwreck of lyric poetry is the heaviest loss the Grecian literature has sustained. How delightful would it be to glow with the free-born ardour of Alcæus, and to melt with the amorous passions of Sappho! Yet Pindar still survives, the last, but, according to the ancients, the greatest of the lyric choir. The dearest objects of my regret are the better *Iambics* of Archi-

Archilochus, (whose inventive genius has been compared with that of Homer himself,) and the pathetic elegies of Simonides, of which such an exquisite specimen has escaped the injuries of time.

The fragments of the martial Tyrtæus, (and they are indeed martial,) which are contained in the *Analecta et Poetæ Gnomici of Brunck*, have been published in separate editions.

SPARTAN LESSONS, or the praise of valour, by TYRTÆUS, in Greek. Glasgow, 1759, in 8vo.

TYRTÆUS, Greek and Latin; a Christian. Adolpho Klotzio. Altenburg, 1767, in 8vo.

LE THÉATRE DES GRECS, PAR LE PÈRE BRUMOY; Amsterdam, 1732. 6 vols. in 12mo. and the last improved edition, Paris, 1785—89. 12 vols. in 8vo. Like most of the Jesuits, Brumoy was a literary bigot, and a superficial scholar. Instead of studying the original, he uses and abuses the Latin version (μυριοι, sexcenti, six cent.) Yet on the faith of this worthy interpreter, many a French critic has talked about the Greek theatre.

L'ŒDIPE DE SOPHOCLE, et les OISEAUX D'ARISTOPHANE, traduites par Boivin le Cadet: one of the best scholars that France ever produced. Paris, 1729.

HISTOIRE D'HÉRODOTE TRADUITE DU GREC, PAR M. LARCHER, avec des Notes, &c. Paris, 1786. 7 vols in 8vo.

The

The version is clear and correct; the notes are learned and judicious; and a scholar will only regret that Larcher has not published an improved edition of the Greek text. Yet this is the man whom Voltaire made the object of his ridicule.

RECHERCHES ET DISSERTATIONS SUR HÉRODOTE, *par le Président Bouhier.* Dijon, 1746, in 4to.

THE SPEECHES OF ISÆUS, translated, with notes, by *William Jones.* London, 1778, in 4to.

XENOPHONTIS MEMORABILIA SOCRATIS, ab Ernesti, Gr. Lipsiæ, 1755, in 12mo.

XENOPHON'S EXPEDITION OF CYRUS, by *Edward Spelman.* London, 1747. 2 vols. 8vo.

One of the most accurate and elegant prose translations that any language has produced. It is enriched with many notes, and Forster's Geographical dissertation.

L'EXPÉDITION DE CYRUS, traduite par LARCHER. Paris, 1778, 2 vols. in 12mo.

Histoire des Animaux, par ARISTOTE, en Grec et en François, par Camus. Paris, 1783. 2 vols. in 4to. Camus is a scholar and a naturalist. The first volume contains a pure text; the second is an elaborate parallel between Aristotle's knowledge and the discoveries of the moderns.

Aristoteles de Mirabilibus Auscultationibus, Gr. et Lat. Gotting. 1786, in 4to. This collection of strange stories, which may be drawn from Aristotle's

totle's works, is illustrated by the copious and curious notes of *John Beekman*, the editor.

Apollodori Atheniensis Bibliotheca, Greek et Lat. cum notis Chr. G. Heyne. Gotting. 1782, 1783. 4 vols. in 12mo. The text is comprised in the first volume: the three last are a mine of mythological erudition.

Polybii Megalopolitani Historiarum quicquid superest, Gr. et Lat. recensuit, digessit, illustravit Johannes Schleighæuser. Lipsiæ, 1789—1793. 6 vols. (yet unfinished) in 8vo. This accomplished edition, both for the text and notes, will soon extinguish the preceding ones. The fragments are disposed in such lucid order, that we seem to have recovered the forty books of the history of Polybius.

The General History of Polybius, translated from the Greek, by *Hampton*. London, 1772, 1773. 4 vols. in 8vo. The English translator has preserved the admirable sense, and improved the coarse style of his Arcadian original. A grammarian, like Dionysius, might despise Polybius for not understanding the structure of words; and Lord Monboddo might wish for a version into Attic Greek.

L'Histoire de Polybe traduite du Grec par le Père *Vincent Thuillier*, avec un Commentaire Militaire par le Chevalier *de Folard*, Amsterdam, 1753—1759, 7 vols. in 4to. The mixed offspring of a monk ignorant of tactics, and a soldier ignorant

rant of Greek. Language and history are tortured to support the *column;* but in his modern anecdotes and observations, Folard is lively, interesting, and authentic.

Diodorus Siculus.—Histoire Universelle de Diodore de Sicile, traduite par l'Abbé Terasson, Paris, 1756. 7 vols. in 12mo. The execution is tolerable, but the design was singular for a mathematician, who despised history and the ancients.

Apollonii Sophistæ Lexicon, Iliad et Odyss. ab Hieronym. Tollio, Lugd. Bat. 1788, 2 vols. 8vo.

Novum Lexicon Græcum in Pindarum et Homerum a Christ. Tobia Damm. Berolini, 1774. 4to. If we compare these two Lexicons, the Greek in his long language must veil his bonnet to the German, a most useful interpreter of Homer.

AP-

APPENDIX

TO THE TREATISE ON THE

POSITION OF THE MERIDIONAL LINE,

AND

INQUIRY INTO THE SUPPOSED CIRCUMNAVIGATION OF AFRICA BY THE ANCIENTS.

Dr. VINCENT, *Dean of Westminster, to Lord* SHEFFIELD.

MY LORD, Deanry, Westminster, Nov. 6th, 1814.

HAD proof been wanting of Mr. Gibbon's indefatigable spirit of research, his Dissertation, which you have put into my hands, would have shewn that he was as highly qualified for the great work which he accomplished, by patient industry, as by his learning, penetration, and discernment.

I have sometimes, by way of amusement, traced Mr. Gibbon through his authorities in several detached portions of his History, and on every subject but one I have found the extent of his acquisitions, the adjustment of his evidences, the accuracy of his deductions, and the comprehensive view of his subject, such as to place him in the very first rank of historians.

It is evident that in the earlier part of his life, before

before his pursuits were concentred in one great object of his ambition, he had exercised his talents in various speculations of curious inquiry, as his inclination, or perhaps accident directed. Of these your lordship has given an ample specimen already in the two volumes of his miscellaneous research; but his dissertation on Geography, Navigation and Commerce, which you now propose to communicate to the public, as it is in itself of a superior cast, so it is to me, individually, of greater interest, as it embraces a subject upon which the labour of my life has been employed, and fortunately ratifies my decision of the question by deducing the same conclusions from the same premises.

Our mutual correspondence on this subject is so similar, that, unless plagiarism were demonstrably impracticable, it might be imputed to either party with every appearance of probability to support the charge. The proof, however, to the contrary, is unequivocal, for Mr. Gibbon died in January, 1794, and my first edition of the Periplûs of the Erythrêan Sea was not published till 1800. Neither was it possible for me to have seen Mr. Gibbon's memoir, as it was in your lordship's custody till October, 1814. If, then, we have both used the same materials, and applied them to the same purpose, without communication, it is but reasonable to allow that the sole object of both must have been the investigation of truth.

That I am proud of this coincidence of opinion, may naturally be supposed, for it will appear from the

the Dissertation itself that Mr. Gibbon had examined this subject with the utmost attention, and formed his judgment upon mature deliberation. My own arguments, and the conclusions deduced from them, are stated at large in the Periplûs, at p. 186, Part the first; and at p. 661, Part the second, there is an express dissertation on the Venetian planisphere of Fra Mauro, which exhibits a southern termination of Africa, thirty-nine years previous to the voyage of Gama. My work has probably not come under your lordship's contemplation, but I recommend you to consult the second edition as far more correct than the former one. It was published in 1807, comprising the Voyage of Nearchus and the Periplûs, under the general title of the Navigation of the Ancients in the Indian Ocean, and completed in 1809, with a translation of the two original voyages, and the Greek text.

I am sensible that I had given offence to many eminent persons in the republic of letters, by questioning the authority of Herodotus in regard to the Phenician voyage round Africa in the reign of Neko; and it must be confessed, that it stands on very different grounds from similar voyages imputed to Hanno, Eudoxus, and Antipater; but by comparing it with the voyage of Nearchus it was easy to shew what ancient navigators could, or could not do; and by contemplating the reiterated attempts of the Portuguese for almost a century before they succeeded, it was natural to conclude that the Phenician voyage performed in three years,

years, must be a fiction of the Egyptian priests, without impeaching the veracity of Herodotus.

The Phenicians directed their course by the stars without instruments, and the navigators in the Indian ocean, as late as the time of Ptolemy, sailed by the Canóbus, as the southern polar star. But that star is in latitude 37° from the pole, by which we may judge of the danger of adopting it for the direction of a course in the southern hemisphere. The currents, it is true, round the Cape, favour an attempt from the east, but again the currents for twenty degrees in the neighbourhood of Cape Verd, are as directly adverse. Could they double such a Cape by *rowing* near the coast? or durst they stand out to sea to double it as modern navigators do? These are my grand objections to the Phenician voyage, and with all the respect I bear to the Father of History, the authority of his Egyptian priests is directly contradicted by Polybius, Strabo, Ptolemy, and Scylax; and equally rejected by Purchas, D'Anville, Gossellin, and Robertson, among the moderns; to this list let me add the name of Horsley, who personally expressed to me his conviction, and the testimony of Gibbon, whose evidence I value as highly as any that has been given by the ancients or the moderns. Very happy should I have been, if I could have included the illustrious names of Larcher and Rennell in the number; but I respect them both too much, to give offence by entering into a consideration of their arguments.

I conclude, my lord, that there are several other

Tracts to be inserted in the volume which ouy are now publishing, that will be equally acceptable to the learned world; but this immediate disquisition is more interesting to me, as it corroborates all the arguments which I have advanced, and all the opinions I had formed; and give me leave to add, that if my judgment is of weight, a more masterly treatise than this never came from the pen of Gibbon.

I have the honour to subscribe myself,
Your lordship's most obedient
and faithful servant,
W. VINCENT.

NOTES

NOTES

ON MR. GIBBON'S TREATISE

ON

THE POSITION OF THE MERIDIONAL LINE, AND INQUIRY INTO THE SUPPOSED CIRCUMNAVIGATION OF AFRICA BY THE ANCIENTS,

By THE REV. DR. VINCENT,

DEAN OF WESTMINSTER.

P. 170. Note. "The ignorance of Ptolemy."

The inaccuracy of Ptolemy in placing all islands, except those of the Mediterranean, is universally conspicuous. V.

P. 172. "A multitude of dogs and goats."

Ptolemy and Pliny give the name of Canaria to one of these islands, from the multitude of dogs, and Ptolemy places them on the coast of Mauritania.

The number and position of the isles when again visited by navigators, whether Spanish, French, or Genoese, made them readily cognizable as the Canaries of the ancients.

As the pike of Teneriffe is visible from the continent, these islands, when re-discovered, were found to be inhabited. Madeira, which is not visible, was found without inhabitants. V.

P. 178. "Arrian, or the nameless author who under the "reign of Adrian has composed a description of the "Red Sea."

Ptolemy wrote in the reign of Adrian, but it is clear from nternal evidence that the Periplûs is prior to Ptolemy, and

to Marinus, cited by Ptolemy, The latter part of the reign of Claudius, or beginning of Nero's, suits best with the date of the Periplûs. V.

P. 181. "The ships of war which he (Nechus, or Neko) "built commanded the Mediterranean and the Red "Sea."

Psammitichus, the predecessor of Neko, was the first sovereign of Egypt who permitted the Greeks to trade in his ports, and why Neko should on a sudden wish to become a maritime power, it is not very evident; for, according to Jablonski, the Egyptians held the sea and seafaring men in abomination, neither do Egyptian fleets nor ships appear in history till Egypt became subject to Persia. It is true that Herodotus assigns a fleet on the Mediterranean to Neko, but I do not recollect any expedition of the Egyptians in the Mediterranean, even in a later period, except the conquest of Cyprus by Amasis. And if Neko employed Phenicians on the Red Sea, it is a proof that the Egyptians were not navigators in his reign. V.

P. 182. "The Phenicians reported that, in sailing "round Africa, they had seen the sun on their right "hand."

If the great triangle of Africa were cut off, as it appears in the map of Bertius, and this continent bounded by a vast line running north and south, this phenomenon would be verified for a great part of the voyage; but Africa ending in a point, as it does strictly speaking, it would be visible only at the apex of the triangle. It seems probable that in the contemplation of Herodotus, Africa was similar in form to the Africa of Bertius, and this is correspondent to the opinion of Juba, Manilius, Pomponius Mela, Macrobius, and Virgil.

See the map of Bertius in Vincent's Ancient Commerce, vol. ii. p. 562. Second Edition. V.

P.

P. 183. "But a southern communication between the "Indian and Atlantic ocean might be affirmed or de- "nied."

The two circumstances mentioned by Herodotus afford ground for argument; but the voyages of Scylax, Eudoxus, Antipater, &c. contain no particulars; they announce the fact, but never consider *how* it was accomplished. In the voyage of Nearchus and the Periplûs we have the full detail; and by considering the difficulties which occurred, it is easy to determine what ancient navigators could or could not do. V.

Ib. "My surprise and suspicion are excited by the suc- "cessful agriculture of the strangers in unknown cli- "mates and new soils; by the seeds of the temperate "zone which yield their increase between the tro- "pics."

Gossellin contends that the seasons of the southern hemi sphere do not answer to the harvests of the northern, or the seed time; and Larcher, forced to concede this, supposes that on this point Herodotus gives only his own misconceived opinion, without reference to the Egyptian records. V.

P. 184. "In twelve days from the Straits of Gibraltar "he (Hanno) reached the small island of Cerné or "Arguin."

The voyage of Hanno, brief as it is, contains circumstances and particulars sufficient to establish its veracity; and the assumption of Arguin for Cerné is the more probable from its offering convenience for a Portuguese settlement, as it had done to a Carthaginian colony. It answers likewise to the local circumstances given by Hanno. Campomanes has wildly carried Cerné to St. Thomas's, under the equator, while Arguin lies in latitude 21° north.

See Major Rennell's Dissertation, Geography of Herodotus, p. 719. V.

P. 186. " The geographer Scylax denies the possibi-
" lity of navigating beyond Cerné in a shallow and
" muddy ocean."

Scylax agrees with Aristotle in supposing that the Atlantic communicates with the Indian Ocean, but says the navigation to the south was impracticable on account of the weedy sea, through which a ship could not make her way. This is an illustrious truth, for the weed called salgasso does occur about Cape Blanco for many degrees, though moveable in bulk; and this proves that the ancients did navigate the Atlantic as low or lower than 20° north latitude. V.

P. 186. " The single and hasty assertion of the elder
" Pliny."

It is strange that Mickle should have been misled by the authority of Pliny. But he asserts, in contradiction to his own genius of the Cape, " It is *certain* that Hanno doubled the Cape of Good Hope." *Lusiad, p.* 2. V.

P. 191. " The English translator of Camoens justifies
" this impropriety by an old Syriac version of Homer."

Asserted by Abulpharage. V.

P. 192. " According to the most liberal computation,
" Vasco de Gama discovered no more than twenty
" degrees of southern latitude from the Cape of
" Good Hope to Mozambique."

Gama went as high as Melinda. V.

Ib. " The African trade of the Portuguese, as it is described
" by Mosto."

The voyage of Cadamosto in Ramusio gives the particulars of Prince Henry's contracts with the navigators he employed, and is equally honourable to his integrity and his wisdom. He drew much of his information from Venice,

and

and was rejoiced to tempt a Venetian mariner into his service

Cadamosto is a Venetian abbreviation of *Casa* di Mosto: this man was of the house, or family, of Mosto. V.

P. 194. " But the exchange, with an invisible people, " of salt for gold is described by Cadamosto on the " faith of the itinerant Arabs."

Gold was first met with by Henry's navigators at Rio d'Ouro, under the tropic of Cancer; and the sight of a few ounces brought home by them was the immediate cause of establishing an African Company at Lagos. The spirit of adventure was roused, and the prosecution of discovery ensued, which never ceased till the circumnavigation of Africa and the voyage to India were accomplished. V.

P. 195. " But the views of a soldier are not those of his " general."

That the views of Prince Henry were directed to India, is evident from his exertions to procure maps and information from Venice, at that time the great mart of oriental commerce. V.

P. 197. " A planisphere, or map of the world, was de- " lineated in the Convent of Murano at Venice."

A fac simile copy of this map is now placed in the British Museum, procured from Venice at the suggestion of W. V. and obtained by a subscription of £ 200 and upwards. The subscribers were the

India Company,
Earl of Buckinghamshire,
Earl Spencer,
Earl Macartney,
The Bishop of Durham,
Mr. Strahan,
W. Vincent.

It is a splendid performance, and contains a termination of Africa in 1459, thirty-nine years previous to the voyage of Gama. V.

P. 199. "Castaneda (1553), a laborious historian, who "might converse with Gama himself."

It may be justly supposed that Castaneda wrote from the Journal of Gama, for the narrative often adopts the first person. It has nothing of the marvellous of Osorio. V.

END OF VOL. V.

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GENERAL INDEX.

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cording to him, a person may see Rome in twenty days. This trait is enough for me.

July 25th.]—Lord Palmerston, whom we saw at Lausanne, is arrived here from Padua. He has completed his travels, and I think to his satisfaction. Sir Horace Mann took us to his house to dinner. After dinner there was a boat-race on the Arno, which we, and the rest of the English, saw from the windows of our apartment. It is one of those things (there are so many of them) of which the description may be better than the reality. The boats were so little ornamented, and the race so short, that we merely saw that the Florentines have some idea of public spectacles, but know not how to execute them. We passed the evening in an assembly at the Countess Accaioli's.

August 23d.]—The two Damers dined with us. They are really good young men; and though extremely wild, are by no means devoid of abilities and good sense. The youngest was in the Guards, which he left, because Lord Tyrawley had refused him permission to travel. I suspect that there was some political motive for this.

26th.]—********** is returned from his tour. He distinguished himself at Lucca by his declared contempt of the city and the state, by his misplaced hauteur, and by his many sarcasms. The republic, which has always prided itself on its attentions to the English, adopted with regret the resolution of making him quit Lucca, which it communicated to Sir Horace Mann. When this was intimated to ********** he requested leave

to see an Opera, and to obtain it, made very unseasonable submissions. An officer of the Guards attended him all the day, and in the evening conducted him to the theatre without his sword. He departed the next day.

HINTS

ERRATA to VOL. IV.

Page 155, line 7 from top, *for* Cluvierus *read* Cluverius.
—— 157, line 6 from bottom, *for* Le Sabine *read* La Sabine.
—— 166, line 3 from top, *for* neque auro *read* atque auro.
—— —— line 8, *for* oleaeque *read* oleae.
—— —— line 21 from top, *for* plurimo *read* plurima.
—— 167, line 8 from top, *for* unda cæpit *read* unde cæpit.
—— 169, line 2 from bottom, *for* faut tirer *read* faut pas tirer.
—— 173, line 3 from top, *for* Mons Sovis *read* Mons Jovis.
—— 182, line 13 from bot. *for* Transierim Cyene *read* Transierim, Cinyra.
—— 185, line 7 from bottom, *for* nominis et *read* nominis est.
—— —— line 22, *for* Tum *read* Tunc.
—— 186, line 11 from top, *for* densos rapit *read* rapit densos.
—— 190, line 3, *for* Tigri *read* tigri.
—— —— line 6 from bottom, *for* quidpe *read* quippe.
—— 197, line 9 from bottom, *for* antiquum *read* antiquus.
—— 202, line 15 from top, *for* traheratur *read* traheretur.
—— 203, in margin, *for* Ovid Fast. p. 580, *read* Ovid. Fast. l. 340.
—— —— line 8 from top, *for* lavat *read* lavit.
—— 204, line 11 from top, *for* æternati *read* æternitati.
—— 206, line 17 from top, *for* post hunc *read* per hunc.
—— 228, line 15 from top, *for* quos celsa *read* quos celso.
—— 234, line 9 from bottom, *for* sulcari *read* sulcaris.
—— 236, last line, *for* VIII. 398 *read* VIII. 392.
—— 238, in margin, *for* Sil. Italic. 528 *read* Sil. Italic. XII. 528.
—— 252, line 4 from bottom, *for* latis *read* late.
—— 253, line 7 from top, *for* agro *read* agello.
—— 263, line 2 from top, *for* mugit *read* sonat.
—— 277, line 4 from bottom, *for* armenta *read* armentum.
—— 281, line 13 from top, *for* Diomeden *read* Diomedem.
—— —— line 25 from top, *for* accensâ ceraunîâ *read* accensa ceraunia.
—— 282 line 18 from top, *for* vetus ut est *read* vetus est ut.
—— —— line 20 from top, *for* gens, sive, *read* gens, seu.
—— 283 line 17 from top, *for* mutuet *read* mutet.
—— 292, line 15, *for* Acctæ *read* Ætæ.
—— 302, line 13, *for* fons Blandusia *read* fons Blandusiæ.
—— —— line 21 from top, *for* precori *read* pecori.
—— 308 line 8 from top, *for* patulo *read* patuloque.
—— —— line 9, *for* Fulginium *read* Fulginia.
—— 316 line 6 from top, *for* mollior aquâ *read* mollior agnâ.
—— 317 line 2 from bottom, *for* solveret cui justa exacto *read* solveret exacto cui sera.
—— 318 line 8 from top, *for* litoris *read* æquoris.

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